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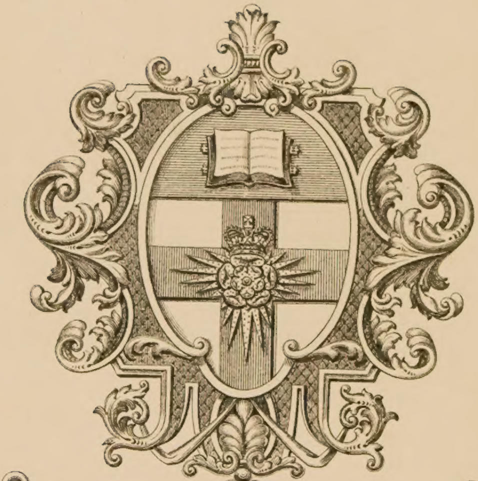

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HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY
DEBATES:

FORMING A CONTINUATION OF
"THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE
YEAR 1803."

Third Series;

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM IV.

VOL. IX.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM
THE SIXTH DAY OF DECEMBER, 1831,
TO
THE SIXTH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1832.

First Volume of the Seſsion.

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1832.

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HANSARD'S

Parliamentary Debates

During the SECOND SESSION *of the* TENTH PARLIAMENT *of the United Kingdom of* GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND,
appointed to meet at Westminster,
6th December, 1831,
in the Second Year of the Reign of His Majesty
WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

First Volume of the Session.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, Dec. 6, 1831.

MINUTES.] The usual Sessional Orders were moved by Earl GREY, and agreed to.

THE KING'S SPEECH ON OPENING THE SESSION.] His Majesty went in state to the House of Lords this day, and the Commons having been summoned to the Bar of the House of Peers, His Majesty, being seated on the Throne, delivered the following Speech:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have called you together, that you may resume, without further delay, the important duties to which the circumstances of the times require your immediate attention; and I sincerely regret the inconvenience which I am well aware you must experience, from so early a renewal of your labours, after the short interval allowed you for repose from the fatigues of the last Session.

"I feel it to be my duty, in the first place, to recommend to your most careful consideration the measures which will be proposed to you for a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament; a speedy and satisfactory settlement of this question becomes daily of more pressing importance to the security of the State, and to the contentment and welfare of my people.

"I deeply lament the distress which still prevails in many parts of my dominions; and for which the preservation of peace, both at home and abroad, will, under the blessing of Divine Providence, afford the best and most effectual remedy. I feel assured of your disposition to adopt any practicable measures, which you will always find me ready and anxious to assist, both for removing the causes and mitigating the effects of the want of employment, which the embarrassments of commerce, and the consequent interruption of the pursuits of industry, have occasioned.

"It is with great regret that I have observed the existence of a disease at Sunderland, similar in its appearance and character to that which has existed in many parts of Europe. Whether it is indigenous, or has been imported from abroad, is a question involved in much uncertainty; but its progress has neither been so extensive nor so fatal as on the Continent. It is not, however, the less necessary to use every precaution against the further extension of this malady; and the measures recomended by those who have had the best opportunities of observing it, as most effectual for this purpose, have been adopted.

"In parts of Ireland a systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, attended in some instances with afflicting results; and it will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be possible to effect improvements in the laws respecting this subject, which may afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and at the same time remove the present causes of complaint.

"But in this and in every other question affecting Ireland, it is, above all things, necessary to look to the best means of securing internal peace and order, which alone seem wanting to raise a country, blessed by Providence with so many natural advantages, to a state of the greatest prosperity.

"The conduct of the Portuguese Government, and the repeated injuries to which my subjects have been exposed, have prevented a renewal of my diplomatic relations with that kingdom. The state of a country, so long united with this by the ties of the most intimate alliance, must necessarily be to me an object of the deepest interest. The return to Europe of the elder branch of the illustrious house of Braganza, and the dangers of a disputed succession, will require my most vigilant attention to events, by which not only the safety of Portugal, but the general interests of Europe may be affected.

"The arrangement which I announced to you at the close of the last Session, for the separation of the States of Holland and Belgium, has been followed by a treaty between the five Powers and the king of the Belgians, which I have directed to be laid before you as soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged.

"A similar Treaty has not yet been agreed to by the king of the Netherlands; but I trust the period is not distant when that Sovereign will see the necessity of acceding to an arrangement in which the Plenipotentiaries of the five Powers have unanimously concurred, and which has been framed with the most careful and impartial attention to all the interests concerned.

"I have the satisfaction to inform you, that I have concluded with the king of the French a Convention, which I have directed to be laid before you, the object of which is, the effectual suppression of the African Slave Trade. This Convention, having for its basis the concession of reciprocal rights to be mutually exercised in specified latitudes and places, will, I trust, enable the naval forces of the two countries, by their combined efforts, to accomplish an object which is felt by both to be so important to the interests of humanity.

"Regarding the state of Europe generally, the friendly assurances which I receive from foreign Powers, and the union which subsists between me and my Allies, inspire me with a confident hope that peace will not be interrupted.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have directed the Estimates for the ensuing year to be prepared, and they will in due time be laid before you. I will take care that they shall be formed with the strictest regard to economy; and I trust to your wisdom and patriotism to make such provision as may be required for the public service.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The scenes of violence and outrage which have occurred in the city of Bristol, and in some other places, have caused me the deepest affliction.

"The authority of the laws must be vindicated by the punishment of offences which have produced so extensive a destruction of property, and so melancholy a loss of life; but I think it right to direct your attention to the best means of improving the Municipal Police of the kingdom, for the more effectual protection of the public peace against the occurrence of similar commotions.

"Sincerely attached to our free Constitution, I never can sanction any interference with the legitimate exercise of those rights which secure to my people the privileges of discussing and making known their grievances; but, in respecting these rights, it is also my duty to prevent combinations, under whatever pretext, which in their form and character are incompatible with all regular government, and are equally opposed to the spirit and to the provisions of the law; and I know that I shall not appeal in vain to my faithful subjects to second my determined resolution to repress all illegal proceedings by which the peace and security of my dominions may be endangered."

His Majesty retired, the House separated, and met again at five o'clock.

Earl Grey moved, *pro formâ,* the first reading of an Act for the better regulation of Select Vestries.

The Lord Chancellor then read his Majesty's Speech, which was afterwards again read by the Clerk.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE KING'S SPEECH.] The Earl of *Camperdown* presented himself to the House, and said, he rose to move an humble Address in answer to his Majesty's most gracious Speech. He begged to observe, that no man ever presented himself to address their Lordships, who was under greater necessity to intreat a large share of that indulgence which their Lordships were so kindly wont to bestow upon those who stood in a similar situation to that in which he now appeared before their Lordships. He deeply felt the importance and arduousness of the task which he had had the temerity to undertake, when he rose to propose to their Lordships an humble Address, in reply to the gracious Speech which they had just heard. No man could be more sensible than himself how unequal he should be to such a task, even under ordinary circumstances; but he felt, that upon the present occasion he had to encounter peculiar difficulties, for never, in his belief, was Parliament assembled at a more momentous crisis, nor was it ever called upon to discuss topics of higher importance than those adverted to in the Address from the Throne. It was accordingly his most anxious wish, that their Lordships should approach the consideration of the subject he had to propose to them, with calmness and moderation; and, for himself, he should certainly deem it necessary to abstain from all indulgence in party feeling, and to divest himself, as far as possible, of all party prejudices. Such conduct, on their Lordships' part, was peculiarly called for now, when the public eye was so intensely fixed upon their proceedings, and when the nation was waiting for their decision with such breathless anxiety. Therefore, in calling their Lordships' attention to his Majesty's most gracious Speech, as it would be his duty to do, and in making the observations which he should be called upon to make, he would openly, honourably, and fairly, state his own opinions; but he would, at the same time, abstain from any expressions which would seem to convey disrespect to the opinions of those noble Lords with whom he differed. He was well convinced, however their Lordships might differ among themselves, that they had but one common object, and that was, to come to that conclusion which should be, in their opinions, most conducive to the honour and interest of the country. Without further preliminary observations, then, he would come to his Majesty's Speech, the first topic in which was one of the very highest importance—the all-engrossing topic of Reform. His Majesty said, "I feel it my duty, in the first place, to recommend to your most careful consideration the measures which will be proposed to you for a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament. A speedy and satisfactory settlement of this question becomes daily of more pressing importance to the security of the State, and to the contentment and welfare of my people." He thought they owed a debt of gratitude to his Majesty. He thought that both they and the country owed a deep debt of gratitude to the noble Earl at the head of the Government, for having advised his Majesty to call Parliament together, and bring forward that question, upon the speedy and proper decision of which the prosperity of the country depended. He would not trespass upon their Lordships' time by going into any lengthened history of the proceedings with respect to the measure of Reform brought before the House during the last Session. Suffice it briefly to say, that Ministers had entered upon office pledged to introduce an efficient measure of Reform; and in redemption of that pledge, they brought in a Bill, which, whatever might have been its merits or demerits, had these advantages—that it reconciled the conflicting opinions of all Reformers—it fully satisfied the great mass of the people—and it was passed by overwhelming majorities in the House of

Commons. It was next brought before their Lordships, and they, in their wisdom, thought proper to reject it. He regretted that they had done so. He was one of those who had, upon that occasion, voted in the minority, but still he would be the last man in the world to question the motives which dictated that decision. He thought then, as he continued to think now, that it was an unfortunate one for their Lordships and the country. It was a decision which was received throughout the land with dismay and dissatisfaction, and to what extent this might have proceeded it would be impossible to say, if the people had not entertained entire confidence in the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Councils. They had known him as a long-tried and able advocate of their rights, and felt, that so long as he retained office these rights would not be overlooked or evaded; and the noble Earl had fully and amply justified that confidence, by re-assembling Parliament thus early, and giving their Lordships an opportunity for reconsidering the great question of Reform. As to the measure which Government intended to propose, it would be premature in him to speak of it; suffice it to say, that they had the assurance of his noble friend, that however much he might be inclined to meet any suggestion for altering and amending any minor details, the whole measure to be brought forward should be the same in principle, and equally as efficient, as the last. He (the Earl of Camperdown) was happy to hear this, for he was convinced that a Bill not the same in principle, and not as efficient in detail, would give no satisfaction to the country. Most earnestly did he trust, that it would prove to be such a measure as their Lordships would think proper to adopt, regarding it as calculated to uphold the just prerogatives of the Crown, and the constitutional privileges of their Lordships. He trusted, that it would be a measure like the last, which, in his opinion, strengthened those rights, confirmed those privileges, and renovated, renewed, and strengthened, all the institutions of the country, by giving to the people the free choice and control over their Representatives, and thereby putting an end to that corrupt nomination-borough system, which no man was hardy enough to defend. He wished to speak to their Lordships in the language of prudence, not of intimidation; but let them not deceive themselves. He implored them to pause before they again rejected a measure of Reform. They would take upon themselves an awful responsibility in a second time disappointing the hopes of the people, who only desired to have the choice of their own Representatives. Under these circumstances alone he should have felt himself justified in calling on their Lordships to concur in an humble Address to his Majesty in reply to his gracious Speech; but there were likewise other topics of the highest importance for their consideration, to which his Majesty had drawn their attention, and they were bound to express their gratitude. First, there was the distress which had led to the perpetration of such enormities last year. His Majesty declared his deep affliction at the occurrence of these, in the following words: "I deeply lament the distress which still prevails in many parts of my dominions, and for which the preservation of the peace, both at home and abroad, will, under the blessing of Divine Providence, afford the best and most effectual remedy. I feel assured of your disposition to adopt any practicable measures, which you will always find me ready and anxious to assist, both for removing the causes, and mitigating the effects of the want of employment, which the embarrassments of commerce, and the consequent interruption of the pursuits of industry, have occasioned." He felt confident, that their Lordships would take into their consideration some means for the alleviation of this distress. He was sure it would be both their interest and duty to do this; but he doubted whether the evil could be met by any specific legislative measure. The maintenance of peace and order—the restoration of tranquillity—would, however, in all probability, have the effect so much to be desired, of opening new channels for the employment of capital and industry. His Majesty went on to say, "It is with great concern that I have observed the existence of a disease at Sunderland, similar in its appearance and character to that which has existed in many parts of Europe. Whether it is indigenous, or has been imported from abroad, is a question involved in much uncertainty, but its progress has neither been so extensive nor so fatal as on the Continent. It is not, however, the less necessary to use every precaution against the further extension of this malady; and the measures recommended by those who have had the best opportunities of observing it, as most effective for the purpose, have been adopted." Upon this he would merely observe, that the only course to pursue was, to meet this terrible dispensation with calmness and firmness; and he could not but hope, that from the numbers and skill of the medical profession in this country, and from the great precautions adopted, that something might be brought into operation which would arrest the progress of that dreadful pestilence. His Majesty further said, that "In parts of Ireland a systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, attended, in some instances, with afflicting results: and it will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be possible to effect improvements in the laws respecting this subject, which may afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and at the same time remove the present causes of complaint. But on this, and every other question affecting Ireland, it is, above all things, necessary to look to the best means of securing internal peace and order, which alone seem wanting to raise a country, blessed by Providence with so many natural advantages, to a state of the greatest prosperity." Their Lordships would, doubtless, pay due attention to this gracious recommendation, and look well to the tranquillity of Ireland; for they should consider that the tranquillity of that country was not alone of importance as it regarded itself, but also as it affected the whole empire. Another topic to which his Majesty's gracious Address to their Lordships referred was, the foreign relations of the country. On the prospects arising from these, he begged to congratulate their Lordships, as it appeared from the feeling of foreign Powers that there was every hope that the tranquillity of the world would be preserved. His Majesty observed, "The conduct of the Portuguese government, and the repeated injuries to which my subjects have been exposed, have prevented a renewal of the diplomatic relations with that kingdom. The state of a country so long united with this, by the ties of a most intimate alliance, must necessarily be to me an object of the deepest interest; and the return to Europe of the elder branch of the illustrious House of Braganza, and the dangers of a disputed succession, will require my most vigilant attention to events, by which not only the safety of Portugal, but the general interests of Europe, may be affected. The arrangements which I announced to you at the close of last Session for the separation of the States of Holland and Belgium, has been followed by a treaty between the five Powers and the king of the Belgians, which I have directed to be laid before you as soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged. A similar treaty has not yet been agreed to by the king of the Netherlands; but I trust the period is not distant when that sovereign will see the necessity of acceding to an arrangement in which the Plenipotentiaries of the five Powers have unanimously concurred, and which has been framed with the most careful and impartial attention to all the interests concerned." There was every reason, however, to suppose, that Holland would accede to the wishes of the other Powers: and he must say, that he thought the greatest credit was due to his Majesty's Government for the prudence and ability with which it had conducted these very difficult negotiations, and thereby bringing about the desired end of a final arrangement. His Majesty went on to say, "I have the satisfaction to inform you, that I have concluded with the king of the French a Convention, which I have directed to be laid before you; the object of which is the effectual suppression of the African Slave Trade. This Convention, having for its basis the concession of reciprocal rights, to be mutually exercised in specified latitudes and places, will, I trust, enable the naval forces of the two countries to accomplish, by their combined efforts, an object which is felt by both to be so important to the interests of humanity. Regarding the state of Europe generally, the friendly assurances which I receive from foreign Powers, and the union which subsists between me and my Allies, inspire me with a confident hope that peace will not be interrupted." This last part, which related to the Convention recently concluded between this country and France, for the abolition of the slave-trade, was, in his mind, for many reasons, highly gratifying. It showed that the time was, probably, not far distant, when the abominable traffic in human flesh would be completely abolished. It was gratifying, too, for another cause: and that was—the good intelligence and friendly feeling which it evinced between France and England—a feeling which he hoped to see cherished and promoted: so that the natives of those countries, instead of, as formerly, considering themselves natural enemies, would henceforth regard each other as natural friends. The assurance of a strict regard being paid to the economical expenditure of the public money, which they now had the gratification of hearing from the Sovereign personally, must be also a source of considerable satisfaction. He must also acknowledge, that he had received satisfaction from that part of his Majesty's Speech which related to the late deplorable riots at Bristol. It was as follows—"The scenes of violence and outrage which have occurred in the city of Bristol, and in some other places, have caused me the deepest affliction. The authority of the laws must be vindicated, by the punishment of offences which have produced so extensive a destruction of property, and so melancholy a loss of life; but I think it right to direct your attention to the best means of improving the municipal police of the kingdom, for the more effectual protection of the public peace against the recurrence of similar commotions." Every honest man and good citizen must assent to the propriety of this declaration, for there could be no doubt of the necessity of vindicating the offended laws by their own strong arm; and he trusted, therefore, that the perpetrators of the late outrages, would be punished with the utmost rigour which the frame of our judicial system would admit of. Such tumults must be wholly suppressed, and he also felt confident, that the recommendation touching a municipal police was well worthy their Lordships' consideration. His Majesty concluded his gracious Speech by a passage well deserving their Lordships' most serious attention. "Sincerely attached to our free Constitution, I never can sanction any interference with the legitimate exercise of those rights which secure to my people the privilege of discussing and making known their grievances; but in respecting these rights, it is also my duty to prevent combinations, under whatever pretence, which in their form and character are incompatible with all regular government, and are equally opposed to the spirit and to the provisions of the law: and I know, that I shall not appeal in vain to my faithful subjects, to second my determined resolution to repress all illegal proceedings, by which the peace and security of my dominions may be endangered." In these gracious and most constitutional sentiments, as expressed by his Majesty, he was certain all their Lordships entirely concurred; for while the people's privileges and rights were to be protected, the executive should be at the same time supported. He was confident, therefore, that whenever or wherever such political combinations as had been alluded to, showed themselves, his Majesty would not appeal in vain to their Lordships, and his loyal subjects, but would find them ready, in their several places, to assist in suppressing such political unions. At the same time, how much better would it be, to inquire into and remove the alleged grievances, which gave a pretence to the institution of such societies, which, although within the letter, if not within the spirit, of the law, were to be regarded with sorrow and alarm, for their existence proved some disease in the body politic. He feared, that they were the effect and not the cause, and until the cause was removed, their Lordships could not hope that they would disappear. But of whatever character these combinations might be, they had not originated in any act of the present Government. Long before the noble Earl took office, the greatest of them all—the Birmingham Union—flourished in all its gigantic strength. It arose from the refusal of the Legislature to grant Members to 100,000 men, who prayed for Parliamentary Representation. The same cause led to the same effect throughout the country. The refusal of Reform created these Associations. They existed when the present Ministry came into power; and so long as they entertained hopes that the late Reform Bill would pass into a law, they were innoxious—they were comparatively little heard of; but when the Bill was rejected, they burst forth with increased vigour. They were like eruptions on the human body, which could only be removed by constitutional remedies. Such a remedy he hoped they would soon have, in a Reform Bill sent up from the other House. If their Lordships should pass that Bill, all Associations would cease to exist. In passing that Bill, too, they would give to the people that which they had so long and so eagerly sought, and on which they had fixed their undivided affection—he meant a full, fair, and free Representation in the other House of Parliament, which should represent their wants, and be an echo to their opinions. The noble Earl then moved an Address, embodying, as usual, the substance of the Speech.

The Address having been read,

Lord *Lyttleton* said, that his noble friend, who, with such excellent taste and discretion, had introduced the subject then under consideration, and who had moved an Address to his Majesty, in answer to the gracious Speech from the Throne, had apologised for the temerity with which he might be charged, in taking upon himself such a duty upon an occasion like the present, and at a time so pregnant and so full of danger. If his noble friend was justified in making such an apology in a speech which disproved the necessity of any apology upon his part, how far greater must be the necessity for him (Lord Lyttleton) to ask for the indulgence of their Lordships, while he seconded that Address? Having, however, been called upon by his noble friend at the head of the Government, to take upon himself that duty, he should attempt to acquit himself, to the best of his ability, of the difficult and arduous task he had undertaken. When he said, that his noble friend had called upon him to undertake this duty, he did not mean thereby to intimate that the duty was imposed upon him, he being at the same time reluctant to undertake it, in any other sense than that he was afraid of his own incapacity properly to perform such an important task. That alone was the feeling which caused in him a reluctance to second the Address, for otherwise he could have no possible objection, entertaining, as he did, the most perfect confidence in the wisdom of the principles adopted by his noble friend (Earl Grey), and having the most perfect reliance upon his prudence, with the most confident assurance, that his noble friend was advocating and supporting measures strictly consonant with the Constitution of the country. In that sense, therefore, he was not, he could not be, reluctant to undertake the duty. Lest there should be any misunderstanding of what he had said, he thought it right to enter into this explanation, and he would take that opportunity of adding, that he was perfectly disinterested in what he advanced in support of the present Government, for he owed nothing to the noble Lords behind him (the Ministers) except respect to their high station, and he expected nothing from them but good government, tending to the welfare of his country. He appeared before their Lordships, it was true, in support of the Address, in reply to that which was usually called the Speech of his Majesty, but which constitutionally must be considered as the speech of his Ministers; but, like his noble friend who had moved the Address, and who had said, that he divested himself, on the present occasion, of all party feeling, so he (Lord Lyttleton) would, he hoped, also be able to divest himself of all such feeling, and he trusted, that in what he had to offer to their Lordships' consideration, he should be influenced by no political animosity towards those who had opposed the great measure of the present Administration—that measure to which it was his intention principally to advert in the present discussion. In supporting the Address which was before the House, and in speaking of the difficulty of the times in which that Address was submitted to the consideration of Parliament, he thought he might safely say, that in the memory of no man had so much anxiety prevailed and so universally obtained—as at the present moment. He was scarcely old enough to remember the breaking out of the French Revolution, but he did not believe, that even at that time there existed in this country the same lively degree of interest and anxiety as was exhibited at the present moment. At that time the people were happy, flourishing, and united; they were confident in the vigorous government under which they lived, and they were prepared to repel all and every danger by which they might be threatened from without. At present, however, the general state of Europe wore no aspect, calculated to excite apprehension in this country. It was by internal dangers alone that the people were excited; and he believed he might fearlessly assert, that a period more fearful, more pregnant with danger than the present, had not existed in England since the time of Charles 1st. Indeed, that House of Commons which was termed the Long Parliament, had met under one point of resemblance to that which was now assembled. The people and the House of Commons were indignant at the rejection of their just rights by the Crown and by the Lords; and he believed, if timely and proper concessions had at that time been made, and the grievances of the people redressed, the Crown and the Peers would have continued in the enjoyment of their authority. At that time the House of Commons and the people had to contend against the Crown, the Peers, and the Prelates, armed, be it remembered, with much more powerful prerogatives than were known in modern times; and he entreated their Lordships to recollect, and be warned in time, by the result of that contest. Their Lordships should consider, that they were at present contending against the Crown, against the House of Commons, and against the people—fearful, desperate odds—making the situation in which their Lordships stood, a subject demanding the most anxious consideration from those who wished that it should disclaim its power and prerogative [*"No, no."*] He was stating peculiar circumstances about the state of the present Parliament, which, in his opinion, rendered it in some respects similar to the Long Parliament. Perhaps he had gone beyond the point he was aiming at, and should, therefore, at once put himself into the facts referred to in his Majesty's Speech. The first and most important question was the proposed Reform in the Representation of the people. Considering that the subject had already been debated in that House by persons of high talent and ability, it would ill become him to go into the details of that measure; but he might, perhaps, be permitted to call their attention to one or two points connected with the conduct of that House with respect to that Bill. That Bill was rejected by a majority of their Lordships, on the ground that a change had taken place in the sentiments of the people upon the question of the Reform Bill. It was upon that supposed change of sentiment, that their Lordships grounded their contumelious rejection of the Bill [*" No!" from the Opposition side.*] If he was mistaken he would gladly withdraw the expression, for he was anxious to avoid any word that might be in the least offensive. He would, therefore, pass over the matter, merely assuming, that the Bill was rejected on the ground that the people had altered their opinions upon the subject [*" No, no, no," from the Opposition benches*]. Then noble Lords must have it their own way. His memory was perhaps bad, but he had thought it had been rejected on the pretence that a re-action with regard to it had taken place in public opinion. He had understood it had been argued that, when the people should have had further time to consider of the errors into which they had been led by agitators and demagogues, they would no longer adhere to the opinions which they had at first professed in favour of the Reform Bill. If his memory was correct, that argument was put forward as the ground upon which the Bill was rejected. He would not take up their Lordships' time by going further into the reasons which had influenced their Lordships in rejecting that Bill, but he would just ask the question, whether any of them could now say, that any great change had taken place in the sentiments of the people upon the subject. He would even ask whether the people were not now more anxious than ever for that measure which had been so unfortunately rejected last Session, and whether their sentiments upon the subject had not been more generally and more loudly expressed than heretofore upon that important subject? He would go further, and ask their Lordships if there was any chance of satisfying them with any thing less than a measure similar in its principles to that of last Session? He could bear his own testimony to the fact, that the people would be satisfied with nothing less. The Speech from the Throne referred to Political Unions. He lived in a populous part of the country, and he had felt it his duty to ascertain the sentiments of the people, and rather to learn the opinions of those of Birmingham than those of East Retford. He had attended several public meetings, and he could, from all he witnessed, pledge his honour to their Lordships that the attachment of the people to the measure of Reform had increased in a very great degree. He was sorry, that in the course of his observations he had touched upon what appeared to be a sore subject, and he wished that he had touched it with a gentler hand. He begged now to be permitted to offer a few general observations, and, without going at all into the details of the Bill, he would just ask whether that measure, which was called by some a revolutionary measure, was not, in fact, a moderate one? Whether it was a measure which went to the extent which theorists in Reform would lead the public, if that public were left to their guidance? The measure did not extend the franchise so greatly as to cause alarm for the safety of the institutions of the country, nor was there such an enormous disfranchisement as could at all justify its rejection. Without, however, bringing this question to an issue, he would venture to observe, that that which the opponents of the Bill resisted, was an increase of popular influence in the House of Commons. That was what they most dreaded. Now he would ask what sort of popular influence existed at present, and to what degree? He would ask their Lordships whether popular influence and popular indignation did not at present exist in the very place in which the noble Lord would impugn them? Did not popular influence exist to a greater degree now than at any time heretofore? Could it by possibility be diminished in the House of Commons? On the contrary, would it not increase? If those noble Lords who had opposed the measure of Reform would not show some alternative, which, while it would satisfy the popular attachment to Reform, would not add to the supposed undue influence of the people in the House of Commons, they would, in his opinion, do well to take the Reform Bill once more into consideration, with a view to its adoption, rather than leave the country in the dangerous predicament it had been for some time placed in. He would now proceed to speak of the popular influence which would exist in the event of the Bill being passed into a law. Their Lordships would remember, that there was in existence another and a powerful engine, which might be either a useful ally, or a formidable enemy. He meant the public Press. Could their Lordships argue, that the influence of the Press would diminish, while agitation was kept up by the maintenance of that which was considered as a gross public grievance? The very dangers which their Lordships appeared to |fear, they had actually increased by the conduct which they had pursued in the last Session of Parliament. He hoped their Lordships would now be convinced, that their best chance of carrying their own point was by conferring upon his noble friend (Earl Grey) the power of acceding to the wishes of the people, by granting them a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament. He would just suppose, which he could by no means anticipate, and which he felt assured was by no means probable—he would just suppose, that their Lordships should again reject the Bill, and he would ask, what would be the consequences? There could be no other alternative but that of adding to the numbers of that House—a measure which every one must deprecate if adopted from any other motive than that of giving strength to the Constitution [*a laugh from some noble Lords on the Opposition benches*]. What he had said, he perceived, with regret, had excited the mirth of noble Lords opposite. He would now however proceed to allude to other parts of the Speech from the Throne. His Majesty spoke of the distress which existed; and it was unfortunately too true, that wherever they turned their eyes, it presented itself to them to a most alarming extent. In the agricultural districts the peasantry were in deep distress, and in the manufacturing towns the citizens and operatives were similarly circumstanced. There was, in fact, no part of the realm in which there was not a great deal of poverty and distress; and in Ireland particularly, that country which was confessedly a monument of misgovernment, a most fearful agitation prevailed, to which there was no prospect of a termination, until this grievance relative to the Representation should be removed, to say nothing of the popular topic of Tithes, and the abuses of that system which gave such room for agitators and demagogues to inflame the public mind. In Scotland also it must be admitted that there existed a deep-seated discontent. He would ask, if he was not right in saying, that it was only reasonable to suppose that that discontent existed in a greater degree than it otherwise would do in consequence of the illusory Representation of the people? Surely the discontent in that country was closely connected with one of the subjects adverted to in his Majesty's Speech. He would not take up the time of their Lordships further on that topic, but would proceed to say, with respect to another subject alluded to in that Speech, that, if any one was disposed to find fault with the Government for the course which it had adopted with regard to our foreign relations, he would contend that in all that had been done there had been no sacrifice of national honour, but quite the contrary. By the exertions and great talents of his noble friends, the peace of Europe had been maintained under very difficult circumstances. With respect to what had been done towards the abolition of the Slave-trade, by the recent convention with France on that subject, he would say, that he believed it would be hailed by all parties in the country with one common feeling of satisfaction; and he would venture at once to congratulate their Lordships upon an arrangement which must lead to the extirpation of that odious and inhuman traffic. He should be wanting in gratitude to his noble friend at the head of the Government if he did not state, that in 1806 and 1807, when his noble friend was in office with Mr. Fox, the first decisive measure had been adopted towards abolishing the Slave-trade, and it was now his singular good fortune to give real effect to the benevolent intentions of the Government of that day upon this important question. There was only one other subject to which he would advert—namely, the Political Unions which had recently been formed; and upon that he would just say, that his noble friend who had preceded him had so fully expressed his (Lord Lyttleton's) sentiments, that he had left little for him to say. There could be no manner of doubt, in his opinion, but these Unions would cease if the Reform Bill once passed the Legislature, but he could not help looking, notwithstanding, with fear and jealousy to their continuance, to their extension, and to their organization; which was such that, unless they were dissolved, Government could not act with effect. Still he would ask, were they to overlook the cause which brought these Unions into existence? Certainly not. His noble and learned friend on the Woolsack had pointed out the cause, in his very able speech of last Session, when he said, "This monstrous growth is the produce of a soil which, when purified will no longer yield such noxious herbs." In the same manner he would say, that if the Reform Bill were passed, the people would confide in their Representatives, and those Unions would offer no resistance to a just Government. He believed, that there was, upon the part of the leaders of these Unions, a disposition to dissolve them as soon as the grievance which they complained of could be redressed. He would say, with respect to these Unions, what was said by the celebrated and great Lord Chatham, when our colonies in America, now the United States, first rebelled—"Let justice be done, or let discord flourish for ever;" and he would add, that if justice is not done, discord will flourish. He gave his most unfeigned support to the Address proposed by his noble friend. With respect to that House, he would say, that it would be in vain for their Lordships to hope to maintain themselves without the aid of the people. If he were to quote from Mr. Burke, he was aware that he might be told, that he was quoting from an author who would furnish quotations applicable to any kind of arguments; but there was, at least, one portion of his works which was approved of by noble Lords opposite, and from that he would take a short passage. The portion he would quote from, was a letter addressed to the Duke of Portland, on the conduct of the minority. In that letter Mr. Burke said—"The House of Lords is by itself the feeblest part of the Constitution—they know that the House of Lords is supported only by its connexions with the Crown and with the House of Commons." He (Lord Lyttleton) would ask how their Lordships were now situated? Were they not isolated, not only from the people, but from the Crown and from the House of Commons? and could they hope to have any chance of preserving their existence under such circumstances? Were they not precisely in that situation in which Mr. Burke had given it as his opinion that they could not exist even for a year. As to the fear of innovation, the great Lord Bacon had, in a high and philosophical way, in a passage which he had no doubt was familiar to many of their Lordships declared, that "time was the great innovator," and it was impossible for their Lordships to resist its efforts. It was necessary, therefore, to alter even the best institutions occasionally, to accommodate them to altered circumstances; and certainly the course of time had now brought about such changes in society, that it was necessary for their Lordships to consent to improve the institutions of the country. There was yet time for their Lordships to recover their lost ground in the affections of the people, and enter once more into a friendly alliance with them. A great portion of their Lordships lived in the affections of the people. Even many of those who were opposed to the Reform Bill, stood well in public estimation. Let them, then, now only agree to the great measure of Reform, on which the people had set their hearts, and they would secure themselves in their affections; while, if they rejected it, they must feel convinced that no Government could act effectively for the benefit of the country. These considerations, he trusted, would have their due weight in influencing the decision of their Lordships. He would also entreat the right rev. Prelates to consider what might be the consequences if this Bill were to be again rejected. He disliked any thing like cant, and thought he might say, that he was sincerely attached to the Established Church, he was anxious to see that Church reformed. He would most respectfully solicit the attention of the rev. Prelates to a little book on Church Reform, written by a Churchman. He would, with great humility, ask them if they would take his testimony to the fact, that the extent was incalculable to which not only their own interests, but the interests of religion also had suffered by their conduct on one particular occasion during the last Session of Parliament. If they would accept of advice from him, he would intimate an opinion that they should review the vote they had then given upon the Reform Bill, and consider whether it was good for the interests of the million and of the State also, that they should persevere in opposing Reform; or whether the welfare and peace of the country did not call upon them for a different line of conduct under present circumstances. Unless the measure of Reform about to be introduced were conceded, that House could not recover the ground it had lost by its unfortunate decision of last Session. Every one at this moment was in a state of anxiety, dreading the dissolution of the Constitution itself as the result of the inflexibility, if he might use the term, of the noble Lords opposite, should they indeed adhere to their former opinions. He had but a few words more to add. It must be admitted, that the settlement of the Reform question was in effect the settlement of the country; for as long as that important question remained unsettled, the Government could not act with advantage. There was, and would be, a sort of interregnum; all measures would remain, as for some time past, impeded. No measure could be adopted for improving the condition of the suffering part of the community, or of giving an impulse to trade or commerce, until the Government became settled; and Government could not become settled until the question of Reform was disposed of; and that again could not be done, unless a measure the same in principle and extent as the former one were agreed to. He entreated of the noble Lords opposite, that they would consider that the business of the State was at a stand-still, and would continue so until a Reform should take place. When that was accomplished, the ground-work would be laid for the removal of many present evils, and then he trusted the people would continue long attached to the Constitution, and would again resume their natural feelings of respect towards the aristocracy of the country.

The Earl of *Harrowby* said, that he was extremely desirous to avoid every thing which might tend to create a difference of opinion, or to disturb that unanimity with which, excepting so far as regarded one topic to which he would presently allude, he was anxious their Lordships should adopt the Address now under their consideration; and such being his sentiments, he should not have risen to address their Lordships, if it had not been for the speech of the noble Lord who had seconded the Address. When, however, he said, that the speech of the noble Lord had induced him to rise, he hoped their Lordships would not expect that he was called upon at present to answer any one of the topics which the noble Lord had introduced. No; it was for the purpose of deprecating the introduction of such topics on the present occasion, and not for the purpose of answering them, that he had risen. With one exception only, he perfectly concurred in the Address. He liked the Speech from the Throne, he approved of the topics which were alluded to in it, and he thought that these topics had been treated in the language of temper and propriety. There was nothing which he could wish to add to the Speech—nothing he could wish to take from it. It was, of course, naturally to be expected, that the consideration of a measure of Reform should be recommended in the Speech from the Throne; but then, of the nature of that measure their Lordships at present knew nothing. When their Lordships were made acquainted with the nature of the new Reform Bill, it would be their duty to take it into their most serious consideration, and this was all which the Speech from the Throne recommended, or the Address pledged their Lordships to do. Upon that subject, therefore, he would only express his ardent and anxious hope, that the new Reform Bill would be found to be such a measure as their Lordships might deem it their duty to entertain in detail, and ultimately to adopt—such a measure as might be attended with a result that would accord with the expectations of those who proposed it, and not with the gloomy prognostics of those who had felt it their conscientious duty to oppose the last Reform Bill. He did hope—if their Lordships wished the country to have confidence in their deliberations—that their Lordships would not allow themselves to be drawn into discussions upon what had passed, but that they would bring all the powers of their minds to the consideration of the new measure which was to be brought before them, and, approaching that measure without party views or feelings, earnestly endeavour to bring the subject to a satisfactory settlement, if it were possible for them to do so, consistently with their conscientious sense of duty. No temptation ought to induce them to go into a general discussion of the principles of Reform, or to revert to past discussions upon the subject. He must say, that the speech of the noble Lord who moved the Address was marked by that temper which he should wish to see pervade all the discussions of their Lordships on this subject; though, of course, he could not concur in the political sentiments which that noble Lord had expressed. He had said, that there was one topic in the Address which he did not concur in, and he would now call their Lordships' attention to it. He alluded to that part of the Address which related to the king of the Netherlands, and he hoped that the manner in which it was worded was the result of inadvertence only. Indeed, he was persuaded it was, for he was sure that his Majesty's Ministers could have no intention to commit that House to an opinion upon a transaction of which the House at present knew nothing. The Address, as it stood, was thus worded:—"We beg to express to your Majesty our satisfaction, that the arrangement which your Majesty announced to us at the close of the last Session, for the separation of the States of Holland and Belgium, has been followed by a treaty between the five Powers." Now these words seemed to imply an approbation of the treaty, which, however, the House had not yet seen. Then the Address made the House say, in the words of the Speech, "We trust that the period is not distant, when the king of the Netherlands will see the necessity of acceding to an arrangement in which the Plenipotentiaries of the five Powers," &c. This was liable to the same objection, as the House did not yet know what the arrangement was. Further on, the House was made to say, following the Speech, that the "arrangement had been framed with the most careful and impartial attention to all the interests concerned." This, again, was a matter not yet within the knowledge of the House; and for this reason—and not because he desired to express any opinion, or even the shadow of an opinion—he trusted, that the amendment he had sketched, or one similar to it, would be agreed to. He called it an amendment, but he would rather use the word alteration; and he should be glad that it were adopted by the noble Mover himself, in the place of the passage which now stood in the Address, because, as he had before observed, he was anxious to see the Address voted unanimously. The passage, as he had altered it, would stand thus:—"We beg to express our thanks to your Majesty for the information, that the arrangement which your Majesty announced to us at the close of the last Session, for the separation of the States of Holland and Belgium, has been followed by a treaty between the five Powers and the king of the Belgians; and for the direction your Majesty has given, that that treaty be laid before us as soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged. We thank your Majesty for having communicated to us, that a similar treaty has not yet been agreed to by the king of the Netherlands; but that your Majesty trusts the period is not distant when that sovereign will see the necessity of acceding to an arrangement in which the Plenipotentiaries of the five Powers have unanimously concurred, and which, we are assured by your Majesty, has been framed with the most careful and impartial attention to all the interests concerned."

Earl *Grey* had not the least objection to the alteration. Of course there had been no intention to ask their Lordships to pledge themselves to an opinion upon a treaty which they had not yet seen.

The Earl of *Eldon* said, he trusted their Lordships would permit him to remark, that he had felt extremely distressed at the speech of the noble Seconder. They had nothing at all to do with the Reform Bill of the last Session. He believed, that all noble Lords had, as he was sure he himself had, voted upon that Bill conscientiously. There was nothing in the Speech from the Throne which could lead them to suppose that the same Bill would be proposed again; but, if the same Bill should be once more brought in, it would be the duty of that House to reconsider it, and if, on such reconsideration, any noble Lord thought that he had mistaken his duty when the Bill was last before the House, that noble Lord would be wanting in his duty if he did not retrace his steps. Such was the course which even the humble individual who was now addressing them, though he had so strenuously opposed the Bill, should feel it his duty to pursue, if, upon reconsideration, he should feel that he had taken a false step when the Bill was brought in last Session. He must contend, however, that, under the present circumstances, it was most irregular to allude to that Bill. When, by his vote, he concurred in rejecting that measure, he was satisfied, perhaps improperly, that he did his duty towards that House, and towards the Crown; but he begged noble Lords to recollect, that when he had stated that his sense of duty would not allow him to consent to that Bill, he had expressly declared, that he would not pledge himself to any other, or concerning any other, measure of Reform, that might hereafter be introduced. He repeated, that if the self-same measure were again introduced, it would be the duty of their Lordships to consider whether it was to the advantage of the nation that it should be passed, or that it should be again rejected. Again, however, he would say, that the Speech from the Throne contained nothing about that Bill, and, therefore, such a speech as that which had been made by the noble Seconder of the Address was totally out of order. He had no doubt that the Bill which would be proposed would be such a one as the framers of it conscientiously believed ought to be proposed; and he had no doubt, also, that Parliament would dispose of that measure according to what it felt to be its conscientious duty. He had no disposition to say other than "Content" to the Address. He must, however, take that opportunity of stating, that transactions had taken place which, if he had not seen them, he could not have believed would be endured. There never had been so great an insult passed upon that House, as in a publication to which he felt it his duty to allude. He did not speak of the newspapers, for in them, it must be confessed, they did meet with reasoning; but the publication he meant was called *The Black List.* He was put forward in that list as receiving 54,000*l.* a-year out of the taxes. He wished the publisher of *The Black List* would be obliging enough to make good this charge. Then, again, a noble person, who was eighty-seven years of age, and his elder brother, was called his nephew, and was put in *The Black List* as receiving a pension of 4,000*l.* a-year. The noble Lords who had voted against the Reform Bill in the last Session were represented, in the same paper, as receiving millions of money among them out of the taxes, although they themselves must be tolerably certain one doit did not go into their pockets from this source. At the same time, he felt bound to notice, that some of the friends of Reform were also included in the same paper. He thought it was a just ground of complaint, as he understood many thousand copies of this *Black List* had been sold, that some means should not have been taken to prevent its circulation.

The Earl of *Camperdown* said, he should have great pleasure in moving the Address in the terms of the Amendment proposed by the noble Earl.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* said, although he concurred in the Address which had been amended according to the suggestion of his noble friend, yet he could not forbear troubling their Lordships upon one or two points mentioned in the King's Speech. He was really at a loss to conceive upon what grounds his Majesty was made to express an opinion and belief that the king of Holland would agree to the treaty which the five Powers had concurred in. Although the terms of the treaty were not yet known, the articles upon which that treaty was founded were matters of perfect notoriety; and, upon that topic, he should address a few observations to the House. He was greatly surprised to hear it said, that the king of the Netherlands would consent to that article which granted a free navigation of the canals of his kingdom to the Belgians. That article appeared to him so unjust, so unreasonable, that he thought it impossible the king of the Netherlands could ever give his consent to it. In the first place, it was entirely foreign to the subjects properly brought under the consideration of the Conference; and, in the next place, it was unjust. By that article, the king of the Netherlands was told, that his former subjects, who had acted in violation of their allegiance to him, and who were now his enemies, should have free navigation through his canals. It might as well be insisted, that they should have a right to enter the palace of the monarch. The canals were private property, and ought to be respected as such. By that article, the Conference placed the king in a worse situation than he was in before the union of those provinces with Holland which the Conference had now declared to be independent of him. He was not only confined within the most narrow limits, but even these were not sacred from intrusion. He could not but view this proceeding as both impolitic and unjust. With regard to the rest of the treaty, so far as the partition of territory and the settlement of the debt were concerned, it might be reasonable to expect that it would meet with the concurrence of the king of Holland; but the insertion of that most unjust and obnoxious article made it impossible for the King to assent to the treaty as a whole, and the people were united with him in resisting the adoption of conditions so truly unjust. By this course the minds of the people had been inflamed, and they concurred with their King, fully and entirely, in deprecating the measure. As he (the Earl of Aberdeen) had already intimated, it appeared to him to be a most unwise proposition—it placed arms in the hands of the king of Holland, and gave him the unanimous support of his people. Never, indeed, were people more united with a Sovereign than the subjects of that King were united with him in resisting the article which appeared so highly objectionable. For his own part, he must again be permitted to repeat, that he thought it impossible the king of Holland could give his assent to that article of the treaty, He concurred in the amendment proposed to that part of the Address which had reference to the States of Holland and Belgium, as it did not call upon their Lordships to express any decided opinion. There was another part of his Majesty's Speech to which he begged to call the attention of the House, although he did not dissent from the Address now moved—it was that portion relating to Portugal. He could not tell what was meant in the Speech respecting the "repeated injuries" to which the subjects of this country had been exposed. It was not his intention to enter upon the question affecting the relations of Portugal with this country—there would be other and more fit opportunities of doing so, as he should feel it his duty to bring that subject forward—but he wished to hear some explanation given of that part of his Majesty's Speech, in which it was said, that "the conduct of the Portuguese government, and the repeated injuries to which my subjects have been exposed, have prevented a renewal of the diplomatic relations with that kingdom." Now, in the last Session the House had been informed, that redress would be afforded to British subjects for the injuries they had sustained. Were the injuries alluded to in the King's Speech new ones, or were they those which existed at the period that the House was told redress would be afforded? He believed, and he had some reason for entertaining such an opinion, that the injuries which were said to exist, and for which the government of Portugal had been blamed, were injuries respecting which that government had nothing whatever to do. It had existed four years with the approbation of the people, and yet it had not been recognised by the renewal of diplomatic relations with this country. He thought that such a government had a right to have a renewal of diplomatic relations. Then, again, his Majesty was made to say—"The return to Europe of the elder branch of the illustrious House of Braganza, and the dangers of a disputed succession, will require my most vigilant attention to events, by which not only the safety of Portugal, but the general interests of Europe, may be affected." What was the meaning of this? Their Lordships would recollect, that this return to Europe of the elder branch of the House of Braganza, had happened during the last Session of Parliament. There was nothing new in this: yet the Ministers had made his Majesty express his regret that he could not renew his diplomatic relations with Portugal in conjunction with that return. Had other prospects been presented since Don Pedro's return to Europe? That Prince had now, it appeared, found means of placing himself in a different position, and had undertaken an enterprise, for the execution of which he had believed no reasonable chance of success could be contemplated. But with English money, and English and French men, he would not undertake to say what might now be the result. By the purchase of ships of war, and military stores, with other means to which recourse was had, no doubt could exist but something might be effected. He would say, that if the measure should be executed in the manner contemplated, it was a course most undesirable; and if the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government thought it was merely a question between two Princes, he would find himself in error; for it would prove to be a question of far greater extent—it would become a question between the two countries, and would weaken the probabilities expressed by his Majesty, of a confident hope that the peace of Europe would not be interrupted. For his part, he believed it would lead to a general war. It was quite impossible, that the Spanish government would quietly look on, and allow a revolutionary faction to be established in Portugal. What was the object of that revolutionary faction? Their plan was, to establish a revolutionary Monarchy over the whole of the Peninsula; but the whole of the Spanish people would rise up in arms against such an attempt. Therefore, it became a subject of considerable moment, involving no less than the probability of disturbing the peace of the world. He felt it right to make these observations with reference to the topics to which he had alluded, although he did not entertain, as he had already stated, any objection whatever to the Address which had been moved; and in the amendment suggested by his noble friend near him, regarding the States of Holland and Belgium, he most cordially concurred.

The Duke of *Buckingham* said, that the noble Seconder had begun his address to their Lordships by complimenting the noble Mover on his good taste, but had shown the value he placed upon the article, by taking care not to put any of it into his own speech. A more extraordinary speech, and one more calculated to provoke inconvenient discussion, he had never heard. If any one ever had occasion to say "Defend me from my friends," it was the noble Earl (Grey) upon hearing the speech of the noble Seconder. That speech consisted of attacks upon noble Lords for their past conduct, and of advice to them for the future. The noble Lord had gone at some length into the history of the proceedings which had taken place on the late Reform Bill, and had also taken occasion to speak of the measure which was to be introduced. This was a most irregular mode of proceeding. He (the Duke of Buckingham) had justified the vote he gave on a former occasion, and would abide by that vote, but he would not "hark back" to a matter which was now settled. He did not recollect to have heard either the noble Mover, or the noble Seconder, open their mouths during the debate on the Reform Bill; but if they had favoured the House with their eloquence on that occasion, it would doubtless have produced a great impression—perhaps a triumphant one—causing the Bill to be carried, instead of being rejected. Their Lordships met now under a perfectly distinct state of things. It was almost a secondary consideration what measure of Reform should be introduced. Their first business was to unite in supporting Ministers in those measures which were necessary in order to make them a free deliberative Assembly, which they were not while the Political Unions existed. Until those Unions were put down, they would be constantly assailed by threats and intimidation. When noble Lords on his side the House were taunted with re-action, was it meant to refer them to the proceedings at Bristol and Birmingham as proofs that the people were prepared to consider the subject of Reform calmly? Those proceedings must be inquired into; it must be ascertained whether there was any connexion between them. He heartily approved of the Speech from the Throne; and he hoped that the Ministers would follow up what they had put into the King's mouth. As to Reform, he would only say that when the new measure of Reform came before them, he would pronounce upon it, but not till then. Every body must wish to see that question satisfactorily settled; and he fully concurred in the sentiment, that upon the speedy and satisfactory settlement of it, the quiet of the country, and the security of the State, depended. He, therefore, would consider it with a view to the feelings of the people—with a view to that spread of education and knowledge, which had rendered them both more alive to political matters, and more competent to understand them; but he would so consider it always subject to the principles of the Constitution.

Earl *Grey* would trouble their Lordships but with a very few words. He perfectly concurred with the noble Earl (Harrowby) in the recommendation which that noble Earl had made, respecting the tone and temper which ought to mark their proceedings; and if he had required, which he did not, any proof that the noble Earl would not allow himself to be swayed by party feelings, the speech and conduct of the noble Earl that night would have furnished that proof. The noble Earl had stated that there was nothing he desired to add to the Speech—nothing he desired to take away from it; and the noble Earl cordially agreed to the Address, after it had received an alteration, which was merely of a verbal nature. He confessed, that he felt much gratification—gratification the greater, perhaps, because unexpected—on the unanimity with which their Lordships were disposed to vote the Address. The alteration suggested by the noble Earl in the Address was doubtless an improvement, and the Address should have been so worded at first, for it was certainly never intended to pledge their Lordships to an opinion upon a treaty which had not yet come regularly before them. He should wish, therefore, that the alteration should be adopted in the construction of the Address, and not be moved as an amendment, in order that the Address might pass their Lordships unanimously. He concurred, also, with the noble Earl, that this was not the time for discussing the merits of a measure which was not yet before their Lordships, and still less the time for discussing the fate or the character of the measure which had gone by. That course had been called disorderly and irregular. He admitted that it was not convenient, but he must beg to deny that it was either irregular or disorderly. He freely admitted, however, that they were not now in a condition to examine into what ought to be the particular character of the measure about to be introduced, and he would, therefore, say no more about it, except that it was essential that it should be founded upon the same principles, and be equally as efficient as the last. He trusted, that every body would come to the consideration of it with a sincere desire to form a just opinion, not only of the character of the measure, but of what expediency called for; and that, unfettered by what had passed, every noble

Lord would approach the discussion of it firmly determined to deal with it in the way in which, all circumstances considered, he conscientiously believed would be most advantageous to the interests of the State, and most likely to lead to the permanent contentment and welfare of the nation. Having said thus much, he would not go further into that topic at present. He had no desire to detain their Lordships, but he felt it his duty to protest against the hasty conclusions to which a noble Earl (Aberdeen) opposite had given utterance. The noble Earl having expressed himself satisfied with the Address, and said, that he concurred in it, he must say he wished the noble Earl had abstained—not from arguing, for he could not call it arguing, but—from making assertions which it was difficult for him then not to repel as they deserved to be repelled. He would not, however, be betrayed into a premature discussion of the important topics to which the noble Earl had alluded, but he must protest against the noble Earl's unwarrantable conclusions. The noble Earl could not see how the king of the Netherlands could agree to the treaty; but he (Earl Grey) could see, in the situation of his Majesty, and in the general interests of Europe, many reasons which might induce the king of the Netherlands to come to such an agreement. Whatever suspicions the noble Earl might entertain of the Ministers, he begged to tell that noble Earl, that there were in the Conference none more desirous than the Ministers of England were to give Holland, our old ally, a safe frontier, and to put her in possession of all the advantages that would tend to make her a prosperous and flourishing country. With respect to that article of the treaty relating to the navigation of the canals, the noble Earl had told them, that proposition had inflamed all the people of Holland, who made common cause with their King in opposition to this particular part of the treaty. The noble Earl, in what he had said upon this subject, had, of course, demonstrated great anxiety not to add to that inflammation, as the noble Earl, in what he had said upon other topics, had evinced a strong desire to preserve the peace of Europe. Important, however, as the influence of the noble Earl and his opinions might be, he did not think the noble Earl any more likely to persuade the king of Holland, that he had a very large party in this country who would support him in resisting the treaty, than he thought the noble Earl likely to disturb the peace of Europe. He did at the same time hope, that the noble Earl, however ill-formed his opinions might be, would abstain from the expression of them, until the whole extent of the transactions was before their Lordships, for, until these were perfectly examined and understood, the noble Earl could not be answered. The noble Earl would find, that if this stipulation respecting the navigation of the canals were an advantage to Belgium, it was an advantage which Belgium had purchased by yielding many advantages to Holland. The noble Earl had said, that the king of the Netherlands was reduced to narrow limits, and had been deprived of his provinces; but had the present Ministers done this? Was it not done before they came into office? and had not the noble Duke, who was at the head of the late Administration, openly declared that the two countries were so separated, that he looked upon the re-union of them as impossible? Under these circumstances, then, what better course could have been pursued than for the five Powers to take the settlement of the matter into their own hands, and make Belgium an independent country? This was all he then had to say with reference to the assertions, for they were nothing more than mere assertions of the noble Earl. He would await the opportunity promised them by the noble Earl of entering fully into the subject. The noble Earl would find him neither unwilling nor unprepared to discuss the policy pursued by Ministers, not only with respect to the affairs of Belgium, but with respect to other foreign countries, and he persuaded himself, he should not experience a very difficult task, in showing, that the noble Earl's insinuations were wholly unwarranted, and that the policy pursued was that most conducive to the peace of Europe, and, through it, to the permanent welfare of England. But the noble Earl did not confine his innuendoes and *quasi* declarations solely to the conduct of the Administration which had succeeded that of which the noble Earl had been a member, as it bore upon the affairs of Belgium; he extended his fostering and enlightened, and, no doubt, disinterested care to Portugal; and, though the noble Earl admitted the present was not the proper time to enter into an investigation of our policy, in reference to the existing government of that country, yet the noble Earl had taken the opportunity to make strong assertions, without supporting them by a shadow of argument. He had arraigned the present Government for not having acknowledged the sovereignty of Don Miguel. Now this was really a singular charge from the noble Earl. Did the noble Earl forget, or could their Lordships forget, that the Administration, of which the noble Earl was a member (no doubt a very important one), long since proposed to themselves to recognize Don Miguel on one condition (in his, Earl Grey's, mind a most unsatisfactory one), and that they did not carry their intentions into effect, because Don Miguel had not fulfilled the proposed condition? The Government, of which the noble Earl was a member, could not then, anxious as they were, recognize Don Miguel, because he had not fulfilled the condition of his recognition, as proposed by themselves; and yet he blamed the present Administration for not having recognized that individual's sovereignty, though that very condition was, as the noble Earl knew, as yet unfulfilled. But, asks the noble Earl in a tone of triumph, "Were not their Lordships told on a former occasion, that injuries had been inflicted upon the property and persons of British subjects in Portugal, and Ministers took credit to themselves for having obtained speedy redress for those injuries." Certainly that redress had been obtained, and the fleet had been consequently withdrawn. But the noble Earl went on to assert, *more suo*, that had Don Miguel's sovereignty been previously acknowledged, these injuries would not have been repeated. What were the facts of the case? Simply that the British residents in Portugal felt themselves so harassed by Don Miguel's officers, both in their persons and property, that they addressed the Government here, in the most urgent tone, for protection, and that, in compliance with their emphatic declaration, redress was peremptorily demanded from the Portuguese authorities, it being besides found necessary to send out several ships of war to the Tagus, in order to ensure the redress, and prevent a recurrence of the injuries. From that time to the present—such was the disposition of the government, of which the noble Earl was just now so much enamoured, towards the British residents in Portugal, that it was found necessary to continue a naval force in the Tagus for the protection of our fellow-subjects. But on this point he would not then say more. When the subject properly came under their Lordships' consideration, a detailed statement of grievances endured by British residents in Portugal—and that, too, let it be understood, not at the hands of unofficial persons, in a moment of temporary excitement, for which the Portuguese government could not in fairness be accountable, but perpetrated under the very eye of Don Miguel's authorities, and by persons for whose conduct his government was in fairness responsible; grievances for which it would be found, that not even the strong language of the noble Earl himself against Don Miguel, on a former occasion, would be sufficiently expressive on the score of just denunciation: yes, he repeated, these grievances and injuries, he would undertake to show, on a future occasion, were committed on British subjects in Portugal, under the very eye of Don Miguel's government, and by persons for whom that government were justly responsible. This was all he would then say on this subject; on the occasion promised them by the noble Earl, he would enter fully into the discussion of it, in all its bearings, and hoped to convince their Lordships, that the passage in his Majesty's Speech which referred to our relations with Portugal, and which had given rise to the noble Earl's animadversions, was not framed without a due regard to the honour and interests of the country. He begged now to make a few remarks to their Lordships, with respect to what had just fallen from the noble Duke (the Duke of Buckingham) opposite. That noble Duke told their Lordships, in the same breath, that the riots of Bristol, and the proceedings of the Birmingham Union, must be forthwith inquired into: and he added, the Birmingham Union, and all other such Political Unions, must be put down. Now, he (Earl Grey) hoped to be able to show, that Ministers had not neglected their duty with respect to the riots at Bristol, and such political combinations as were incompatible with a regular government, and were contrary to the law of the land, and, to use the words of the King's Speech, "the authority of the laws must be vindicated, by the punishment of offences, which have produced so extensive a destruction of life and property" as those which have recently occurred at Bristol. But while he stated this, their Lordships need not be told, that this was not the first time they had heard of political unions, nor need they be told, that such combinations were not so easily "put down" as the noble Duke's declaration would imply. The fact was, such unions had existed, in one form or another, at every period of the modern history of this country. There were many such, and that, too, of a far more formidable character than any now in existence, particularly at the close of the American war, and at the outset of the French Revolution, which it was found the executive government did not possess sufficient authority to "put down," and which the Legislature found could not be suppressed without infringing on the rights and constitutional liberties of the subject. To such a proceeding he need not say the present Ministry would be slow in having recourse; it would be far from their inclination to prevent his Majesty's subjects from fully and freely expressing their grievances, in the most emphatic manner they thought proper. It should be borne in mind, when they were discussing the propriety of suppressing illegal combinations, that the existence of political unions was by no means imputable to the present Government. As his noble friend (the Earl of Camperdown) had observed, the most formidable and influential of these unions, the Birmingham Union, was in active being before the present Ministers acceded to office. If, therefore, it was a crime in the present Government, not "to put the Birmingham Union down," what should be said to the Administration which permitted it to grow up? But enough on this head for the present. Before he sat down, he begged leave to say one word with reference to what had fallen from a noble and learned Earl (the Earl of Eldon), for whom he felt the most unfeigned respect. That noble and learned Lord had complained, that what he designated to be audacious libels, should have been permitted to pass unnoticed by the law officers of the Crown. Now he put it to the noble Earl, and to their Lordships, whether other considerations than the mere fact of being contrary to law, did not enter into the question, whether a particular publication should or should not be prosecuted. It might be that every word in that publication was written in a bad spirit—that it was a tissue of falsehoods—nay, that it was an atrocious libel; but still it was to be considered, whether prosecutions would be the most efficient antidote—whether, for instance, it would be wise to bring a matter before a jury which, if unsuccessful in obtaining a verdict, would only aggravate the mischief, and, in fact, create one where it did not exist. These considerations were not new to their Lordships, and had much influenced Ministers, with respect to publications of a calumnious tendency. With respect to the particular publication to which the noble and learned Earl had alluded, *The Black List*, all he could say was, that he (Earl Grey) never saw more of it than appeared in extracts in some of the newspapers, and even in these extracts, he had not had the curiosity to read more than related to himself. That portion which related to himself quite satisfied him as to the character of the rest; for assertions so extravagantly absurd, so wholly unfounded, it had never been his fortune to meet in any publication, and they were, if possible, more groundless than those which the noble Earl had cited with respect to himself. But he never dreamt of prosecuting the silly ignorant writer. He felt, as he was sure their Lordships also felt, that the antidote was contained in the extravagant absurdity of the declaration, and that no intelligent or honest man in the community could be influenced by such stupid slander. Such was his feeling on this head, and he trusted it would be that also of the noble and learned Earl. He would not detain their Lordships further, but conclude by expressing his great gratification, at the unanimity of approval, which pervaded all parts of the House with respect to his Majesty's Speech, and the Address in answer to it.

The Duke of *Buckingham* observed, that in the last *Gazette*, he had seen, that a Commission had been appointed to proceed and try offences at Bristol connected with the late riots. He wished to know whether a similar Commission was to be sent to Nottingham?

Earl *Grey* said, there was no such intention.

The Motion for the Address agreed to *nemine contradicente*, and a Committee appointed to prepare it.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, December 6, 1831.

MINUTES.] At about half-past two o'clock the House was summoned to attend the House of Lords, for the purpose of hearing his Majesty's Speech on the Opening of the present Session. The Speaker, accompanied by about 100 Members, proceeded to the House of Peers, and on his return, the House adjourned until four o'clock, when business commenced.

Bill. The Clandestine Outlawry Bill was Read a first time, agreeable to the usual custom to do whatever business the Commons please before the King's Speech is taken into consideration.

New Writ ordered for the Borough of Reigate, in the Room of Captain CHARLES PHILIP YORKE, who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

REFORM.] Mr. *Croker* wished the noble Lord (Lord John Russell) would inform him, whether there was any intention to lay additional information before the House on the subject of the Reform Bill?

Lord *John Russell* said, there was no such intention.

Address in Answer to the King's Speech.] The Speaker read to the House a copy of the King's Speech, for which see the report of the proceedings in the House of Lords.

Lord *Cavendish* presented himself to the House, and said, he rose for the purpose of proposing an Address in answer to his Majesty's most gracious Speech: and he begged to be permitted, in the first place, to remark, that never was any Speech, in his opinion, more worthy of the attention of the Legislature and the country. Before he proceeded, however, with the observations which he had to offer to the consideration of the House, he could not forbear from expressing his entire approbation of the course adopted by his Majesty's Ministers in assembling Parliament at this early period, however much it might interfere with the personal convenience of hon. Members. To him it appeared, that the state of the country was such as not only completely justified his Majesty's Ministers, but bore out to the very fullest extent the course they had pursued. So much anxiety had been produced in the public mind by the circumstances under which the last Session terminated, that if ever there was a period in which it was highly desirable that Parliament should re-assemble without delay, and when the eyes of all the country were fixed upon its deliberations, he felt assured it was the present. The first, and by far the most important point to which he should allude, in looking at the Speech from the Throne, was that which regarded the question of Reform. To that question his Majesty called the attention of Parliament expressly and energetically. He rejoiced to find, that his Majesty had spoken plainly and explicitly upon it, and he also rejoiced to find, that his Majesty's Ministers were determined to bring forward the measure without delay. In all he had seen within the last six weeks, in all the events which had recently come under his observation, there was nothing whatever to remove the impression he had always entertained in favour of immediately attending to the question of Reform. There was much, indeed, to convince him that a safe and speedy adjustment of this question was absolutely necessary. This was not the fitting occasion to go into the general merits of a question which engaged so much public attention, because the notice already given by the noble Lord (Lord John Russell), would shortly introduce it expressly to their consideration; but he felt quite satisfied, that when the measure was brought before them, it would be found to be such as the exigencies of the times required, and would produce satisfaction and contentment to the conutry in general. Other passages in the Royal Speech were so closely connected with this question, that it was quite impossible to refer to them without viewing them in some degree as bearing upon this vital question. With respect to the disgraceful occurrences which had taken place at Bristol, his Majesty, while expressing his regret at such excesses, recommended an improvement of the municipal police as the best means of preventing their recurrence. In looking at these outrages, he thought it quite evident, that they owed their origin to a manifestation of political feeling, which was taken advantage of for purposes of violence and indiscriminate plunder. With respect to the circumstances which gave rise to the appointment of a Commission, all he wished to say was, that he was not disposed to cast censure upon any quarter; but one fact could not be denied—namely, that a small band of rioters was suffered to indulge for a considerable time in outrages of a most aggravated description, and riot in the wanton destruction of property. Upon this part of his Majesty's Speech there could be but one opinion. However individuals might differ with regard to political questions, there could be no difference between them as to the necessity of suppressing violence and outrage. With that part of the Speech in which his Majesty stated his firm determination to suppress all illegal combinations, he begged to state that he most completely concurred in it, and he rejoiced that while his Majesty declared he would never interfere with the legitimate exercise of the right of discussing grievances, he as distinctly declared that it was his intention "to prevent combinations, under whatever pretence, which in their form and character are incompatible with all regular government, and are equally opposed to the spirit and to the provisions of the law." In effecting that object he had no reason to doubt but that his Majesty's Government would meet with the cordial support of all parties. Wherever it had been made apparent to the Political Unions that they had adopted a system which was contrary to law, not only all other Unions, but the Birmingham Union in particular, had evinced, much to their honour, the utmost promptitude to recal what they had done, and in no way whatever to trench upon the boundaries of the law. But setting aside that which was illegal in these Unions, he was aware that there still prevailed a difference of opinion as to the propriety of their existence. He did not mean to say, that if these bodies were permanently assembled, that they could be viewed in any other light than an evil; but he believed that objection did not attach to them, and that they existed only as connected with the circumstances to which they owed their origin. But when it was recollected that they arose from the unsettled state of the most vital question that was ever agitated in this country, and that the object which they had in view was that which had been sanctioned by a large portion of the Legislature, he thought, that the course recommended in the Speech from the Throne was the only one that could be adopted with safety. His Majesty stated, that it was not his intention to interfere with the legitimate rights of his people in making known their grievances, but that he was determined to prevent all illegal combinations. Now, whatever might be the opinions entertained on the subject of Reform, he would, at least, say, as a proof of the utility of the House re-assembling thus early, that the best way to make these combinations useless was, to redress the grievances which it was their object to remedy. The Speech did not deny the fact that considerable distress existed in the country. It was beyond his power to enter into a discussion of all the causes which were supposed to have given rise to that distress; but, whatever might have been its source, he was convinced that it must have been greatly aggravated by the uncertainty which prevailed on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. While he was on this point, he would not conceal his belief, that considerable distress must have been produced by the operation of those rules of quarantine which foreign countries had thought it necessary to enforce against us. Those rules must form an important consideration in their plans for arresting the progress of that disease which, no doubt, had now unhappily found its way to this country. In respect to that disease, it was gratifying to know, that its mortality here had been less formidable than might have been anticipated; but as the extent to which it might proceed appeared most uncertain, even in the minds of those best acquainted with its nature, it would be unpardonable in them to shut their eyes to the fact, that other consequences besides those of its direct ravages must flow from its presence in this country. In reference to Ireland, the Speech contained what he must consider a most important recommendation. His Majesty recommended Parliament to take into its consideration at the earliest opportunity, the state of the tithe laws in that unfortunate country. If it should be said, that the law, as it existed, compelled the payment of tithes, and that it was the duty of the Government to enforce that law without regard to the question whether it was practicable or not, he must observe, that those who would advise that course would be advising that which would be most injurious to the Established Church; and he was of opinion, that all honourable men who were willing to make sacrifices for the sake of the public peace, would be the last who would throw any obstacle in the way of the furtherance of the design now recommended to them. Circumstances had occurred in Ireland sufficient to convince him, that the system which had long existed there could no longer be persevered in; and, therefore, whenever the measure recommended in the King's Speech should be brought forward, he should feel it his duty, on every consideration, to offer it his most cordial support. He had always believed, that the only solid foundation of the Established Church must be laid in the affections of the people, and all systems which went to alienate those affections were injurious rather than beneficial to the Establishment. He had now done with the principal topic of the Speech—that which related to our domestic condition; and it would be absurd to deny, that there were many difficulties in the way of their obtaining what they contended for; but he believed, that by following up the measure which his Majesty had recommended to their early consideration, they would have the best means of safely conducting the country through the present crisis. He now begged leave to refer to our foreign relations, and it was with no slight degree of satisfaction that he had observed the manner in which his Majesty spoke of the continued assurances of friendship, which induced him to look forward with confidence to the preservation of peace. The only circumstance which seemed at all calculated to create a doubt upon that subject was the delay manifested by the king of Holland in assenting to the

Treaty which had been agreed to by the five Powers, and which had been accepted by the Belgians; but he believed, that when the king of Holland came calmly to view those considerations which must have determined the five Powers in forming their decision—a decision which he could have no reason to suppose had been influenced by any bias hostile to his interests, but had been dictated by a most impartial anxiety for the interests of all parties—he would see reason to adopt it; and he (Lord Cavendish) trusted the king of Holland would not long delay his sanction to the Treaty. He could not refer without regret to that part of the Speech which related to the affairs of Portugal. He was sorry to observe, that there was no hope of the immediate settlement of those affairs. Don Miguel appeared determined so far as he was concerned, never to do any thing that would render it consistent with the honour of this country to recognise him as one of the Sovereigns with whom it was possible to maintain a friendly intercourse; but the affairs of that country were in such a position, that it would be most unseemly and preposterous in him to hazard any conjecture as to their final arrangement. He could not conclude without referring with great satisfaction to that part of the Speech in which his Majesty informed them that he had entered into a Convention with the king of the French for the complete abolition of the Slave Trade. Whatever might be the difference of opinion as to the other portions of the Speech, that portion, he felt assured, must meet with universal approbation. He was convinced that the success which had attended his Majesty's Ministers in their attempt to put a stop to that infamous traffic, would be sincerely approved of by all honourable men. He would now beg leave to move that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, in answer to his Majesty's most gracious Speech. The noble Lord then read the Address.

Sir *Francis Vincent* said, that in rising to second the Address, he felt how much he required the indulgence of the House. He always stood in need of this favour, but never more so than in rising to second a Motion for an Address to the Throne. The embarrassment which he naturally felt in discharging such a duty, however, he admitted was considerably diminished by the manly and straightforward character of the speech which they had that day the satisfaction of hearing delivered from the Throne. He was sure the people would learn with unqualified satisfaction that his Majesty still continued to give his sanction to those great measures of Parliamentary Reform which were discussed during the last Session of Parliament, and the speedy and satisfactory settlement of which his Majesty now declared was essential to the prosperity of the country. The people would learn, from his Majesty's Speech, to continue their confidence in the perseverance and ability of his Majesty's Ministers, and in their anxious desire to carry into effect the great measure, of which that House in the last Session of Parliament, expressed its decided approbation. The people too, must feel, that in his Majesty's Speech there had been no vain endeavour to keep out of view the present difficulties in which the country was placed; but that there was a firm determination on the part of the King and his Ministers to grapple with those difficulties until they should be overcome. The Speech pronounced by his Majesty, considered in every point of view, was just such a Speech as a free people had a right to expect from their Monarch, and it was calculated, in an eminent degree, to preserve and ensure the confidence and affection of the people. The first topic adverted to in his Majesty's Speech, was that of Reform; and he was sure, that every Member in that House, whatever opinions he might entertain on particular measures of Reform, must cordially concur in the desire expressed by his Majesty for the speedy and satisfactory settlement of the question. That great and very general distress existed throughout the country—that great embarrassment was felt by those concerned in trade, and that there was a want of confidence amongst commercial men, unfortunately could not be denied: and that this unfortunate state of affairs was aggravated, in a great degree, by the suspense and anxiety felt by the public mind for the last twelve months on the subject of Reform, he entertained no doubt. He could not refrain, therefore, from expressing his anxious hope, that when that subject was again brought before Parliament, all parties, laying aside narrow views and party prejudices, would combine in promoting the speedy and satisfactory adjustment of this most important question, which he hoped would restore peace and tranquillity to the country. The present, he was well aware, was not the proper occasion to enlarge upon this topic, and therefore he should content himself with referring to what had occurred during the Recess. He would, however, take the opportunity of observing, that there were no symptoms of that re-action in the public mind] which some hon. Gentlemen had confidently predicted previous to the prorogation. At the only county election which had taken place since that event, Cambridge, the Reform candidate had been returned by an overwhelming majority. At every public meeting which had been convened on this subject (with the single exception, he believed, of a meeting in Edinburgh) resolutions were unanimously passed in favour of Reform. To be satisfied as to the unanimous wishes of the great body of the people on this subject, it was not necessary that he should rely solely on the unanimity displayed at those public meetings convened by the friends of Reform. Stronger evidence was to be found in the fact, that in no instance had those who were adverse to Reform convened any public meetings. He would go further, and observe, that those who were hostile to Reform did not deem it advisable to attend any public meetings at which the question came under discussion. They all recollected that when Toryism was in the zenith of its power, its professors lost no opportunity of obtaining the approbation of public meetings for the measures they supported; and if they abstained altogether from doing so on the present occasion, it was pretty clear, not only that the people were opposed to them on this subject, but that the hon. Gentlemen opposite were tolerably well convinced as to that fact. He regretted, however, to be obliged to observe, that since Parliament had been prorogued, an additional cause of uneasiness had arisen—the Cholera—one of the most fatal scourges which afflicted humanity had found its way into this country. It was some consolation, however, to reflect, that the disease in this country had not assumed that fatal and malignant character which it bore elsewhere. His Majesty's Government, too, had taken every step which prudence could suggest to arrest its progress, and mitigate its evils. The insidiousness of its approach, and the rapidity of its fatal action on human life, appeared to have impressed all classes with a salutary terror on the subject, and had convinced them of the necessity of attending to the precautionary measures promulgated by Government for its prevention, and by persevering in the adoption of those measures, he had little doubt of the speedy extinction of this formidable disease. The House had long been aware of the great difficulty which existed in Ireland in the collection of tithes. Property of that description, no doubt, was under the protection of the law, like other property, but it was not sufficient that the payment of tithes might legally be enforced; it was important, that the payment should be enforced in a mode the least objectionable, at the same time that it should always be kept in view, that one of the great objects of social order was the security of property. With respect to the foreign relations of the country, it was gratifying to learn, that no reasonable apprehension existed that the peace which the country now enjoyed, was likely to be broken. Considering the convulsions which agitated other countries, and the jarring interests which this country had been called upon to mediate between, no small credit was due to his Majesty's Ministers for having maintained the dignity of this country, and its present position, without coming into hostile collision with other governments. The individual who was at present at the head of the government of Portugal, had endeavoured to put off the settlement of our political relations with that country—a circumstance which could excite surprise in no one who had considered his position and conduct. Whatever steps might be taken by his Majesty's Government to procure redress for the injuries to which British subjects had been exposed from the conduct of the Portuguese government, he was satisfied they would be taken in the same spirit of moderation as had hitherto characterized all their proceedings: and if Don Miguel persevered in the course he had hitherto adopted, be the consequences what they might, he would have nothing to thank but his own obstinacy. It was to be regretted that a people who were the ancient allies of this country, should be kept so long in suspense by the dissensions which unhappily had arisen amongst the members of the House of Braganza for three years past. It was impossible not to perceive, that Don Miguel had hitherto failed in giving security to the Sovereigns of Europe for his future good conduct. A most honourable and enlightened part of the nation which he ruled, seemed dissatisfied with his government; and the imprisonments and executions which daily took place, plainly demonstrated that a vicious system prevailed in Portugal, which every one in this country must wish should speedily terminate. His Majesty's Speech contained the gratifying intimation, that the king of Belgium had acceded to the proposition decided upon by the five Powers; and when the king of Holland should see, that the proposal was in accordance with the wishes of the principal

Powers in Europe, it was to be hoped that he would no longer refuse his assent to the arrangement. With regard to the Convention entered into with the king of the French, it was a subject on which he might confidently congratulate the House. It was the only step which could have ensured the suppression of the slave-trade: and great honour was due to his Majesty's Government for having so speedily effected a measure which had been for so many years desired by a large majority of the people of this country, and which former Governments had in vain endeavoured to accomplish. The fact of such a Convention having been agreed to, was no less creditable to the government of France than to that of this country. It was highly honourable to a great nation, which had lately vindicated its own freedom, that its government should take an early opportunity of entering into such arrangements as would effectually tend to suppress the infamous traffic in slaves, and thus remove one of the greatest stains on the character of the French nation. The atrocious events which had taken place in Bristol, and the outrages committed in that city, perpetrated by a handful of persons, as it seemed, formed a topic of serious and painful consideration. It was impossible, however, to reflect on what had occurred in that city, without being convinced, that there was some radical defect in the municipal police of the kingdom, and he understood his Majesty's Government contemplated the introduction of some measures for its improvement, which would tend to the prevention in future of the recurrence of such disgraceful scenes. It was far from being his (Sir Francis Vincent's) wish, on the present occasion, to enter into any examination of the circumstances connected with those unfortunate events which occurred in Bristol. He must be allowed, however, to protest against its being supposed that the outrages in that city were in any degree to be imputed to the friends of Reform. In all large communities there were, unfortunately, some individuals ever ready to promote mischief, and to take advantage of every period of excitement, for the purpose of urging on the populace to riot and breaches of the law. The promptitude which his Majesty's Government had evinced on this occasion, by so speedily issuing a Commission to take cognizance of the offences committed by the rioters at Bristol, plainly intimated that it was not only their earnest desire, but also their firm determination, to maintain the public peace, and to vindicate the authority of the laws, by the punishment of all offenders. In the conclusion of his Speech, his Majesty, whilst he declared his anxiety to preserve unimpaired the liberties of the people, and to redress all their grievances, took occasion to allude to the necessity of preventing political combinations contrary to the law. It was quite clear, that freedom might be endangered by licentiousness, and he therefore had heard with great approbation of the proclamation issued by Government to prevent illegal political combinations. Much as he (Sir Francis Vincent) approved of the proclamation, he approved no less of the alacrity with which it had been attended to, and could even congratulate the House on the good spirit evinced by the members of the Birmingham Political Union, who had rescinded the resolutions relative to their organization, before the proclamation came out. He believed, that he stated the sentiment of the whole House, and of the vast majority of the people, when he expressed his gratitude to Ministers for having assembled Parliament at the present moment, a course which he firmly believed would be conducive to the peace and tranquillity of the country.

The Speaker read the Address from the Chair, and put the question that it be agreed to.

Mr. *Croker* rose, as the Speaker was putting the question: I am so reluctant to address the House on the present occasion, that I should gladly give way if any other hon. Gentleman on this side of the House were disposed to make any observations on his Majesty's Speech; but little as I feel myself entitled to take a lead on such an occasion, I cannot permit the Address to pass without some expression of my dissent, and without entering my protest against some of the principles laid down in the Address, or rather, perhaps, to be inferred, from the speeches of those who have preceded me; such a course is absolutely necessary on my part, and I dare say on the part of many others who sit near me. We desire to guard ourselves from the supposition, that because we do not move an amendment, we participate in the views and measures of Government.

The hon. Baronet who last addressed the House, told us, that the Speech from the Throne was manly and straightforward—such as became the constitutional king of a free people. If by the words "manly and straightforward," it be meant, that any clear and distinct views of policy, either foreign or domestic, are promulgated, I will venture to assert, that a less manly and straightforward speech was perhaps never delivered. I am not about to blame the Speech: it has a great deal of moderation, which seems very wisely and properly calculated to prevent division and debate on the first day of a Session; but it is not therefore manly and straightforward. For instance, on the great question of Reform, what does it tell us? Does it give us the slightest information? Does it let us into the secret whether the Bill to be introduced by the noble Lord on Monday next is to be the same as that offered and rejected in the last Session? Are we to have the identical measure which produced so much inflammation—the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill—or are we to have a more moderate and better regulated plan, avoiding admitted anomalies, and making a more limited concession? In this reserve the Speech may be discreet, but is it manly and straightforward? Again I say, that I do not blame Ministers for the general terms in which the King's Speech is couched; but however manly and straightforward it may be in principle, it certainly is not so in expression.

The hon. Baronet echoed one sentiment of the King's Speech, in which, notwithstanding some ambiguity in the terms, I am most ready to agree. Would to God we could hope for "a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the Reform Question!" Would to God we could soon allay the terrific tempest Ministers have raised, and give effect to their romantic and Quixotic wish, that the termination may be at once speedy and satisfactory? I tell Ministers now, as I told them before, that whatever may be their speed, they will never make those measures by which they seek to accomplish their object, satisfactory to any description of persons, except those who may imagine that havoc and ruin are to be their gain. I tell them, that the measure they are about to produce, if it in any degree resemble the Bill of last Session, so far from giving satisfaction, will only be the beginning of still greater trouble. Ministers, and their immediate retainers, may be satisfied, inasmuch as the success of the Bill will continue them in their respective places; but the great body of the nation stands aloof, both from the Ministers and their measure. The country is divided into two great classes, both hostile to the Administration and their Bill. Firstly, the large mass of Reformers, who, for the moment, and only for the moment, are in alliance with Ministers, but who avow that they are so, only because they hope that this lame and insufficient and ill-digested measure must lead to other and more vital alterations. Secondly, that vast proportion of the thinking community, which is unwilling that such a desolating hand should sweep down and level with the ground our most ancient and sacred institutions. I will not hesitate to declare my conviction, that the great proportion of the intelligent classes are in the second division; and that the persons who object to the principles on which the late Bill was founded, constitute a vast and overwhelming majority, and may be almost said to be a universality of the educated people of England. Neither of these two divisions of the people—and these two divisions include nearly the whole people—can be satisfied with the Bill. The Reformers certainly are not. Has there been a single public meeting which has not coupled approbation of that measure with the expression of a wish for a much larger and wider Reform to be obtained hereafter? Have we not been told in distinct words, that this Bill is only a "stepping-stone to something else?" Was it not avowed at one of the most important of those assemblies—important from the numbers and weight of the individuals present—that *this* was not the Reform required? Did they not say, "This is not the Reform we want, but it is the first step to it; accept it, therefore, as the means of obtaining all the rest. If you are foolish enough to quarrel with Ministers in this early stage of the subject, you will defeat the end of ultimate and complete success. Take what you can get now, not only without prejudice to your future claims, but with the great advantage of additional power to enforce them." This, I say, is the language of those who are the most friendly to the Bill out of doors.

The hon. Baronet, with a kind of taunt, asked us why no Tories went to these public meetings to exhibit their hostility? Does he recollect what occurred at Bristol? I do not accuse the people of England of participating in the spirit which led to the riots there; but when the constitution of society in this country is in such a state, that a Judge, acting with every magisterial precaution, and under the sanction of his Majesty's Government, cannot enter the third city of the empire, to execute his judicial duties, without endangering his life, and being moreover censured for the obstinacy and temerity with which he proceeded, will the hon. Baronet venture to blame the Tories for not attending meetings, where they could not have a hope of being heard? Had the Tories shown themselves at such meetings, would they not have been accused, as his hon. and learned friend (Sir C. Wetherell) had been, of unnecessarily exciting inflammation in the public mind, and would not the blame have been instantly shifted from the shoulders of the malefactors to those of the injured party? If the hon. Baronet will procure for us all we want—a clear stage and a fair hearing—I, for one, am ready to meet the hon. Baronet and his friends in any of those ordeals, and to give to any assembly, as I have, perhaps too often done in this, reasons for the faith that is in me. But, with one breath, he tells us that a handful of men were able to destroy one of the principal cities of the empire, because a single Tory made his appearance there, and in the next, he challenges us to attend public meetings of Reformers, and asserts, because we do not attend, that we are ashamed or afraid to face a state of public feeling, which is so irresistibly against us.

The next topic of this manly and straightforward Speech is, the prevalence of Political Unions; and, although the way in which they are mentioned seems any thing but straightforward and manly, I am willing to admit, that there are expressions, especially towards the latter end of it, which have my entire and cordial approbation. I agree with Ministers that there can be—or, at least, ought to be—but one Government in the country. There ought not to be one Government in Downing-street, another in the Strand, a third at Birmingham, a fourth at Manchester, and a fifth at Bristol. The painful experience of the last few months has shown us, that such a state of things must end in the ruin of any country that tolerates it—it must end in the ruin of any imbecile and popularity-hunting Cabinet that submits to it. Although I entirely approve of the meeting of Parliament on this day; although the state of the world, and of England in particular, considering that state positively, relatively, officially, commercially, and, above all, politically, requires that the King should be aided by the wisdom of the great council of the nation, yet I believe that we are not indebted for it to the sagacity, to the firmness, or even to the terrors of the Ministers. No; their masters told them that they must meet in the first week in December. They issued that decree before the cholera made its appearance — before the Political Unions had attempted organization—before Bristol had been burnt—before the whole frame of society was in a state, if not of dissolution, of precariousness—it was announced, previous to our late prorogation, by the great leaders of the public Press, and by the leaders of the Political Unions, that Parliament would meet—I really do not know whether the phrase was not that it *should* meet—in the first week in December, and in the first week in December we have accordingly met! The pleasure I have derived from some constitutional expressions in the Speech against these Unions, is, I must say, exceedingly diminished, when we have this substantial proof that the Ministry is itself subservient to these identical Associations, and to the very influence which they profess to be so anxious, and are, in truth, so powerless, to put down. I hope that it will not be necessary to resort to any extraordinary measures. I hope that timely suggestions upon the subject were directed to other places as well as to Birmingham, and that the example will be followed.

I must now turn to the observations of the noble Lord (Lord Cavendish), who has appeared to-night, I believe, for the first time, as a debater among us. I hope he will in future have frequent opportunities of displaying his parliamentary talents, and illustrating the great name he inherits, but I cannot concur with him in the comment he has read on one part of the Royal Speech. He tells us, that the mode Ministers intend to adopt of putting down these Unions is concession, and not resistance; that is, they mean to place the law under the feet of these Unions, and to grant all their demands. This, Sir, I take to be the most dangerous, and, indeed, fatal policy that any Government can adopt. If grievances exist, let them be redressed, but first let them be rationally examined, and satisfactorily proved. Let us not submit blindly to concede whatever is asked—to abandon whatever is attacked, and for no other reason than because it is attacked. I, on the contrary, should say, first suppress these Unions; first carry the law into effect, and do not grant to force what you would refuse to reason. I am filled with alarm when I see in this perilous principle, the abandonment of that firmness and consistency which —and not timid concession to unreasonable demands—ought to be the character of Ministers, and this commentary comes to my mind, with a peculiarly alarming force, in connection with the next topic in the Speech—Tithes in Ireland.

Ministers tell us, that there has been a general and systematic resistance to the payment of tithes in that country. This is the first time I have heard of it. I knew, indeed, that there were local objections and disturbances, and that two persons in a respectable class of life were convicted of a conspiracy, to excite the deluded peasantry against the payment of tithes. But their punishment was remitted by the Irish government, and I had hoped from this circumstance that the resistance was local, and likely to be temporary, and, in that case, I was inclined to approve of such a lenient course, as the most likely to assuage the discontent. If, on the other hand, it make a part of a general and formidable combination to resist the payment of tithes, or, in other words, to shake, by a systematic attack on the property of the Church, the foundation of property in general, I should have thought a different course advisable. I understand, that the noble Lord would apply to resistance to tithes the same argument that he applies to the Unions—"Put an end (says he) to Unions by conceding all their claims." In the same way he means, I presume, to say, "Put an end to the disputes regarding tithes, by abolishing them." Certainly, Sir, this seems a short and efficacious rule for satisfying claimants, whether reasonable or unreasonable. Destroy hereditary rights, and equalize property, and the two great points required by the Reformers will be gained at once. It is complained that the payment of tithes is resisted, and what is the suggested remedy? Not to enforce the law because it is just and necessary, but to change it because it is unpalatable. But I will venture to tell the noble Lord, that it is not this or that small concession which will allay these disturbances. In Reform as well as in Tithes, it is a question of *principle* that is involved—no modification of the law will satisfy the opponents of existing institutions. If the Tithe Composition Act, which was lately introduced into Ireland, and which does so much credit to the Administration of my right hon. friend (Mr. Goulburn), is not sufficient to remove the local grievances which exist, I do fear they can never be suppressed, and that the right hon. Gentleman, now Secretary for that country, will never be able to satisfy the discontented, without an entire destruction of the system. To such a course I will never be a party. If there be hidden in the Speech any such design—I do not suspect it, above all, from the right hon. Secretary for Ireland, whose sentiments do him so much honour, and afford so much hope to Ireland—but if such a purpose do lurk under the fair-seeming words, of destroying tithes, and of thereby shaking the tenure of all property, I shall be most vehemently and determinately opposed to it, not merely for the sake of the Church, but because I shall consider it like an assault upon the weakest part of a citadel, in order that the besiegers may incontinently become masters of the whole. Not only the property of the Church is aimed at, but all property that has belonged to the Church—not merely tithes, but Woburn Abbey. I allude to it only as an illustration; for if the noble possessor had sat on this side of the House, I should have equally instanced Woburn Abbey, as a possession already quoted as an example in a similar case, by the warning voice of Burke—I say, then, that not only the tithes of the parish, but the Abbey of Woburn itself, must be sacrificed, and with it, in sure and rapid succession of confiscation, all the property in the empire. This principle is, indeed, openly avowed in some of the Unions. They are so good as to say that all property arising from "honest industry" ought to be respected, and no other. So that property which has not been derived, or created by what they may understand as "industry," and by what they may call "honest," has no chance of surviving. Against such a principle I enter my determined protest; and this I feel the more bound to do, because the noble Lord who opened the debate tells us, that it is the principle of the Government not to resist, but to tranquillize by concession, that is, to concede all that shall be demanded.

The noble Lord told us, that the existing state of the Church in Ireland is exceedingly bad, which was proved, he says, by the fact that the clergy could not obtain their rights without going to law, and that that a system must be bad which required the aid of the strong arm of the law. Is the noble Lord not aware that such is the case with all fiscal regulations? I should like to know who ever voluntarily paid any thing? Could the noble Lord get his rents paid without the intimidation of the process of the law, or without, when the case required it, the process itself? If so, I should be glad to know in what happy part of the kingdom he resides. Nothing is ever or any where paid but either by the force or the fear of the law. I therefore cannot see how this argument of the noble Lord's can be made to apply to the property of the Church, in any manner that it does not apply with equal force to every other description of property. But the noble Lord has appealed to the clergy, and has expressed a hope that the ministers of religion would be the last to object to some new regulations on this subject—in other words, that they should adopt the lenitive principle of the noble Lord, and conciliate by giving up their property. We are to satisfy Reformers and Political Unions by giving up the Constitution, and the clergy are called upon to prove their moderation and charity, by giving up their means of existence. Will the object then be accomplished? No, not quite. It is a thirst that increases by drinking—"increase of appetite doth grow by what it feeds on." The more you give, the more you will be required to give. Once yield to the demands of the plunderer, and you can never yield enough. I will tell the noble Lord, from experience somewhat longer than his own, that whatever concession it may be necessary to make should be distinguished as much as possible from submission to terror. So far from thinking with him that it ought to be done because it is demanded, I say that it ought not to be done if to do it be to yield to intimidation.

Upon the next topic of the Speech I can speak with more satisfaction—I mean the Convention with France for the suppression of the Slave Trade. On a former occasion I said, that the only remedy for the extinction of that traffic was the concession of the mutual right of search; but it must not be granted by one nation only. If the Convention with France stands alone, it will be insufficient. The flag of France will not be used, but that of some other nation which may not have consented to the arrangement; the same persons who have pursued this iniquitous traffic under the French flag, have, even at the same time, carried it on under the false cover of the flag of the United States of America; and to effectually suppress it, we must have a mutual right of search with that, and every other Maritime Power, or very little progress will be made; and the trade in human flesh alive will be continued, and even aggravated, by abuses, almost as detestable as the trade in human murder which has recently disgraced our metropolis; in both cases, the imperfection of the preventive laws drive the perpetrators to extremities which else would not have been thought of.

I have made these several observations rather for the purpose of guarding myself from being suspected of concurring in what fell from the noble Lord and the hon. Gentlemen opposite, than with a view to raise any opposition to the Address in answer to the Speech of his Majesty: nor should I be willing to do any thing which might appear to be wanting in respect to the Crown, on the solemn occasion of his Majesty's personal appearance in his Parliament, unless I were called upon to do so by my own honour and consistency, or by some motive urgently important to the interests of the country at large.

Mr. *Stanley:* As the right hon. Gentleman does not intend to propose an amendment to the Address which has been moved by the noble Lord near me, in reply to his Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne—although I do not agree with him, that every part of that Speech is not perfectly frank and explicit, and although I think it would be impossible for the right hon. Gentleman to move any Amendment to the Address, in which, either in this House, or in the other House of Parliament, a majority would be induced to concur,—I shall not follow him through all his observations, but shall confine myself to his remarks upon the passage of his Majesty's Speech in which allusion is made to that part of the United Kingdom with the Government of which I am connected. To those remarks I may the rather be expected to reply, inasmuch as the right hon. Gentleman has alluded to my private opinions. I trust, Sir, that the hon. Gentleman does not suppose, that my public conduct is at variance with my private opinions. When the right hon. Gentleman does me the honour to allude in the terms in which he has alluded, to my opinions respecting the church of Ireland, I can assure him, Sir, that I have no opinions on that subject which I should be unwilling publicly to avow. The right hon. Gentleman and the House may rest assured that, respecting that passage of his Majesty's Speech, there is not one member of his Majesty's Government between whom and myself there is the slightest difference of opinion. In the right hon. Gentleman's observations on the speech of the hon. Gentleman behind me, who seconded the Address, I cannot think that he has fairly expressed himself, when he did not mark the distinction between the demands of an illegal combination, or the clamours of a mob, and the opinions of the people, fully and fairly expressed. The right hon. Gentleman said, that my hon.

friend recommended concessions to be made to unjust and groundless clamours, which would only be renewed and aggravated by every fresh concession. But if I understood my hon. friend, what he said was, that the Government should put down all illegal unions by the laws, but that there were unions and associations whose views and conduct were not illegal, which kept within the spirit of the Constitution and the intentions of the laws, and which made none but just demands, and that the only mode of dissolving such associations was, by the removal of the grievances which have given rise to them. The Government will concede to no clamours that are unjust, and they will use the powers of the law to put down any association that may be inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution; and if the powers which the laws at present give them be insufficient for that purpose, they will call for further powers. But I do not think that, by resistance to just and equitable claims, you can extinguish the voice of the people. The right hon. Gentleman indeed says, that the moment the people pass the line of just and reasonable demand, that moment we should refuse to concede anything; we should steel ourselves against all applications, and should tell the people, that none of their demands ought to be conceded, because some of them were unjust; we should make no concession, lest it should be supposed that we had conceded every thing to fear. What, Sir, shall I answer to such an argument? What shall I say more than this —take care that you concede in time? Seasonable concession is the only means by which you can either put down just or prevent unjust demands. The right hon. Gentleman tells us, that the resistance to the payment of tithes is the commencement of a systematic attack on property of all kinds, and that his Majesty's Ministers are yielding to that attack. But where can such a sentiment be found? not certainly in any passage of his Majesty's Speech, if fairly interpreted. That Speech, after stating the fact that such a resistance is made, proceeds to recommend to this and to the other House of Parliament to take into their earliest consideration the state of the law on this and the other subjects previously referred to Parliament, in order to ascertain whether it is not possible to make some legislative enactment, by which the removal of the grievances complained of may be rendered consistent with the preservation of our institutions. Was it not the duty of his Majesty's Government, in the first instance, to suppress illegal combinations, and in the next, to look for the means of removing real grievances? Will any man tell me, that the system of tithes, even in this country, and much more in Ireland, is not fraught with mischief? Will he tell me, that it is the most amicable arrangement that could be made between the minister and his parishioners? Will he tell me, that it does not give rise to dissension, nay, to bitter animosity? And are not those feelings of animosity necessarily stronger amongst a population where the majority of the people dissent from the Church for the maintenance of which the tithes are collected? It was with a view to remove or to alleviate those grievances that a right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goulburn) proposed a modification of the law relating to tithes, by establishing the Tithe Composition Act: and I verily believe, that if the operation of that Act had been more widely extended, it would in a great degree have removed the grievances. But this is a question at which we must look at no distant period—whether it be done next year or the year after—with a view to remove the evils with which the present system is attended, and to place the clergy of the Established Church in a better condition. Was it not stated in a petition from the Clergy of the Diocese of Leighlin, presented in the last Session, that the existing laws were inadequate to enable the clergy to recover their tithes, the payment of which, in many parts of that diocese, had been successfully resisted for three or four consecutive years? The existing laws being found insufficient, the security with which the payment of tithes can be evaded, without violating the laws, has given strength to the combination. Under these circumstances, therefore, it is the intention of his Majesty's Ministers, in compliance with the gracious Speech which has been to-day addressed to us from the Throne, to move for the appointment of a Select Committee, to which all the facts of which the Government is in possession, connected with this subject are to be referred; and Ministers are at the same time prepared to lay before that Committee, immediately after its appointment, the measures which they propose to adopt. I trust, then, that the House will see, with these views, that it would be most inconvenient for me to take up its time by going further into the details of this question, which is one of the most important that can be brought under the consideration of Parliament. But of this the House may rest assured, that in the plans which his Majesty's Ministers propose to bring forward for the removal of political grievances, they will do nothing by which the Constitution may be endangered; and in any measures which they may have in view in reference to the Church, their object will certainly not be to weaken the foundations of its property. I grant that if the property of the Church were once endangered, the danger would soon be extended to the taxes of the State, and next, to the rent of the landlords. I can assure the House and the right hon. Gentleman, that in the measures which I may feel it my duty to submit to the House, I shall keep in view the object of giving additional security to the rights of the Protestant Clergy, and of removing the evils which are complained of as arising out of the present system. As it is not the intention of the right hon. Gentleman who last addressed the House, or, I believe, of any other Member, to propose an Amendment to the Address, I will not trespass further on the time of the House, having replied to the observations of the hon. Gentleman upon topics connected with that department of the Government to which I have the honour to belong.

Mr. *Croker,* in explanation, said, he was not opposed to some alteration in the arrangements relating to the mode of levying tithes. In what he said upon that part of the Speech, he meant merely to guard himself against being supposed, by the vote he gave, to pledge himself to any specific measure.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, that there was one passage in his Majesty's Speech which referred to a subject on which he felt a great anxiety to express his opinion; and, he had no doubt, that the House on all sides would honour him with attention. His anxiety arose from several considerations: first, from a consideration of the duty which he owed to the public; secondly, from a consideration of the duty which he owed to the laws; and, lastly, from a consideration of the duty which he owed to himself. He alluded to that part of the King's Speech in which reference was made to the late calamitous occurrences at Bristol; and which was as follows:—"The authority of the laws must be vindicated by the punishment of offences which have produced so extensive a destruction of property, and so extensive a loss of life. I think it right to direct your attention to the best means of improving the municipal police of the kingdom, in the more effectual protection of the public peace against the recurrence of similar commotions." For reasons which were perfectly obvious, the Speech omitted to go into the history of those disastrous occurrences. Indeed, as the inquiries into the circumstances out of which they arose were at that moment in progress, until they should be concluded, it would be highly improper to go into a detail of facts, the true nature and extent of which had not yet been clearly ascertained. But, in reference to himself, he felt bound, on considerations, as he had said, of his duty to the public, to the laws, and to himself, to make a few remarks upon that part of the Speech. He had been charged by the Press in part of Great Britain and Ireland with being directly the author of all the disasters which had befallen Bristol. But, if the smallest part of those calamities could be attributed to him, he should be content to retire in shame from that honourable House, and to hide his diminished head in the obscurity to which public indignation and contempt might justly drive him. But that charge was false in all its parts, and he felt confident of his ability to prove it so. It had, however, been reiterated from time to time by all the Press of London, and especially by those writers who avowed that they had communications with the Government—who asserted, from time to time, that intelligence was communicated to them by members of the Government, and who had, at all events, given information to the public which they could get only from the Government. Now, it was not to be inferred that he found fault with Government for so communicating with the Press. To do so had been the habit of every preceding Administration, and no one could blame the present Ministers for communicating in the usual way with *The Times,* or *The Courier,* or with any other newspaper. But, in all those Journals, the charge had been made against him, that he went down to Bristol, in the exercise of his functions as a Judge under his Majesty's Commission, contrary to the remonstrances of the Government, and of the Magistrates of that town—that his doing so was the effect of indiscretion, obstinacy, foolhardiness, and a wish to stimulate the people to acts of violence; in short, that his conduct was influenced by every unworthy motive, which the remonstrances made to him could not restrain. Now, he would say plainly, that that statement was, in every part of it, false, base, and scandalous. If he were to go over and comment upon every species of calumny with which he had been assailed, it would be necessary for him to occupy the House —he would not say four-and-twenty hours, but four-and-twenty days. But when newspapers which were in communication with the Government, made those attacks upon him, and represented him as the author of the calamities at Bristol, he was compelled to assert, that some members of the Press were becoming tyrannical, base, and slanderous; for many of those who made such assertions respecting him, knew well that they were false. How stood the case? A deputation from Bristol, consisting of the Sheriff and one of the Aldermen, had waited on him some time previous to the period fixed for the gaol delivery in that city, and had informed him, that they did not think it safe for the Recorder to enter Bristol in the usual manner, to perform his duty on the occasion then approaching, without the protection of a stronger force than the civil authorities had at their disposal. He need not inform the House, that the entry of the Recorder into Bristol is made in the same manner as the entry of the Judges of Assizes into other places. In consequence of the information which he had thus received, he consulted with the magistracy, and found them to be of opinion, that the constabulary force which they could obtain would not be sufficient to prevent riot; and it was accordingly decided, that a deputation should wait upon the noble Viscount (the Secretary of State for the Home Department), to represent to him the necessity for sending a military force to Bristol. It might be asked, why did not he attend with that deputation? His reason was this, that if the noble Lord and the deputation should have occasion to enter into any discussion relating to him, he might furnish them, by his absence, an ample opportunity to do so. Those gentlemen were informed by the noble Viscount, that military assistance should be furnished to the Magistrates, and a request was made that he should attend with the deputation at another interview. In two days afterwards (he believed) he did attend. On the first interview, information was conveyed to Government that military assistance was necessary for the protection of the Judge in the exercise of his duty; and, on the second occasion, it was understood that every thing was to go on as usual. This understanding was come to in the presence of several members of the Cabinet. If, on the second interview, a single word had passed which could be considered as confidential, no man would be more unwilling than he was to mention it. But, in fact, there was no confidential communication whatever. Information was then sent down to the authorities at Bristol, that everything was to go on as usual. Hon. Gentlemen opposite were aware of the truth of his statement, and he was sure that it would be confirmed by the members of his Majesty's Government. Now, if they saw that military assistance was necessary to preserve peace at the entry of the Judge, and if they thought that a sufficient reason for the suspension of the general gaol delivery, surely they would have stated that, either at the first interview with the deputation, or at the second, at which he was present. He had, in his own mind, considered whether the public ceremony of his entry might be dispensed with, but he came to the conclusion that this was impossible. He, therefore, did nothing more than send down word, as had been agreed to, that everything should go on as usual. He trusted, that the House was satisfied that he had given a full and flat contradiction to the gross calumny which had been kept up in the London newspapers for nearly a fortnight, and from thence was poured through the arteries of the Press into every part of the country, and was conveyed back again through the veins, having undergone the usual alterations in its course. With whatever glory the slander might appear in *The Times* of the morning, additional brightness was shed upon it by *The Sun* in the afternoon, and *The Courier* at length took it off to Paris, neglecting nothing by the way that could make it more astringent, acrimonious, and personally offensive. Whatever, in short, malignity could devise, was resorted to. The French papers assured the public, that his conduct was much condemned by the *coteries*—that was the word—but he did not know whether they meant the coteries of La rue des Tuilleries, or those of La rue de la Paix. He only knew, that the conduct of the humble individual then before the House was most unsparingly assailed on all sides. He need not tell the House, that the Press of Ireland kept pace with that of England, and attacked him with no less vehemence and injustice. All this might seem more than a man ought to endure without repelling it, nor would he have borne with it, but that he should have been unworthy of his station as a Judge—he should have degraded himself as a gentleman—he should have forgotten his dignity as a Member of the English Parliament—if he had surrendered his right of opposing the Reform Bill, and of stating to that House and to the country, fully and fearlessly, the grounds of his opposition. He would not consent to surrender any of those rights, by entering into a controversy with the newspapers for the purpose of refuting the slanders of his numberless assailants. Indeed, to do so it would have been necessary to write letters to every radical editor in England, informing him that he had been altogether misinformed as to his (Sir Charles Wetherell's) conduct, and had, rather unguardedly, opened his pages to calumny and falsehood. Had he transmitted a circular of that kind, he feared he could not so have fashioned his address as to combine civility with truth. That course he could not consent to take, but he did hope, that the time would come when, in that House, he should have an opportunity of explaining himself, and of showing to the nation that which every candid man connected with the Government must acknowledge to have been the true nature of the occurrences. Again, it had been said, that a deputation from the Magistrates of Bristol waited upon him, in London, to dissuade him from going down, and that, subsequently, another deputation met him at Bath for the same purpose. But that was not the truth. He had already explained the nature of the communications which he had had with the deputation in London, and the gentlemen who waited on him in Bath did so for the purpose of communicating to him the very judicious arrangement which had been made with the view of protecting the procession. It was determined, and, as he thought, very properly, that the military which the Government had placed at the disposal of the Magistrates, should not be displayed parading the streets, or forming part of the procession, but that they should be kept under cover; and, in fact, if it had not been for the Political Union, it would not have been generally known in the city that there was any apprehension of riot, or that military assistance was likely to be required. It was thought right to avoid the excitement which that might have occasioned. But he would not go into a detail, which had, very properly, as he thought, been abstained from in his Majesty's Speech. It was not true that he "disappeared" from Bristol as had been said; he had not taken his departure until the Chief Magistrate's bed had been taken from off the bedstead, and put in the window of the Mansion-house, for the purpose of being used as a barricade. Then he certainly did think that the presence of the Judge was no longer necessary. The gaol delivery was terminated; and, at six or seven o'clock in the evening of the Saturday, he left the town; so that every thing which occurred on the Sunday and Monday took place without his knowledge. He thought that he had now said enough to exculpate himself in the eyes of the House. If he had not done so, he might appeal to the liberality—might invoke the spirit—might challenge the courage of any man in any part of that House, and he might ask him, with all due respect, to stand up in his place, and tell him what course, in the same circumstances, the hon. Gentleman himself would have pursued? No, he knew he should not be so answered in that House. He knew that no man there would go within a hundred leagues of telling him what imputations, what sneers, what insults, what terms, inconsistent with the respect due to a gentleman and a Member of the House of Commons, would have been poured upon him by the many-mouthed, many-fanged, venomous Press of England, if he abstained from going to Bristol to fulfil his duties as a Judge. Would it not have been said, that he had basely and falsely declined to attend to his duty, through a feigned apprehension of tumults, which no one else ever dreamt of? Would it not have been said, that he was a false anti-reformer—that he invented the tale of projected riots—and that, with the cowardice which is the constant companion of falsehood, he shrank from encountering the danger which his own inventiou alone had created? The newspapers, to which he alluded, had not even yet exhausted their calumnies, and had not ceased to throw out imputations, base, false, and unjust, respecting the disasters they accused him of causing, and the reasons for which his name had been omitted in the Commission appointed to try the rioters. But he had now put the House sufficiently in possession of the facts as they regarded him, to enable his political opponents, as well as his political friends, to place him on that footing which should make a man's station in that House honourable to himself and useful to the country. If he had satisfied both sides of the House, as he trusted he had satisfied them, it would give him but little concern in what manner his conduct might be viewed by his assailants, or those who so scandalously and audaciously libelled him out of Parliament. He would now beg leave, to advert to one or two points, in reply to the speech of the hon. Baronet who had seconded the Address, and who had made some allusions to those matters. That hon. Gentleman asserted, that the transactions at Bristol had not grown out of the Reform Question, or, in other words, that the delinquents were not reformers, but strangers to the city, and outcasts, who were ever ready to take part in riot, and to seize opportunities of pillage. It was extremely difficult to show what part of the motives which actuated the rioters was love of Reform, and what part originated in other feelings. In one thing, however, he agreed with the hon. Gentleman, that no respectable citizens of Bristol took part in the tumults. But he would neither affirm nor deny, that Reform was one of the causes. He had a paper before him, to which he would call the attention of the House, not only as related to Bristol, but as it, also, related to the proceedings of the Political Unions throughout the kingdom. In that document, which was dated on the 25th of October last, the Bristol Political Union assumed the power of deposing the Magistrates and the Recorder of that city. It began by expressing the surprise of the Union that the Magistrates should have called in the troops to protect the entrance of the Recorder into the town ; and then it went on to say, that if the Magistrates felt themselves unable to preserve the peace of the city, they ought to retire from their office, and allow Magistrates to be elected by the votes of the citizens. Thus the Union first created the disturbance, and then told the Magistrates, that if they could not put it down, they must resign forsooth. Then it proceeded to say, that men clothed in the robes of the magistracy ought not to be politicians. Well, certainly, that was rather strange doctrine. He wondered what my Lord Brougham and Vaux would think of it, for, of course, it must be taken to apply to him. But for his part, he (Sir C. Wetherell) saw no reason why a man should be precluded from forming opinions on great questions concerning the interests and happiness of his country, because he was intrusted with the administration of its laws. There was nothing incompatible or inconsistent in the two characters of Judge and Politician. But the Union thought otherwise, and "recommended Sir Charles Wetherell to retire from the office of Recorder, as the best means of preventing riot, and, perhaps, bloodshed." So, then, all the Union asked was merely that he should retire, that the Corporation should lay down its privileges, and allow the members of the Union to elect a Recorder and Magistrates. He could not say how they meant to regulate the franchise—whether it was to be by Universal Suffrage, or limited to the 10*l.* householders. But they gave the Magistrates this choice, that if they were not able to put down the tumults without the aid of the military, then every crime that should be committed was to be attributed to the Corporation, and its charter to be resigned. But the Union concluded its address by "exhorting the people, in the mean time, to keep the peace, as the only means of obtaining the rights which they were seeking." Having deposed the Magistrates, and having talked about riots and bloodshed as the consequences of the Corporation not pursuing the line of conduct which the Union pointed out, the Address concluded, like most documents of that kind, by exhorting the people to peace. He would repeat, that he could not undertake to say what share in the motives of the rioters was to be attributed to the Reform Question ; but he could not think, that they who put forth the paper he had described, on the morning of the day on which the tumults commenced, were not much more the authors of those disorders than was the individual to whom the whole had been ascribed. As to the Commission which was about to be sent down, he would only say, that if the word "promptitude," which the hon. Gentleman opposite had used in his speech, had occurred in the Address, he should certainly have moved an Amendment—a course which he was by no means desirous to adopt. In that case, he should have been compelled to refer to what occurred some time ago at Nottingham, when, as he had on a former occasion shown to the House, the castle of a noble Duke was attacked because he was an anti-reformer. He had then taken the liberty of stating, that if once it was allowed that vengeance should be wreaked upon any individual for his political opinions, there would be no safety for the person or property of any man ; and the partition-wall which divided the castle of the Duke of Newcastle from the mansion of any reformer, was too thin to prevent the conflagration from devastating the latter. What had actually occurred since ? Why, the Custom-house of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a reformer, was burnt to the ground. When disturbances and tumults had once arisen, they frequently assumed, in their progress, a new character wholly unconnected with the causes which, in the first instance had produced them. When, therefore, a castle had been burnt down by a riotous mob, solely because its owner held obnoxious opinions, he had exhorted the Government to send down a Special Commission. But there was no promptitude then; neither did he see any signs of promptitude at present. Speaking on the subject of the Commission, he must say, that he did not know on what grounds the Mayor and the Recorder had been passed over. He had put in his claim to be named on the Commission. He had a right to be placed upon it, and he had sent a written communication to that effect, to the Secretary of State, and to the Lord Chancellor. It was, certainly, that species of right which might be superseded by expediency. But in this case, what was the expediency? Was it not indirectly imputing to him, that this was a case in which personal feelings might interfere with the just and impartial discharge of his duties as a Judge. That was a stigma which he was honestly desirous to avoid, and he had, therefore, claimed his right to be nominated in the Commission; and he made the same claim on the part of the Corporation, and of the Aldermen who constituted the Court sitting at the gaol-delivery, He would not charge the Government with intending to do any thing personally offensive to him, if he could not prove it; nor would he charge them with degrading the Corporation, if he had no reason to believe it. He thought, however, that they had committed a great error in not putting in the Commission every name that was in the Commission of the general gaol-delivery; for now it would be said, that they gave way to the Union; it was true, that they had given way to another Union, and they had even corresponded with it. In the Bill which they introduced in the last Session, they had a clause confining the franchise of the 10*l.* householders to those who paid their rent half-yearly. Well, the Birmingham Union protested against the limitation—communicated on the subject with the head of the Government, and the clause was altered as it pleased them. Then, two noble Lords opposite communicated with that same Union, after it had procured a resolution to be adopted at a very numerous meeting, which bordered as closely as possible upon treason. Even after that resolution had been published, as he had shown the House at the time, the Government corresponded with the Union. The reasons he had submitted to the House formed the grounds for his wishing that his Majesty's Ministers should have put the Aldermen, the Lord Mayor, and the Recorder of Bristol, in the Commission. For the Union had before deposed the Corporation and the Recorder, and the Government, in passing them over, seemed to have confirmed the deposition. He had now made the explanation which he had felt himself bound to offer at the very first opportunity, without allowing five minutes to elapse. He had complained, as he felt aggrieved, that his name had been left out of the Special Commission issued for the trial of the offenders at Bristol. In two former Special Commissions, for a similar purpose, to be effected in the same city, the Recorder's name had been included, and so had the local Magistrates, and the only precedent which he could find to the contrary, was one which did not rank very high in his estimation, and which he was sure would not hold a very elevated place in the estimation of any lawyer. That precedent had the name of Jeffries attached to it, and had no better authority than his. He would, while upon this subject, notice a matter which had been made a prominent topic in the Speech from the Throne—it was, that a new municipal force would be required for the preservation of peace in this country. The plan was not very clearly traced out; something was indicated, but nothing very definite was stated; and, at all events, it was to be hoped that nothing special against Bristol was in the contemplation of his Majesty's Government. He then would come to a subject very foreign from Bristol and its affairs—he alluded to the Convention respecting the Slave-trade, and the influence which that Convention might have on our relations with France. There was a naked prohibition of the trade by a treaty, but there was nothing else; nothing more had been accomplished, although he hoped the co-operation of the two Courts would accomplish more than had been yet effected. Still, he trusted, that nothing would be done to impair our right of search, or to diminish those privileges not inconsistent with the rights of other nations, and which were so important to the dignity and prosperity of Great Britain. In the meantime, he thought the House, and every rational man in the community, ought to agree with his right hon. friend (Mr. Croker), and suspend their judgment until the Convention was made public. He confessed, it did not by any means appear to him, that any proceedings whatever could be effectual, until all the parties who could, by any possibility, interfere with the trade, had come in and expressed their concurrence. Whatever might be his opinions upon that subject, there was a statement towards the latter end of his Majesty's Speech, from which, in the abstract, he was not prepared to express any dissent —he alluded to that portion of it which related to the suppression of those meetings, which, in his judgment, appeared to be utterly inconsistent with the peace and good order—nay, with the existence— of civil government or authority in this country. It had been affirmed, in argument, that we could not interfere with such meetings of the subjects of this realm as might be held for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature, or addressing the Crown. To that, in the abstract, he fully assented; but if it were intended by the Proclamation recently issued, to convey the idea that the Birmingham Union was the only one of the Unions which formed an exception to the general rule—that it alone had offended against the laws, and that all the rest were innocent, he would take leave to say, that a more unsound, or more untenable doctrine had never been promulgated. That the Birmingham Union, in dividing the subjects of the King into classes and placing them under commanders, and in the other proceedings which they had adopted, and which they threatened, was guilty of an offence against the laws, he had not the slightest difficulty in asserting; but if the design of the Proclamation was, to limit the operation of the intended proceedings to the Birmingham Union, then he would say, that that Proclamation was equally ill-advised with the measures of those in whom that Union originated. With that remark upon the Proclamation, he should return to the King's Speech, which its admirers and supporters had thought proper to designate as a manly and straightforward Speech; and yet he confessed himself unable to comprehend how that character could be deserved by a composition which had touched, in the manner it had done, upon six, eight, or ten different topics. The multiplicity of its topics, and the mode in which it noticed them, did, he would repeat it, appear to him anything but consistent with that simplicity and directness for which its advocates claimed such unbounded credit. It had touched upon Tithes, Unions, and the appointment of a Municipal Force, and upon various indefinite topics, upon not one of which a word had been uttered, entitling it to the approbation or the confidence of the House, though, at the same time, he acknowledged it was so framed as not to call at their hands for any substantial amendment. With all the objections he had to the Speech, he must admit, that it contained nothing calculated to disturb the unanimity which was desirable on occasions such as that. He had thus briefly noticed the chief subjects which it was necessary, in reference to the Address itself, to touch upon—he should now say a word more as to himself. He hoped he stood before them, with regard to his moral conduct, as completely acquitted as he felt entitled to be—as, indeed, he had been by all on one side, and as he expected to be by many on the other.

Mr. *Lamb* said, he had not intended to take any part in the Debate, but he felt himself called upon—as the office to which he had the honour to belong had been so pointedly alluded to by the hon. and learned Member—to make some few observations, in reply to the latter part of his speech. He begged to assure his hon. and learned friend, that he disclaimed all connexion with the malevolent libels of the Press, and was far from impugning the chartered rights held by the city of Bristol. He had always felt the difficulty of discussing a question in which the name of one with whom he had been so long connected must, of necessity, be frequently introduced; but he did not fear the Press, nor would he defend the conduct of that part of it which had been rather indiscreetly introduced by his hon. friend, in relation to the Treasury and his Majesty's Government. It was a grave and serious question, whether the apprehension of violence in the city of Bristol had been such as to call for an interruption of the regular course of the administration of justice there. With regard to the interviews adverted to by the hon. and learned Member—in the first instance two of the Magistrates of Bristol had requested military assistance, which was accorded to them, after their admission, that the police of the city would be unequal to the preservation of the peace. With respect to the second interview, it was much as it had been described by the hon. and learned Member, with the exception of one addition, which he would supply—namely, that his Majesty's Government was never asked to pronounce an opinion, whether the sessions ought or ought not to have been postponed. All that had been submitted to them was, the circumstance that there was not in Bristol a sufficient force for the maintenance of the public peace. A military force was therefore granted: it also moved to the spot, and was eventually found perfectly adequate to effect the object. He agreed in the opinion that had been expressed as to the propriety of forbearing to enter prematurely on the discussion of matters at present the subject of inquiry. No discussion of the kind in that House could, he conceived, be profitable to the ends of justice, or serviceable to the parties themselves, who were involved in the investigations then in progress. He could only say, that whoever had brought accusations against the hon. and learned Gentleman, he had not; and he believed that he could make the same assertion on behalf of every member of the King's Government. There was another topic in the hon. and learned Gentleman's speech to which he must allude. Though the hon. and learned Gentleman had not blamed the Government for its conduct in the outset of these proceedings, he had stated, that, in his opinion, the Government, in issuing the Special Commission, had displayed much vacillation, and even much imbecillity, and he had seized hold of a word, not to be found in the Speech, but used by the hon. Member (Sir Francis Vincent) behind him—namely, the word promptitude, in order to vent his spleen upon the promptitude with which the Commission had been sent down to Bristol. Now, he asserted, in opposition to the hon. and learned Gentleman, that the Government had displayed promptitude upon that occasion. Promptitude did not imply hurry—it meant, that just speed which left time for the employment of all those means which were necessary to prevent a measure from being defeated. It was extraordinary that a lawyer of the high pretensions of his hon. and learned friend, should use such strange language as he had used, when he said, that after the walls of Nottingham Castle were burnt down, a Special Commission should have been sent down the next evening, by the mail, into that county. Had his hon. and learned friend considered what previous inquiries were necessary before a Special Commission could issue? Must not the Government know something about the number of prisoners taken, and the evidence given against them? In this instance did his hon. and learned friend know how many days the depositions against the prisoners had been in town? It was not ten days since the depositions had been received in London — and yet his hon. and learned friend seemed to think, that a Special Commission ought to have been issued, even before the prisoners were caught, and their commitments made out by the Magistrates. His answer to the charges of his hon. and learned friend was, that the conduct of the Government in sending the Special Commission to Bristol, was prompt, for it was sent at the very first moment that there was a prospect of its being brought to a successful issue. His hon. and learned friend had asked why no Commission had been sent to Nottingham? Now, he must say, that the propriety of issuing such a Commission must be confided to the judgment of the Executive Government; and the House would see, without his explaining the reasons, how inconvenient and even injurious it would often be to the public service, to state, why Special Commissions were or were not issued. His hon. and learned friend might discover something of a reason why a Special Commission had not been sent to Nottingham, in the fact of a reward being still offered for the discovery of the authors of the outrages which had been perpetrated in in that town. He would not tell his hon. and learned friend whether a Special Commission had been issued for Nottinghamshire, or whether it would be issued. This, however, he would say, that if a necessity for it could be made out, the Government would show the same promptitude for which they were entitled to take credit at present in the case of Bristol. He now came to what his hon. and learned friend seemed to think a still more serious matter. His hon. and learned friend had asked, why was the Recorder, and why, indeed, were the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol, left out of the Special Commission sent down to Bristol? His hon. and learned friend had said, that it was a matter of right that their names should be inserted. That mere claim of right had made it impossible that their names could be inserted. How was it possible that Government could make any concession to Judges, who claimed to act as such in what was their own cause? His hon. and learned friend said, that in all former precedents the names of the Recorder, the Mayor, and the Aldermen, were uniformly inserted. Perhaps it might be so; but when his hon. and learned friend talked of the omission of their names having been made to strengthen the condemnation which the Political Union of

Bristol had passed upon himself and the Corporation, he gave another illustration of the answer which the right hon. Secretary for Ireland had already given to a similar assertion in the speech of the hon. member for Orford. If, from a fear of the imputation of giving way to the Union, the Government had appointed the Recorder of Bristol a Judge in his own cause, it would have been a most flagrant instance of their folly in being afraid of being thought afraid. His hon. and learned friend had then gone to some precedent drawn from Judge Jeffries, which he thought of little authority. He (Mr. Lamb) was not inclined to think much of such authority; but there was a precedent of more modern times, which he would submit to his learned friend's consideration. He should have thought, that after tumults directed against his learned friend so personally—directed little less so against the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol—he should have thought, he said, after such events, that his learned friend and the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol would have deemed themselves under an obligation to any Government which had left their names out of the Commission specially appointed to try rioters, in a cause in which they themselves were mixed up. He should have thought that it would be no gratification to his hon. and learned friend to be in a Commission in the proceedings of which it was impossible that he should take a part. Still, though he was quite certain that his hon. and learned friend would not have acted, had he been named a member of that Commission, he could not look upon that as a sufficient reason for placing him in it, as it would furnish a precedent for placing in similar Commissions men similarly circumstanced with his hon. and learned friend, but not possessing his high sense of honour. He would now proceed to remind his hon. and learned friend, that in 1769 a Special Commission was issued for the trial of a prisoner at Bristol. He had been accused of forging the name of the Recorder to a bill drawn on an Alderman of Bristol, so that when his case was called on for trial at the Sessions, where the Recorder and the Aldermen were Judges, it was found, that it could not be tried, unless the Recorder and Aldermen made themselves Judges in their own cause. In consequence, a Special Commission was drawn up by what his learned friend would admit to be a very great authority, and in that Commission the names of the Recorder and Aldermen were not inserted, but two of the King's Justices were named in their stead. That Special Commission was very carefully drawn up, and when he told his hon. and learned friend, that the Recorder of Bristol, and the person by whom it was drawn up, was John Dunning, he was sure that his hon. and learned friend would not deny the value of the precedent. He had now done—he had risen with similar views to those of his hon. and learned friend—and as his hon. and learned friend had risen to vindicate himself from the libels which had been published against him, so he had risen to reply to the statements of his hon. and learned friend, which impugned the conduct of the Home Office. He could assure his hon. and learned friend, that he (Mr. Lamb) had not attacked his rights, and that in the conduct of the Home Office, nothing personally offensive to him had been intended. His hon. and learned friend had attacked that part of the King's Speech which alluded to the best means of improving the municipal police of the kingdom, and had given it as his opinion, that much wrong would be done to the Corporation and city of Bristol, if such means were intended specially for them. The inquiries still going on precluded him from saying anything about the conduct of the Corporation of Bristol; but he might say, that nothing had yet appeared in the conduct of that corporation, or in the opposition which that body had made to the progress of the late tumults, which afforded it any right to be an exception from any measures of police intended to apply to the kingdom at large.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that during the time he was a Minister of the Crown, as well as now in his private capacity, it was always his wish to see the Speech from the Throne, and the Address in answer to it, so framed as not to give rise to any collision which could prevent the House from coming to a unanimous vote. He thought it desirable that Parliament should be enabled to offer to the Sovereign, without a dissentient voice, the testimony of their loyalty and attachment on the opening of the Session. It had always, for this reason, appeared to him, that the Address ought to contain no matter which could give rise to difference of opinion. It gave him pleasure, therefore, that upon the present occasion he was enabled to express so much of acquiescence as would render unnecessary any amendment, except one to which he anticipated no objection on any side of the House. Before he proceeded to notice the topics introduced into the Address now proposed for the consideration of the House, he must be permitted to allude to the circumstances under which they were assembled. He was perfectly ready to admit, that all considerations of private convenience ought to yield to public duty; but he must take this opportunity of entering his protest against the practice of calling Parliament together without the usual notice. He feared the present meeting of the House might be drawn into a precedent, and he considered a practice founded on that precedent would be bad and dangerous. He was aware, indeed, that by law they might be called together within fourteen days: but antecedently to the passing of that law, the practice was, to give a notice of forty days; and so necessary was this considered, that Hatsell said, Parliament ought not to be summoned to meet on a shorter notice than forty days. So important did that great authority deem it, that an ample notice should be given, and so great was, in his opinion, the danger of taking the House by surprise, that he said the Ministers who advised the calling of Parliament together on a shorter notice would be guilty of a grievous misdemeanor, and deserve the censure of Parliament. By the Act of 1797, the old law was altered, and Government was enabled to call Parliament together after fourteen days' notice. Yet, though such was the law, the conviction of the necessity of adhering to the ancient usage was so strong, that in the thirty years which had elapsed since its enactment, there was but one occasion on which Parliament had been assembled at a shorter notice than that sanctioned by established custom. On that occasion (being in 1801), the notice was twenty-three days. He admitted, that when Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville introduced the Act of 1797, they alleged that the greater facilities of intercourse, and also of communication by the post, justified them in abridging the time of notice; but it ought not to be forgotten, that since that time the Union with Ireland had taken place, the Parliaments of the two kingdoms had been incorporated into one, and therefore a new and important reason had arisen for ample notice. Ministers, be it recollected, were always on the spot; they could tell their friends when Parliament would meet, and therefore, if the precedent now established were followed, it might, in the hands of a bad Minister, lead to gross abuse. If it had been necessary to take immediate precautions against the Cholera, or to devise measures to put down the Political Unions, or to frame new provisions to suppress disturbances like those which had recently occurred at Bristol, then there would have been some show of reason for assembling Parliament without delay. But the Speech from the Throne said nothing of the necessity of immediate precautionary measures. Reform, however, was said to be of urgent necessity: admitted; but then that necessity was as well known to the Government on the 1st of November as it was fourteen days ago. At the close of the last Session they were prorogued in the usual way till the 22nd of November. Members left town, not so much to attend to their private affairs in the country, as to obey the injunctions contained in his Majesty's Speech, to assist in securing the tranquillity of their respective counties. Up to a period immediately prior to the 22nd of November, it was the general impression throughout the country, that Parliament would not meet for the despatch of business before Christmas. For reasons, into the propriety of which he would not enter, an alteration in the intention of Government took place. Supposing the necessity for Reform were so great as was now alleged, that necessity existed before the 22nd of November, and consequently, Members were entitled to a longer notice of the intended meeting of Parliament than that which they had recently received. Before he entered into any examination of the topics contained in the Speech, which had been so praised for its straight-forward and manly character, he must say, that there were some extraordinary omissions in it. That they should meet with two such questions pending as the renewal of the Bank Charter, and of the East-India Company's Charter, and that not one word should be said on either of them in the King's Speech, did appear to him to be most extraordinary and incomprehensible. That his Majesty's Speech should invite discussion on the question, whether the Cholera was indigenous, or imported from abroad, a question on which medical men would be the only good debaters, and that they should leave the heavier matters of the Bank and East-India Company's Charter totally unnoticed, was one of the most singular omissions that could well be imagined in a straightforward and manly Speech. Moreover, the subjects noticed in the Address did not compensate for these omissions, for, without questioning the policy of the views which the right hon. Secretary for Ireland had disclosed respecting that country, he doubted the policy of introducing the tithe question in the King's Speech. If the House was to be so occupied with the discussion of the question of Reform that it could not agitate the questions relative to the renewal of the Charters of the Bank and of the East-India Company, why should the King's Speech notice thus prominently the tithe question? The right hon. Secretary had told the House, that a Committee was to be appointed, to consider whether some improvements could not be made in the laws respecting the payment of tithes in Ireland. He would say, that the appointment of such Committee was in itself a very questionable proceeding. If there was in Ireland a systematic combination among the people against the payment of tithes, to hold out, in the King's Speech, the expectation of some change in the laws relating to the recovery of tithe, would only aggravate the existing evils, unless the Government at once proposed a specific remedial measure. He was afraid, that the right hon. Gentleman might find more difficulty in adjusting this question than he anticipated at present. The Grand-Jury question, and others affecting Ireland, had been before alluded to in a similar way, and little progress afterwards made towards a permanent settlement of them, from the unexpected difficulties that appeared in their progress. He had heard with regret one expression which had fallen from the lips of the right hon. Secretary. There might be grounds of policy and expediency, but he was sure, that there were no grounds of justice and legality, on which an alteration of the tithe-system could be demanded. He, therefore, trusted, that that expression had fallen inadvertently from the right hon. Secretary; for if it should get abroad, that the right hon. Secretary thought the claims of the people of Ireland to some alteration in the tithe-system legal and just, the admission would give additional force to the system of combination mentioned in the King's Speech. He hoped that the measure of improvement, now in the contemplation of Government, would be produced forthwith, and that as little time as possible would be lost in placing it before a Committee, for otherwise the rights of property would be endangered by the discussions and delusions which delay would produce. He would now proceed to consider the foreign policy of the country. His Majesty was made, in the Speech, to lament, that he had not been able to establish, or rather to renew, the diplomatic relations of this country with Portugal, and two causes were assigned for the non-renewal of them:—First, the repeated injuries to which the subjects of this country had been exposed by the conduct of the Portuguese government; and secondly, the chances of a civil war on account of a disputed succession. He would ask any Gentleman who then heard him—he would ask his Majesty's Ministers themselves,—whether there was not the greatest inconvenience in having a country like Portugal excommunicated from the European system? Did the people of Portugal recognise Don Miguel? And if they did, what right had this, or any other country, to gainsay that recognition? When Don Miguel first assumed, or was called to the exercise of government, it might have been just and necessary to abstain from the immediate recognition of his authority, but such a course of proceeding could not be indefinitely protracted without inconvenience to ourselves, and danger to the general peace of Europe. Whatever might be the private character of Don Miguel, that was a question with which the British Government had nothing whatever to do. If fit for consideration at all, it was fit only for the consideration of the Portuguese nation; and he was entirely at a loss to understand upon what principles, but especially how upon Whig principles, his Majesty's Ministers could longer withhold the recognition of a Prince to whose rule there was no objection made on the part of his own people. But whether the authority of Don Miguel was acknowledged by this country or not, on one thing the noble Lord might depend, which was, that while the present state of uncertainty and interrupted relations between the two countries continued to exist, while this country claimed the fulfilment of treaties, refusing at the same time to allow the validity of the authority which was to put those treaties into execution, it placed its own subjects in danger, and embarrassed its own commerce. It had a more than ordinary effect at the present time. Did the noble Lord consider the consequence of such conduct? Did it not encourage the contest that was threatened for the Throne of Portugal? That was the natural result of still withholding the recognition of Don Miguel. There might have been injuries inflicted on British subjects in Portugal; what those injuries were, whether they were old or new, the Speech did not state, and he did not stop to inquire; but he contended that the conduct of the Government in refusing to acknowledge Don Miguel after the lapse of so long a period since his accession, had a tendency to produce the very evils, the existence of which the King's Speech admitted and lamented—namely, embarrassment to our own commerce with Portugal, and the risk of a disputed succession. If a contest for the Throne of Portugal were to take place, if civil war were to rage in that country, he most earnestly hoped, that this country would sincerely act up to those principles of perfect neutrality which it had avowed; that it would not only profess, but that it would act in the spirit of its professions. Now, a few words with regard to Holland. His Majesty had expressed his hopes, that the king of Holland would accede to the arrangement for the separation of the States of Holland and Belgium, to which the king of Belgium had already assented. He sincerely hoped, that these expectations of his Majesty would not be disappointed. He likewise sincerely hoped, that that arrangement steered clear of all interference in the internal affairs of Holland; but, until some account of the transactions connected with that arrangement was communicated to the House, it would be premature in him to give any opinion on a subject of such peculiar delicacy. He was now arrived at that part of the Address to which he intended to propose an amendment. By some strange inadvertence, the Address, as at present worded, pledged them to a distinct approbation of the arrangement which the five Powers had made for the separation of Holland and Belgium. As the Address was proposed, it was couched in this form, "To express our hope, though a similar treaty has not yet been agreed to by the king of the Netherlands, that the period is not distant when that sovereign will see the necessity of acceding to an arrangement in which the Plenipotentiaries of the five Powers have unanimously concurred, and which has been framed with the most careful and impartial attention to all the interests concerned." Now he, for one, must refuse to accede to this approbation of an arrangement, of which he knew nothing, which had not yet been ratified, and which was not to be communicated to Parliament till the ratification had taken place. It was quite clear, that there must be some alteration in this part of the Address. As he was sure that these expressions must have got into the Address by inadvertence, he would take no advantage of it by himself moving an amendment, but would leave it to the noble Lord to correct the error, either by omitting the paragraph altogether, or by altering the phraseology of it, so as to avoid this direct approbation of a treaty, of which the House knew nothing. There were many topics connected with the domestic policy of the country which, though slightly mentioned in the Speech, were still of great importance. From the terms of the Speech, no indication of the intentions of Government regarding them could be discovered. Mere truisms were stated; but, for that generality of language, he did not find fault with Government. Reference was made to the best means of improving the municipal police of the kingdom, but it was impossible to say what was the nature or character of the improvements contemplated. The subject was a most important one; in fact, there was none more so, and it was well worthy the attention of the Legislature; but it was impossible, from the King's Speech, to know any thing of the character of the alterations to be suggested by Government. Of this conduct he did not complain. It was perhaps convenient, that the views of Government should not be intimated till they could be fully detailed. The mere allusion to the subject, however, naturally occasioned various constructions as to the intentions of Ministers. It was supposed by some that they contemplated the total supercession of corporate authority. He must presume, that this construction was totally erroneous; at the same time, he certainly thought some material alteration in the municipal police absolutely necessary. In the large towns he could see no security for property and the maintenance of order unless some change was effected. He apprehended the passage hinted at an extension of the principle upon which the metropolitan police was formed; and, if it did so, it certainly would have his cordial approval. Unless a stipendiary police was established in the large towns, there could be no security for good order. Under what authority that police should be placed, he was not prepared to say. In London the matter was easily settled. It was wisely placed under the authority of the executive power, who kept it free from all party and electioneering influence, which, if not effectually excluded, would make the police, not a blessing, but a curse. With respect to Unions, he entirely concurred with that part of the Address which went to assure his Majesty, that that House would give its best aid and assistance to enable his Majesty to uphold the laws, and to maintain tranquillity and good order. The law must be enforced; life and property must be protected; and when the law was found to be inefficient for its objects, he was quite confident, that his Majesty might with safety rely on receiving the most prompt and zealous assistance at the hands of that House. With respect to the improvement of the municipal police, however, he must remark, that there was already an Act in existence which bore upon that subject. That Act was passed in 1830, and it enabled every parish, upon the consent of a certain portion of the parishioners being obtained, to establish a stipendiary police, and to raise a rate for its support, and for the lighting of the parish. That Act was not generally known; but, in the parishes with which he had any connection, and from which he had received applications on the subject, he had recommended it should be put in practice. The allusion, however, made in the King's Speech to the subject would naturally paralyze that recommendation, for every one would be desirous to know what were the plans of Government, and what alterations they might expect before they attempted to proceed upon the Act to which he had referred. He had reserved for the last, the first and the most important subject noticed in the Speech, and in the Address—it was that of Reform. The Address pledged the House to a most careful consideration of the measures which the Speech informed them would be laid before the House for a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament; and it concurred in the declaration of the Speech, that a speedy and satisfactory settlement of that question became daily of more serious importance to the security of the State, and to the contentment and welfare of the people. As he had the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary for Ireland, that by this language the House was not to be considered as pledged to any particular measure, or to any particular principles of Reform, he did not feel inclined to remark upon the passage with anything like hypercriticism. Every one must desire, who wished well to his country, to come to a speedy and satisfactory settlement of that important question, but various indeed would be the opinions as to the nature and extent of that Reform which would entitle it to the appellation of satisfactory. No outline of the measure had been stated to the House, and he had no means of knowing whether it was to resemble closely the Bill of last Session, or whether it was to vary materially from that Bill in principle or in detail. Nor did he stop to inquire into the subject, for in a few days, they had reason to expect, the measure would be formally and regularly submitted to their consideration; but he must, at the same time, be permitted to say, that, although he most fervently desired a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the question, he very much feared, that the Government had agitated feelings and excited desires and expectations which utterly precluded the expectation of their arriving at any such result. If he felt otherwise—if he believed, that the passing of such a Bill as that of last Session would soothe the minds which had been agitated, and would lead the people back to their habitual obedience to the laws, and respect and regard for the institutions which would remain to them, many of his objections would be removed. But it was his conscientious belief, that the principles of the Bill itself involved insuperable impediments to the speedy and satisfactory settlement of the question of Reform. He believed, that the impulse which had been given to violence and discontent could not be easily allayed, and it was from that feeling, and from observing the principles upon which the Government had rested the defence of their proceedings, that he found it impossible to anticipate a speedy and satisfactory settlement of this most important question. He was at issue with the Government as to the causes and nature of the excitement existing. The advocates of Reform, of course, said, that he, and those who acted with him in opposition to the late Bill, had, by their conduct, given rise to the scenes of outrage and of violence which had taken place; while he contended, that those proceedings, disgraceful and dangerous as they were, were the almost necessary consequence of the principles which the Government had called into action for its support. The foundations of the ancient institutions of the country could not be shaken without producing the greatest derangement in the whole body politic, and this derangement, he feared, would survive the measure which brought it into existence. Let the House look to the King's Speech, and learn the present state of the country from that authentic document. Commerce embarrassed, confidence suspended, industry paralyzed, formidable combinations inconsistent with the spirit of the law—fearful outrage and disorder, by which whole cities have been involved in confusion. Are these the first fruits of Reform? Is this the consequence of holding up to contempt the ancient representative system of the country? Did he find any thing in the Speech about the reduction of taxation?

Or was it stated in the Speech, that the Estimates would be reduced? No such thing. He did not blame the Ministers for this, for he believed, that the Estimates were framed with a view to economy, but he did blame those who misled the public, by inducing it to suppose that the passing of such a Reform Bill as that of last Session would relieve the country, restore tranquillity and contentment, increase commerce and employment, and give security to liberty and property. He had no hope of true economy from Reform—from such Reform as that which had been proposed by the Government, and which would unsettle all the habits of obedience, and shake the Constitution to its very foundation. He had heard the sarcastic remarks of an hon. Gentleman opposite, respecting Tory Governments and Tory measures. The hon. Gentleman called upon him and those who agreed with him in opinion to attend at the public meetings, and to discuss the question of Reform with the multitudes assembled at those meetings—to attend, for instance, where there was an assembly of 150,000 men, such an assembly as had received the thanks of the noble Lords, and there to express their opinions if they dared. The sarcasm fell harmless upon them—it was against the Bill that it was levelled. It reminded them of the melancholy fact, that there never had been a period, during the whole of the past century, in which such effectual practical restrictions were imposed upon the freedom of speech, in which public discussion was so fettered as it was in these days of liberality and Reform. There were worse tyrannies than the tyrannies of individual despots. He had said the worst feelings had been excited for the support of this measure of Reform; and could the Government deny the existence of such feelings? Who could doubt their galling and oppressive character, who had seen the bitter and unrelenting animosity with which the populace had pursued many of those illustrious characters who acted the part of good subjects and honest men in the House of Lords, without the least suspicion of unworthy motives? And yet could it be denied, that it was not safe for them to travel home to their country seats, after the conscientious votes which they had given in defence of the true interests of the people of England? When the new measure of Reform should come under discussion, he, for one, promised to give to it the most calm and dispassionate attention. He wished that he could anticipate from its success the same tranquillizing and satisfactory results as had been anticipated by the King's Government. He wished, that he could believe that the spirit of impatience under all restraint, and the reluctance to submit to any control, which at present pervaded and convulsed the land, was attributable to such causes as the opposition which had been given to the progress of the late Bill; and that the triumph, if triumph should betide, over future opposition, would bring back the halcyon days of peace and contentment, and restore that spirit of obedience to the laws which had existed under the reviled Government of Tories. He had attended to the progress of great revolutions in other countries, and was not insensible to their symptoms in our own. For a time the disastrous scenes of confusion and bloodshed which were displayed in France to an appalled and astonished world, and the establishment of a Reign of Terror surpassing in atrocity any thing heretofore known in history, exerted possibly an undue influence upon the public mind here, and indisposed us to the consideration even of beneficial changes. But let us beware how we erred in the opposite extreme, and rejected the salutary lessons which we might learn from the earlier scenes of the Revolution in France. Long before the bloody days of Marat and of Danton, there were pages in the history of that Revolution which were but too faithful types of the events of present times. Therein we might read of Ministers, once popular, unable to stem the tide on which they had floated to power, denouncing the Clubs that were formed for their support, but which usurped their authority. "Death to the proposer of an agrarian law," was the language of the Constituent Assembly. He had read also in the same melancholy collection of crimes and horrors, that when the king of France accepted the constitution of 1791, he began his speech with the terms, "La révolution est finie," little dreaming, in the exultation of the moment, that the revolution was only then begun. The blame of opposing its progress was then thrown on priests and aristocrats. The cry in France then was, "Down with the Priests, down with the Aristocrats;" the cry in England now was, "Down with the Boroughmongers." "Down with those, be their motives what they may, who oppose the popular will." What system of Government could that be in which men denied to their opponents the free exercise of judgment and of speech? Who could hope to propose changes extensive as those of the Reform Bill, without expecting, if they were reasonable men, to encounter opposition? They might denounce that opposition—might visit it with confiscation, exile, and death; but so long as honour and courage existed among men—(and in English bosoms, he trusted these qualities would find an eternal spring)—they would not, they could not deter men from the expression of their honest opinions. It was with a spirit of calmness and impartiality that he was prepared to discuss the Bill which the noble Lord opposite was about to introduce. He trusted that it would be founded on more moderate principles than the last; but be it founded on what principles it might, he owed it as a duty to the people of England — he claimed it as a right inherent in himself, as one of their Representatives—to deliver his opinions honestly and boldly upon it; and as the King, in the gracious Speech which they had that day heard delivered from the Throne, admitted the right of his subjects, even in confederated unions, publicly to declare their opinions, and to make known their grievances, so did he, as a loyal subject of the King, expect protection in return for his allegiance, if he should incur odium and unpopularity by protecting that which, in his judgment, he believed to be the real interest of the people of England, against their present wishes and temporary delusion.

Lord *Althorp* spoke as follows: The right hon. Baronet who has just sat down, has taken occasion to bring a charge against his Majesty's Ministers, for having called the Parliament together at such a short notice; but, at all events, he has admitted that we were within the letter of the law; and I may, on my own part, further add, that the Government felt, that but for such imperious circumstances as presented themselves, it would not have been desirable to have assembled the Parliament so early; for which reason we naturally postponed the summons to the last moment. And I believe that it is now generally agreed—notwithstanding the inconvenience of the step to the Members generally—that we have exercised a sound discretion in calling the two Houses together at the present moment. The right hon. Baronet has complained, that though the Speech has embraced a great number of topics, there are two omitted which ought to have been noticed. Those two subjects, according to the right hon. Baronet, are—the renewal of the Bank Charter, and of the East-India Company's Charter. With respect to the Bank Charter, however, I believe that it has not been usual, when the time has come round for its renewal, for that circumstance to be noticed in the King's Speech; but, at the same time, I have no objection to state to the right hon. Baronet, that the period for its renewal being so near, I shall feel it my duty to move for a Committee on the subject during the present Session. With respect to the renewal of the East-India Company's Charter, the right hon. Baronet will recollect, that for the last two Sessions a Committee on that subject has been sitting; and that Committee will, probably, this Session, resume its labours. The Charter, however, does not expire till the year 1834; and, therefore, there is no imperative necessity that the question should be taken under our consideration during the present Session. The right hon. Baronet then went on to allude to the different topics contained in his Majesty's Speech; and he stated, that though he could not give his cordial concurrence to all of them, he was, nevertheless, prepared to acquiesce in the Address, and not take the sense of the House upon it. This being the case, I shall not think it necessary to follow the right hon. Baronet through all the ramifications of his speech; and I shall, therefore, only apply myself to one point in which I think that he did not fairly represent the speech of my right hon. friend (Mr. Stanley) near me; although I must say, that with respect to his Majesty's Speech, it did appear to me impossible that it could have been more cautiously worded; and having Ireland under our consideration, we were absolutely bound to mention the point relating to the improvement of the tithe system, it being the grievance that requires redress. The right hon. Baronet then went on to say, that the present state of the country, from agitation, was such as had never been known to exist before. The right hon. Baronet says, that we are forced to admit that commerce is embarrassed—that industry is checked—and that riotous proceedings and breaches of the law have taken place in various parts of the country; and, undoubtedly, we have been obliged to admit the occurrence of some most calamitous events in Bristol, in relation to which the hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir Charles Wetherell) has stated, that he felt himself called upon to speak in justification of his own conduct. With respect to what has fallen from that hon. and learned Gentleman, I am ready to confirm his statement, that no remonstrance was made against his going to Bristol; and, indeed, such a remonstrance would have been quite improper on the part of the Government, knowing that the Goal delivery could not legally take place there without the presence of the hon. and learned Gentleman in his official capacity. The duty, therefore, of the Government was—not to prevent the hon. and learned Gentleman going, but to afford such means of protection as appeared to it likely to prevent any scenes of tumult and bloodshed. Those means were afforded: but I will not now enter into any account of the reasons why they proved insufficient. The right hon. Baronet, however, announces it as his opinion, that all this mischief has arisen from our having agitated the question of Reform, whereby we have unsettled those principles of government that previously existed in this country; but when the right hon. Baronet, in proof of this assertion, thought proper to compare these events with the French Revolution, he should have made this distinction—that although we propose a great alteration in the mode of conducting the Government, we by no means propose to unsettle the principles on which that Government depends, or those which have always been considered as the principles of the English Constitution. That the object of those who are favourable to those changes is to put down free and fair discussion, is not a correct representation of the case. We have no such intention, and no inference of the kind can be fairly drawn. The comparison, therefore, which the right hon. Baronet has made, is not borne out. The right hon. Baronet has taken occasion to remark, that there never was a period when the public opinion was more fettered than it is at the present moment; but surely he must be able to perceive, that it always must be the case in every country where free discussion prevails, that on all vitally important subjects the weaker party runs the chance of being put down by popular clamour; and that where a large and overpowering majority of a population takes one side of a question, there must be a considerable expression of feeling against the minority. The right hon. Baronet concluded by stating, that he would not take that opportunity of going into the question of Reform: but, in the cautions which he thought proper to urge, I must say, that he took occasion to state pretty strong opinions on the subject; but as the question will soon come to be fully discussed, I shall not now undertake to notice those opinions, but merely content myself with saying, that I trust the measure about to be brought forward will be found as fully deserving of the confidence of the people, and of this House, as the Bill of last Session, and that I hope, by its passing into a law, that excitement which has existed will be calmed, and general satisfaction given to the people. For my own part, I cannot see anything in this proposition which justifies persons in arguing, that it ought to be regarded only as the commencement of a still further change; on the contrary, I believe it is of such a nature as to satisfy the just expectations of the great majority of the people of England; and though on this, as on all other occasions, there will be those who will wish for more, I believe that that number will constitute so small a minority, that nothing they will be able to do will be of influence enough to disturb the general peace of the country.

Mr. *Hunt* admitted, that the question of Reform was one of the utmost importance to the people, but there were others also of deep importance which required to be considered—he meant the condition of the industrious classes, so many of whom were now out of employment. At one side of the House the distress was ascribed to the existence of cholera and the quarantine, and at the other it was said to be caused by the agitation of this question of Reform. He differed from both. He thought, that a great part of the distress was occasioned by the too hasty withdrawal of the paper currency, and by not reducing taxes in the same proportion as the circulation had been reduced. What were the opinions of the people of Worcester and Coventry, in particular, as to the cause of this distress? To what did they attribute it but to the system of free trade, which allowed the importations of luxuries, such as were consumed by the rich, but which prohibited the necessaries of life, corn, from being imported without great restrictions. The only consolation that was held out to the suffering people was this; "the country is at peace." Why, it had been at peace the last sixteen years, and yet every year the distress had been increasing, and had now arrived at such a height that the people were goaded almost into madness by their sufferings, and this it was, that had produced the dreadful riots which had occurred at Nottingham, Derby, and Bristol. Had the Government acted upon the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir Charles Wetherell) and instantly despatched a Special Commission to Nottingham, would any man say, that such prompt inquiry would not have prevented the dreadful scenes which had since occurred at Bristol? With respect to the horrible riots at this latter city, was it not notorious, that they were caused by that system pursued by the Press in the pay of, or supported by the Government, which had not only encouraged the people to attack the hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir Charles Wetherell) but openly called upon them to take away his life. The same thing occurred at Leeds, where the paper which was the support of the Whig Government, called on the people to spill his (Mr. Hunt's) blood. Fortunately, however, for him, the populace did not proceed to acts of personal violence towards him, although excited and instigated so to do, but another gentleman was obliged to fly from their fury. Another cause of the riots was, that Political Unions were encouraged by the Government, and the Government Press, which called them legal so long as they went as far as they wished; but when they showed any disposition to act for themselves, without the guidance of the Ministry, then they became illegal. He was prepared to contend, that to these causes, and to the contraction of the paper currency, were to be attributed that distress which existed, and those conflagrations which were taking place in so many parts of the country; and he asked, should they do justice to themselves, to the King, and the country, if they were to neglect to notice these things? These were matters which called for their most serious consideration. He perceived that it was not the intention of any party in the House to move an amendment to the Address; but, as he was not connected with any party, he would move an amendment, though he should not get a person to second him. He would do it to put his opinion on record, as he was not disposed to re-act the old farce, of merely repeating the sentiments of the King's Ministers. His proposition was, not to get rid of the Address to the King, but to give Ministers time to consider whether they would follow the old absurd custom of moving an Address, by way of echo to the Speech, or to submit one which had some meaning in it. He then moved an Amendment to this effect:—"That in the present critical and alarming state of the country, when trade and manufactures were reduced to such difficulties by the withdrawing of, and narrowing the circulation, without a proportionate reduction of taxation, by which the incomes of all, except those who lived upon the taxes, were reduced one-half in value, and which caused such great distress; that the distress was aggravated by the baneful system called free trade, by which a competition of foreign silks, gloves, and other articles, was permitted to interfere with our own manufactures; that by these means the people were driven to desperation and phrensy; and that to these causes were to be attributed those incendiary proceedings going on in the country; that for these reasons the House do adjourn, [*a laugh*] to give time to Ministers to prepare a suitable Address, taking proper notice of the state and condition of the country." Hon. Members might laugh at his motion, but the time would come, and it was fast approaching, when they must come to the consideration of these matters, when they would have to consider why it was that a free trade was allowed in luxuries, and why a prohibition was put upon the necessaries of life. The hon. Member concluded by submitting his motion.

The *Speaker* asked, who seconded the Motion, but no hon. Member answering, it of course fell to the ground.

Mr. *Robinson* did not intend to take up the time of the House, but he would very briefly call its attention to the condition of the working classes. the poorer classes, whether manufacturing or agricultural, were in a most deplorable condition. There was an increasing population with decreasing means of employment. It was, he contended, an abandonment of their duty to neglect any longer an inquiry into the condition of those classes. Much time had been lost, Session after Session, without doing any thing on this important subject; and he was sorry not to observe any indication that Government intended to take up the question. It was worse than useless to leave the matter to the exertions of private individuals in that House, for whatever zeal and ability a private individual might bring to the subject, no one had sufficient weight to carry any effective measure without the sanction and co-operation of Government. He did hope, therefore, that the present Session might not be allowed to pass over, without giving rise to some legislative measure to remedy the grievances of which he spoke. It was idle to suppose, that Reform would remedy all the grievances of the country. Reform would do much, no doubt, but it would not do all that was necessary for improving the condition of the labouring classes. They had had various nostrums proposed for the remedy of the existing terrible distress; emigration was one, and free trade another. These had, however, failed. A beneficial system of trade had been abandoned, in order that its place might be supplied by a system of speculation, which had wholly failed in answering its intended purpose. It was only by protecting the industry of the country, that we could at all meet the heavy burthens of our immense establishments. He must press an earnest hope, that the question of Reform might be soon brought to a satisfactory termination, for the delay in the settlement of that great measure produced an additional stagnation in our trade and commerce, which would not be removed until that question was satisfactorily decided. He had no wish that the Address should be otherwise than unanimous, and therefore it was not his intention to move any amendment. He was also happy to observe, that no Member had seconded the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Preston. He should continue his best support to the question of Reform, assuming, that it was on the same principle as the measure of last Session. His object, however, was not to enter upon any discussion of that kind at the present moment. He had risen for the purpose of calling the attention of the House to the condition of the labouring classes, and he hoped that the Session would not be allowed to pass over without something being done for their relief.

Mr. *Leader* said, he would not detain the House further, than to express the great gratification which he felt, that his Majesty's Government had taken into its consideration the state of the Tithe question in Ireland, and as it proposed to refer the whole matter to the consideration of Committees in both Houses of Parliament, he had great hopes that means might be found of effecting some satisfactory arrangement respecting it. There was nothing which weighed so much on the people of Ireland, and there was nothing in which they had so long felt a great interest as in the settlement of the question of Tithes. It was painful to witness the excitement which existed on this subject in Ireland, and painful to witness the scenes to which that had led. Since the affair of Newtownbarry, there had been nothing but agitation, and he therefore was highly pleased at the intimation of the Government, that it meant to take this important subject into consideration, and he hoped it would be able to carry it to a successful termination. He had lately been present at a public meeting of a county of Ireland, which contained 1,000,000 of inhabitants, and the great subject of their complaints was the Tithe system, and there was nothing they were so anxious for as to have some speedy arrangement of that system, such as he understood was contemplated by his Majesty's Government. For three years the clergy of Ireland had received very little or nothing, and he wished, that some means might be found to give them an adequate remuneration for their services, without upholding a system which weighed down the industry of the country, and led to periodical disturbances. The resistance to the payment of tithes was such, that it was impossible that the income of the clergy could be collected without the assistance of an army. He thought it right to express these sentiments, as he was almost the only Gentleman from Ireland then present, and he could not avoid expressing the delight he felt at hearing the announcement in the King's Speech. He had witnessed with much regret the unfortunate circumstances of Ireland, and the dismay they had generally caused, but now he did hope, that there was a prospect that the great question of Reform would be settled; when the attention of the Government and the Legislature might be turned with increased effect to other measures calculated to ameliorate the condition of Ireland.

Mr. *Trevor* said, he hoped the arrangements respecting a part of our foreign policy, alluded to in the Speech, would prove satisfactory, but he confessed he had great doubts on the subject. As those arrangements, however, were not before the House, he protested against being considered as pledged to their approval. The same remark applied also to the subject of Tithes; but he must add to it, that he had serious doubts as to the settlement of that question under the auspices of the present Government. Upon the great question of Reform he should hold himself unpledged with respect to the particular measure to be introduced. Should it be similar in its principles to that of last Session, he would oppose it as earnestly and as strenuously as he had opposed the former plan. The occurrences which had taken place since the rejection of the late Bill, had confirmed him still more thoroughly in his conviction of the propriety of opposing that measure. The outrages were frightful, and they would have been still worse had the Government not been checked in its career. Nor could he pass over the language which had been used at some of the public meetings. The bench of Bishops had been spoken of in the most infamous manner. That rev. body had been called plunderers and robbers, merely because they had conscientiously discharged a duty imposed on them by the Constitution. But that was not all. They were told in the midst of these atrocities, that those who opposed the Bill had instigated their commission. He totally protested against any such assertion, and contended, that it was infamously false and wicked. He could have anxiously wished to see something more definitive than the Speech from the Throne, upon several points of deep interest to the country, and he particularly regretted, that so unsatisfactory an allusion should have been made to the question of Portugal. He would not trespass at any length upon the time of the House, but he held it to be his duty to state the sentiments he entertained, as he thought every Member was bound to do, honestly and manfully, upon such an occasion, when they differed from the policy of the Government. If the great question of Reform should now be brought before them in a state to meet the general wishes of the community, and to secure the stability of the Throne, and the other institutions of the country, God forbid, that he should do any thing to oppose its being passed into a law. But entertaining the strong conscientious convictions which he did, unless the proposed measure should appear to him to be founded on such a basis, and to be calculated to produce the effects confidently anticipated by some, he should act upon his own sense of duty, and give it the same opposition which he had offered to the last measure. He should, however, hold himself unpledged, and express no opinion until he knew what the new proposition was, by seeing it before the House.

Mr. *Shaw* could not concur in the applause which had been bestowed by the only Irish Member who had spoken upon that part of the Speech which alluded to the measure about to be introduced with regard to Ireland. He could not agree with the hon. member for Kilkenny as to the causes of the present state of Ireland, which he believed to arise from a consideration operating on the minds of all parties in that country at the present moment, who were acting apparently under the impression that no virtual Government existed there, either for the purposes of repressing the turbulent or protecting the peaceable. That this was the opinion acted upon by the party supposed to be favourable to the Ministers, was proved by their usurpation of the power and functions of their Government, and by their having, in defiance of the law, virtually revived the Catholic Association under a new name. In what manner were the Representatives of the Government in Ireland treated by this party? With respect to the right hon. Gentleman (the Chief Secretary for Ireland), it was said by the leaders of those persons who were supposed to be supporters of that Government, that no Irishman could wait upon him on the business of the country, without experiencing a reception, which in its manner was an insult. Now, he could say, that, having had occasion to wait upon the right hon. Gentleman, he had never done so without meeting with the most courteous reception, and a willing attention to business. So with regard to the nobleman at the head of the Irish Government. For that illustrious individual no man possessed more personal regard than he did. His own predilections would certainly lead him to support any Government over which that respected nobleman presided; and, if left to follow his own individual feelings, there was no person in the empire whom he would prefer seeing in that situation. But the noble Lord had unfortunately fallen into the hands of subtle and interested advisers. His generous mind and intentions had been sacrificed to their artifices; the patronage of the country was disposed of in the most unsatisfactory manner by such partizans, and the noble Lord was compelled to bear all the obloquy while they had all the influence. In point of fact, they were in the exercise of the powers of Government. If, then, this was the situation and opinions of those who professed to be the supporters of the Government, what was the opinion of the other party to whom they were opposed? Why, the Protestants of Ireland felt that they had not received justice or protection at the hands of the Government, and saw themselves driven to the necessity of providing it for themselves. The state of the Clergy of the Established Church at the present moment was melancholy and frightful. He knew of his own knowledge several respectable clergymen in Ireland, who were at this moment selling their libraries, and other property of that description, in order to obtain the means of subsistence for themselves and families, being utterly unable to obtain their tithes. He had it from them, that this state of things did not depend upon the will of their parishioners, as they had for many years lived on the best terms with those who were Catholics, and had been told by their parishioners, that they were willing to pay tithes if they dared. Of whom, then, were the Catholic payers of tithes afraid? It was clear they did not respect the laws, and that no power was used to enforce them: but they were afraid of that which was stronger than the laws. They were afraid of the acts of individuals belonging to illegal associations — they were under the bondage of persons who told them that tithes were the pest of agriculture, and the bane of their religion. In proof of this, he referred hon. Members to an address lately published by an eminent political Catholic Clergyman, well known by his publications, who had, in that forcible language of which he was the master, suggested to the people of Ireland many specious reasons for violating the law. He said, in effect, that the people of Ireland were not bound or governed by the same law as the people of England. His argument seemed to demand—"What shall we be the better for obeying the law, if we are banished from our homes, and our families are driven to live on roots and water?" And this was all done under the flimsy covering of recommending peace and an observance of the law; the real object, however, of such a publication, was to overturn the religion of the State, and to put in its place the religion of the individual to whom he had alluded. That individual was, he believed, one of the private advisers of the Irish Government, one of its secret council. Such were the parties on whom the Government now relied for support, while it had abandoned a body whose loyalty and attachment it had always hitherto found to be the best supporters of order and property. He never had been a hot or intemperate advocate for Protestant ascendancy: he was willing to grant fair concessions to the Roman Catholics, but he would not allow them to overturn that religion which was established by law. This he would state, that if Government did not assert the supremacy of the law—if it did not boldly put down those associations—if it did not take steps to avoid the precipice on the brink of which they now stood, the Protestants of Ireland would, on a principle of self-preservation, to save themselves, and to uphold their faith, take a lesson from their opponents, and form societies and institutions. This would be a melancholy occurrence, for it would amount almost to a declaration, that virtually they had no Government. But he feared if the present system was persevered in, there would be no other way to preserve their property, and protect their lives and religion.

Mr. *John Weyland* expressed his deep regret, that no allusion had been made by the Government to the condition of the labouring poor. It was impossible that the real state of that class could be known to the Government and the House, or it would not be longer overlooked. He knew from actual investigation, that in some parishes in the country their condition was such as to be a disgrace to any Christian community. He maintained, upon every view of the subject, that inquiry ought to be entered upon immediately, and carried on *pari passu* with the settlement of the question of Reform. The Reform which they were about to adopt would place a greater portion of the power of the Government in the hands of the middle classes; and he was of opinion that it was not at the hands of the middle classes that the poor were to expect to have their condition ameliorated, as was proved by the fact, that in certain places where the higher ranks resided, and who afforded some additional relief to the *modicum* of their earnings, they were comparatively well off; but where the land was cultivated as a speculation for profit, their misery was beyond bearing. He had himself witnessed within these ten days, in some of these places, families of eight or ten persons, with not two blankets to keep them warm during the night, without sufficient clothing for the day, and occasionally even without a meal of potatoes to give their starving children. He therefore most solemnly conjured Ministers to enter into an earnest inquiry, with a determination to act upon the result, as to the means of assimilating the worst of those classes with the best. The very fact, that comfort and happiness were actually produced among the poor, where a real endeavour was made for that purpose, proved there was nothing in what he required, but what a firm Government and a paternal Legislature might bring to pass; but whether the affair was one of easy or difficult accomplishment, he contended that Ministers were bound by every motive that ought to influence statesmen to undertake it. They knew full well, that they came into power, bound by the strongest pledges to inquire into, and endeavour to remedy this fatal evil, as well as to moot the question of Reform. He called upon them to fulfil both pledges, to take the bitter with the sweet, of the situation they had undertaken to fill. That House was bound to look at the dangers which threatened the country in every step they took. It was very easy, when taking rights from a smaller class, who had exercised them for centuries, and giving them to a much more numerous class—it was easy to carry along any such measure on the stream of popularity. He did hope that the question of Reform would not be looked to alone, as a means of remedying the distresses of the country, for then disappointment would be added to the aggravations of delay. He earnestly hoped his Majesty's Government would give a pledge that inquiry should be entered upon at once. He was confident that this would be the only means of putting an end to the fearful acts of incendiarism now spreading in every direction. If something were not done to stop the canker, which was eating into the vitals of the country, it was wholly impossible to carry on any system of good government whatsoever. If the incendiary was only one anticipatory specimen of worse that would follow, and if a healing medicine was not applied, it required no spirit of prophecy to foretel that the whole frame of the body politic must be paralyzed, after an inefficient struggle against a mental disease. He called upon his Majesty's Ministers to fulfil their pledges.

Mr. *Sheil:*—I cannot refrain from making a few observations on the remarks which have fallen from the hon. member for the city of Dublin, or rather the hon. member for the Corporation of Dublin, for in this House he appears in his judicial character. Some of the hon. and learned Gentleman's observations were personal to hon. Members on this side of the House. Sentiments of acrimony are dangerous. This is the first night of the Session, and he has been the first to introduce the word Catholic, and pronounce the word Protestant rather too strenuously. He has given rise to—I will not say a debate on the state of Ireland, but to feelings of personality. He has informed us, that his predilection is in favour of Lord Anglesey, but he has not told us in what direction his interest lies. I will not go so far as to insinuate that his interests and predilections are at variance, but I will only advise him, as he looks on Lord Anglesey and the rest of the Government in a favourable point of view, to lend them also his support. He has said, that the Protestants of Ireland stand in need of protection. In what particular do they stand in need of protection? What wrong has been done them? After all, let us look at the true state of Ireland. Are not all important offices filled by Protestants? Is not the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, a Protestant? Is not the Common Pleas, filled by Protestants? Is not the Recorder of the city of Dublin a Protestant? And might not a Catholic member of that Association, which he considers illegal, be brought before the Protestant Recorder, be tried by a Protestant Jury, and have his case summed-up in a charge by the Protestant Recorder, delivered only to Protestant Jurors? I confess I should have desired, that the hon. Gentleman had gone into some sort of specification; that instead of dealing in generalities, and saying, that the Protestants of Ireland required protection, he had put his finger on some particular case. If, indeed, he had told us, that the chair of justice was occupied by men with party feelings—that in the Recorder's Court no Protestant could expect justice, as the Recorder was a man elected by the Catholic population of Dublin, then indeed he might be justified in saying that, the Protestant had no sort of protection; but when the state of things is so directly the contrary I conjure him, if he wishes reliance to be placed on his statements, to bring forward a specific case. The hon. Gentleman has adverted to the intimation given by the hon. Secretary for Ireland. I think it unfair to make comments till the hon. Secretary has put the House in possession of his plan, and made us acquainted with the extent of the measure. If I have spoken from the spirit of party—if I have spoken as a Roman Catholic, as he appears to me to have spoken as a Protestant, I am sorry so to have done—my feelings were excited by the hon. Gentleman.

Sir *John M. Doyle* regretted that some Gentleman, of more ability than he possessed, was not present to vindicate the right rev. Prelate, who was his private friend, from the observations which had fallen from the hon. and learned Gentleman. He heartily wished, that every Protestant Member of that House would read the last pastoral letter of the right rev. Prelate. In his opinion, a more Christian-like production never emanated from the pen of man. It was evident, from that letter, that the right rev. Prelate sincerely wished to introduce the real harmony of the Gospel amongst the people of Ireland.

Sir *Charles Forbes* said, he must express his regret, that the Speech from the Throne, did not contain some notice of the East-India Company's affairs, and of our relations with China. He begged to remind the House, that the subject was a most important one, as he had no doubt the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, felt it to be, when he recollected, that through the India and China trade, between 3,000,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.* sterling were annually paid to Government, without any charge for collection.

The Address, with the Amendment suggested by Sir Robert Peel, agreed to, and ordered to be presented in the usual manner.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, December 7, 1831.

MINUTES.] Their Lordships only met to proceed and present to his Majesty the Address agreed to last night.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, December 7, 1831.

MINUTES.] New Members sworn. Sir JOHN OWEN, for Pembroke county; Hon. ANTHONY HENRY ASHLEY COOPER, for Dorchester; FRANCIS RUSSELL, Esq., for Tavistock; RICHARD GREAVES TOWNLEY, Esq., for Cambridgeshire; and Lord Viscount SANDON, for Liverpool.

Bills. Brought in by Mr. JOHN CAMPBELL, and read a first time, for the Limitation of Actions and Suits relating to Real Property; to abolish Fines and Recoveries; to amend the Law relating to Tenants by the courtesy of England; to amend the Law relating to Dower; and to amend the Law of Inheritance.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE, of the number of resident Householders and Persons rated to the Poor in the Parish of St. James's Westminster, and the same Returns from all the Parishes within the Metropolitan Police District:—On the Motion of Mr. HUME, the number of Persons convicted of publishing and selling unstamped Publications, the Magistrates by whom they were convicted, and the period for which they were imprisoned.

Petitions presented. Complaining of undue Returns for the Town of Drogheda; for the Borough of Wallingford, the county of Dorset, and the county of Forfar. By Mr. HUNT, from certain Persons of Falmouth, deprecating all Penalties in consequence of Religious Opinions, and praying for the release of Robert Taylor. By Mr. GRANVILLE VERNON, from the Inhabitants of Misserton, Notts, praying for Parliamentary Reform.

The usual Sessional Standing Orders were read, and agreed to.

REFORM PETITIONS.] Lord *Althorp:* I have received for presentation to this House, a Petition from the important county of York, in favour of Parliamentary Reform, and I feel very much honoured by the confidence which that great county has reposed in me, by placing in my hands the petition which I have now the honour to present. Those Gentlemen who were in the House when the petition was brought in must be aware of its magnitude, and of the difficulty which I should have in presenting it in the ordinary mode. The petition is signed by nearly 50,000 inhabitants of Yorkshire, and it prays that, in the measure to be brought forward by his Majesty's Ministers on the subject of Reform, there should be no departure from the main principles of the Bill which passed this House during the last Session. The petition also prays us to apply ourselves to the measure with every despatch consistent with a due consideration of the subject. In presenting this petition, I beg leave to state, that I most entirely and cordially concur in the prayer which it contains. I certainly should be sorry to see any measure relating to Reform presented or proposed which did depart from the principles of the Bill under our consideration during last Session; and, when the day comes for my noble friend to propose the Bill, of which he has given notice, the House will find that, whatever improvements may have been made in the details of the measure, his Majesty's Ministers have redeemed their pledge of abiding by the principles contained in the last Reform Bill. It is not, of course, desirable for me at the present moment to enter at large into this question; and I shall, therefore, conclude, by expressing the satisfaction and gratification which have been afforded me by being intrusted with a petition conveying the sentiments of the inhabitants of the county of York on the question of Reform.

Lord *Morpeth* said, that the present petition was the answer which the county of York gave to the imputation that a re-action had taken place, and it appeared to him, that the argument was a very weighty one. In addition to the very satisfactory remarks which had fallen from his noble friend, he begged leave to state, that he was present at the meeting when the present petition was adopted. It was afterwards circulated throughout the county, and received, in five or six days, upwards of 40,000 signatures. No person was allowed to affix his name to the petition, who was either under age, or who could not write his name with his own hand; the present petition, therefore, besides being an evidence of the feelings of the people of Yorkshire on the subject of Reform, was a convincing proof, that the schoolmaster possessed extensive sway in that county. The meeting at which the present petition was adopted, was held immediately upon the arrival of the intelligence of the rejection of the late Reform Bill; and he confessed, that he had attended that meeting with much anxiety, because he knew that deep disappointment did not usually express itself in moderate language, and because he had heard, that scenes of disgraceful outrage had occurred in other places. He was, however, happy to inform the House, that no assemblage of men could have exhibited a more peaceable and orderly behaviour than the freeholders of York did on that occasion. There was one passage in the petition with which he entirely agreed, although it was far from being complimentary to the ingenious criticisms and long harangues which had been heard in that House, during the last Session, on the subject of the Reform Bill. The petitioners prayed the House to pass the Reform Bill with all possible despatch; and he trusted, that their prayer would be attended to, for he believed, that to the delay which had been opposed to the settlement of the question, was to be attributed much of the stagnation in business and public distress which at present prevailed.

Mr. *Croker* would tell the noble Lord, notwithstanding all he could say of long speeches and harangues, and ingenious criticisms having been passed upon the Bill of last Session, that he was entirely mistaken as to his facts, and the deductions which he made from them. The delay complained of had not arisen from those who conscientiously opposed the Bill; for they had acted from the most honourable motives, and their object was, to prevent injury being inflicted upon the vested interests of the country. The delay originated in the conduct of the various classes of Reformers, few of whom could be found to agree with each other; and the consequence was, they had altered and amended the Bill at their good pleasure. Those Gentlemen who opposed the Reform Bill on principle, complained, that great injustice would be done by it to such places as Saltash, for example; and, while the daily Press was exhausting complaints against delay, the noble Lord himself had fully concurerd in the justice of those opinions for a revision of the question relating to that place, which he (Mr. Croker) had called attention to in the last Session. It was very easy to complain of long speeches and ingenious criticisms, but the noble Lord ought not to be the person to make such remarks, for, on the last night of the last Session of Parliament, he had detained the House for a considerable time by a very long speech. With respect to the difficulties which had arisen in the country, and with respect to the stagnation in trade, which the noble Lord deplored, he could only repeat what he said last evening, and which had been much more ably said by the right hon. member for Tamworth, and attribute it, as it was justly due, to the very unnecessary agitation caused by the Reform Bill which had been introduced by his Majesty's Ministers. The Ministers had shaken the whole frame of the social edifice, and it was no wonder that its several parts should be dislocated. The Ministers might talk loudly and boldly, but this he would venture to prophesy, that the agitation, the very unnecessary agitation, of the former Reform Bill, would, upon reflection, be found to have caused the present stagnation in trade, and he feared it might yet further lead to some more terrible convulsion, which might destroy the best interests of the State. He did not believe the Government contemplated any such results, but he was satisfied that their Reform Bill would produce them.

Mr. *Strickland* thought, that the petition now presented was not only a triumphant answer to the assertion of a re-action, but that it was a proof of the perseverance of the people of Yorkshire in the pursuit of that great object of Parliamentary Reform, in which, he was proud to say, they had first led the way, under the auspices of Sir George Saville, many years since, as the records of that House could testify. He thought it most essential that, upon this subject, the House should come, not only to a satisfactory, but to a speedy conclusion. Instead of agreeing with the right hon. Gentleman in the prophecy they had just heard, he was convinced, that the adoption of the measure would produce a most beneficial effect on the prosperity and happiness of the country. He took that opportunity to bear his testimony to the great respectability of the meeting at which this petition was agreed to, and the orderly and proper manner in which the whole business of the day was conducted.

Mr. *Hunt* thought himself challenged to say a few words, in consequence of the frequent allusions to re-action by hon. Members. He had been the first man in that House to speak of re-action; but, when he spoke of it, he did not say, that there had been a re-action against the cause of Reform, but against the plan of Reform brought forward by his Majesty's Ministers. He should like to ask the noble Lord opposite, how many of the names signed to the petition which had been presented were from the towns of Leeds and Huddersfield?

Lord *Althorp:* There were 22,000 from Leeds.

Mr. *Hunt* was desirous to be informed of the number, because he had visited those places since that petition was agreed to, and he had attended a larger meeting at Leeds than the meeting at York, where this petition had been adopted. At the meeting at Leeds, which he attended, there had been 10,000 persons present, and they all differed from those who had signed the petition which had just been presented to the House. He did not mean to say, that those who had attended the meeting at Leeds were not reformers — they were, every man of them—but then they were radical reformers, and wanted more than this petition prayed for. He had attended also a meeting at Huddersfield, where a large body of persons had assembled, and, with two exceptions, they had disapproved of the Ministerial measure of Reform; but then they also were radical reformers. They did not approve of the "bit-by-bit" Reform proposed by Ministers; they wanted something for themselves; and, it was his opinion, that those who pretended they did not, were arrant hypocrites. He did not mean to join those hon. Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House, many of whom, he was sorry to say, he now found to be no Reformers at all. From the tone of some of them he had expected that a more extensive measure would have met their approval than the late Bill. He remembered, that the right hon. Baronet, the member for Tamworth, had said, he would more readily adopt the plan proposed by him (Mr. Hunt) to establish the household franchise of Preston, than the 10*l.* franchise proposed by his Majesty's Ministers. The people wanted more than this measure would give them—they looked for something beyond it; but the Ministers had honestly stated, that this was to be a final measure, and it was for that reason that he was opposed to it. He believed that nineteen out of twenty of those who had signed this petition imagined, that it was a petition for Reform, but did not understand that it was meant in favour of the Ministerial plan of Reform. They had been imposed on, he was sure. When the measure was first brought in, ninety-nine out of one hundred were in favour of it; but, he believed, that that was not the case now. As to the number of persons who had signed this petition, he would only tell the noble Lord, that if he was allowed the same money that had been expended in getting up this petition, he would undertake to get one up in Yorkshire, with double the number of signatures, for Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, and Vote by Ballot.

Petition to lie on the Table, and be printed.

Lord *Morpeth* said, that he had some more "re-action" in the county of York to show the hon. member for Preston. He had now to present a petition from Wakefield in favour of Reform.

Mr. *Croker:* How many signatures from Wakefield are attached to the county petition?

Lord *Morpeth:* Twenty-seven hundred.

Mr. *Croker* said, that the House had been told, that the county petition had received 22,000 signatures from Leeds, and 2,700 from Wakefield. If the other large towns of Yorkshire had contributed in the same proportion, very few of the rural population of the county could have signed the petition.

Lord *Morpeth* said, the petition lay for signatures in the great towns, but it had also been signed by the inhabitants of the adjacent villages.

Lord *Althorp* remarked, that the Yorkshire petition contained 1,794 signatures from Northallerton.

Mr. *Croker* said, that the provision of the late Reform Bill, with respect to the town of Northallerton, was what he might venture to call a job. The newly constituted town of Northallerton was to be seventeen miles in length, and yet it had only produced 1,794 signatures to the petition just presented to the House.

Lord *Althorp* begged to observe to the right hon. Gentleman, that if he recollected the situation and circumstances of Northallerton, he must admit, that it was very unlikely a job should be concocted in that place by his Majesty's Ministers, or those who supported them.

Mr. *Croker* begged to remind the noble Lord, that jobs could be created for obtaining interest as well as to keep up what was already in existence.

Petition to lie on the Table, and be printed.

TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.] Mr. *Hume* presented a Petition from the North West Metropolitan Union, praying for the diminution of the taxes upon all kinds of publications which had for their object to communicate knowledge and information to the community. He was of opinion, that to the ignorance unhappily prevalent among some of the lower classes were to be attributed many of the offences against the peace and property of society which had lately been perpetrated. To remove this cause of evil, he thought that Parliament ought to repeal all taxes upon newspapers, pamphlets—aye, and he would go further, all taxes upon paper and on all articles used in printing. They should do this in order to carry into effect the objects of this petition. By the laws now existing, parishes were obliged to find food for pauper children, and he thought it quite as important that they should provide them also with knowledge. He trusted, that Ministers would take the necessary measures to remove the duties upon publications during the present Session.

Mr. *Trevor* wholly disagreed with the remarks which had fallen from the hon. Member who had just addressed them. He should like to see these taxes on publications increased, instead of being abolished, for he was convinced, that much of the evils now existing in the country arose from the doctrines that were disseminated in the daily journals. The poorer classes, by reading these despicable, these diabolical papers, imbibed many of their present errors. He knew that to be a fact, and he thought it a fact of a most serious kind. Among what class of persons did these papers circulate, but among those who had just sufficient education to be pleased with the matter contained in such obnoxious publications? By reading these, they acquired a smattering of political knowledge, by which they were misled, and he was convinced, that so far from improving, it had deteriorated their condition.

Colonel *Torrens* observed, that the salvation of the country was wound up in the diffusion of correct political information. It was, therefore, clearly the duty of Government to encourage its extension by the removal of all existing impediments to the acquirement of sound knowledge. The more ignorant men were, the more likely were they to be misled, particularly when they were under excitement, as at present. The most effectual way to turn that excitement in a right direction was, by allowing every facility for the general diffusion of practical political information. Knowledge was power, but the people had only half knowledge, which was half power; give them full knowledge, and they would know that they had an interest in exercising their power in a proper manner in defence of the rights of property, instead of attempting to shake those rights and undermine its influence.

Mr. *Hume,* in moving that the Petition be laid on the Table, observed, that he was surprised, that at this time there should be persons opposed to the general diffusion of knowledge. He wished to ask the hon. member for Durham, whether he considered the interests of society were promoted by the propagation of mischievous doctrines—such, for instance, as regarded the rights of property. This was done by people in desperate circumstances, for the sake of a living, while respectable persons were deterred from answering them in cheap publications from fear of fines imposed by the Stamp Office. Thus were the most dangerous doctrines circulated through the country. It was on these grounds that he urged the prayer of the petition on the attention of the House. He would avail himself of this opportunity to ask the noble Lord opposite, whether it was his intention to repeal the taxes affecting publications?

Lord *Althorp* protested against a question as to what he intended to do with respect to a particular tax. The hon. Member called on him to make a pledge, when he was quite unable to do so.

Mr. *Trevor* said, he was glad to hear the hon. member for Middlesex now admitted, that evil was likely to ensue from the publication of such doctrines as he had described, though last Session the hon. Member had deprecated the punishment of persons engaged in such pursuits. If the proprietors of newspapers were desirous to reply to such opinions, they could as well do so now as when the tax was repealed.

Sir *Francis Burdett* agreed with the hon. member for Middlesex. There were many most objectionable publications circulated in a cheap form, in defiance of the law. These publications contained sometimes the most dangerous doctrines. There were men who would gladly devote their talents to answer them, and to diffuse better opinions among the people, but they did not like to incur the penalties of offending the Stamp Laws, and, therefore, these publications remained unanswered. It was the Stamp-laws and the attempt to put down cheap publications, that brought the mischievous ones into notice. Give others an opportunity to obtain a hearing by repealing the Stamp Acts, and these mischievous publications would be fully answered. If fair play was given on all sides, the Press itself would rectify all the evils which it was supposed to have occasioned.

Petition to lie upon the Table.

REPORT ON THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE KING'S SPEECH.] Lord Cavendish brought up the report on the Address in answer to his Majesty's Speech.

Mr. *Hume* said, that before the report was agreed to, he felt himself compelled to make a few observations on the Speech from the Throne — observations which he thought were called for, not only by what the Speech contained, but also by what it had omitted. He entirely concurred in the first part of the Speech. Ministers deserved well, and were entitled to the thanks of, the country for bringing Parliament together at so early a period, and he indulged the hope, that a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of the great question of Parliamentary Reform would be the result. Without dwelling any longer on this part of his Majesty's Speech, he should proceed at once to state, that he could not concur in that part of the Address which related to the interference of this country with the affairs of Belgium. Nothing so objectionable had taken place since Mr. Canning's famous expedition to Portugal. He regretted to see, that the members of Government, who had always declared themselves hostile to the principles of the Holy Alliance, should now turn round and act in accordance with those principles, by an interference with Belgium, which neither of the parties affected by that interference thanked them for. Holland or Belgium, or any of the continental Powers, had as much right to dictate the terms upon which a separation should take place between England and Ireland, as this country had to interfere in the dispute between Belgium and Holland. The two countries ought to have been left to settle their own affairs, and by adopting a contrary course, and interfering between them, he (Mr. Hume) could not help thinking that Ministers had acted unwisely, both as regarded the country, and as regarded their own characters. In the speech from the Throne no mention was made of any intended reduction of the public burthens. Nothing was said of a reduction of the public establishments. It would be in the recollection of the House, that an increase took place in the military force of this country during the last year, avowedly on account of the unsettled state of affairs in Belgium. For his part, he could not think that this country had properly anything to do with the affairs of Belgium. Why should a British fleet be lying in the Downs at this period of the winter, merely because the king of Holland refused to assent to the treaty framed by the London Conference? The Belgians protested, and the Dutch protested, against the interference of this country, and, by that interference, he contended that this country had, in fact, become a member of the Holy Alliance, and was supporting its principles. The King's Speech admitted, that distress existed in the country, and that the distress arose from the want of employment; but not a word was said as to the remedy for this distress. Could any man doubt, he asked, that excessive taxation was the cause of the present distress? and, if this was admitted, were not Ministers bound to come forward with some proposal for a reduction of taxation? Perhaps at the proper period, reductions would be proposed, and, if such reductions were not then propounded to the House, he did hope that a more satisfactory cause for the continuance of such large establishments would be given, than our injudicious interference between Belgium and Holland. At present, however, no such explanation was offered, and he could not satisfy himself that he was doing right if he did not take this opportunity of protesting against the continuance of the present extensive public establishments.

Viscount *Palmerston* did not mean to enter at length into the topics adverted to by the hon. member for Middlesex, but he felt himself called upon to reply to one or two of his observations. The hon. Member had expressed his disapprobation of the course pursued by his Majesty's Government in interfering in the dispute between Belgium and Holland, and had contended, that by this interference Ministers abandoned the principles they had advocated when out of office, and had imposed upon the people of Belgium a government adverse to their wishes. The king of Holland not having assented to the treaty, it must be obvious that the period had not yet arrived when this subject could be fully entered upon. When that period should arrive, however, he should be prepared to show, that the interference of his Majesty's Government in the affairs of Belgium rested upon principles acted upon by the Government of England in the best times, and that, if the present Ministers had not been prepared to act upon those principles, they would have abandoned the interests of England itself. He must altogether deny, that the Government of this country had been instrumental in imposing upon Belgium a Government inconsistent with the wishes of the people of that country. On the contrary, the people of Belgium had chosen their own form of government, and had elected their own sovereign. The circumstances under which the Government of this country had interfered were simply these:—Both Holland and Belgium were anxious to be separated, but it was impossible for them to agree upon the terms of such separation, and the inevitable consequence of being left to themselves would have been, that Europe must have been involved in war. By the interference which had taken place, peace was preserved, and Europe saved from the horrors of war. It would have been a war of principle too, into which it was probable England would soon have been brought. By the interference which had taken place this consequence was averted; Holland was placed in a better situation than she had ever been in at any former period, and Belgium had secured to itself the form of Government and the sovereign which its people had chosen.

Mr. *George Dawson* said, he could not permit the Address to be agreed to without making a few observations. He regarded the Speech as a meagre and unmeaning production generally. It deserved no praise, but it had provoked contempt. Some matters, most pregnant with evils to the people, had been entirely overlooked. Two points alone were touched intelligibly—the Reform Question, and the Irish Church establishment, so far as tithes were concerned. With respect to the first question, he should say nothing more, than that he was far from being convinced there was any prospect of a speedy and satisfactory settlement being arrived at, when he recollected what fell from the noble Lord (Althorp) last night on this subject. The other was a dangerous and difficult question, and, he much feared, beyond the powers of the present Government. Upon all other matters the Speech was most unsatisfactory and most confused; for it agitated several most important subjects without giving the slightest intimation of what course the Government intended to pursue with regard to them. Upon the state of the country nothing at all reasonable was to be found in the Speech. The dreadful scenes in Bristol, in Derby, in Nottingham—the nightly conflagrations, the sad destruction of life, and the immense spoliation of property—were disposed of in one obscure sentence. This was unpardonable, and calculated to have any effect rather than that of putting a stop to the infamous proceedings which had, under the present Government, disfigured and disgraced several parts of the country. He had a right to ask what were the intentions of Government upon these subjects? The Speech was also most unsatisfactory as to the Unions which had recently started into a baneful existence. What was to be done with those dangerous and irresponsible bodies? There had been a milk-and-water proclamation respecting them, by which the Government appeared to ask them not to go too far, but no fitting and proper measure had yet been adopted, and it was impossible to say, from the tenour of his Majesty's Speech, that any thing of the sort was contemplated. That Speech did not say either that the law, as it existed, was sufficient for the dispersion of those Unions, and that it would be enforced for that purpose, or that it was not sufficient, and that his Majesty would find it necessary in consequence to apply to Parliament for new powers. The Attorney General had slumbered at his post ever since he had been in office, and if he had been consulted, he certainly had not roused himself to meet the occasion; on the contrary, he had managed to put as many words together with as little meaning as possible. The state of the country required something more specific from Ministers. It was impossible for a person opposed to the Government on the subject of Reform to travel without personal danger, in consequence of his opinions. Were not the castles and the houses of the great proprietors who were opposed to the revolutionary Bill in a state of siege? Most of them were barricaded for safety, and the owners with their friends were compelled to be armed for their protection. This was a frightful state of things, and its continuance ought not to be permitted. The Unions—those monstrous and dangerous combinations—were said to be for the purpose of carrying the Reform Bill. They were for no such purpose. Their object was destruction. They aimed not at Reform, but at plunder—and at the annihilation of the institutions of the country. In this situation they were placed—in point of fact they were on the brink of the precipice; and he did not ask too much when he desired the Government would state what was the nature of the measures they intended to pursue or to propose. If he was told the Government proposed to do nothing, that things were to be permitted to go on after their present fashion, he knew what he had to expect. In common with those who concurred with him in opinion, he should be prepared for the worst; and he should take good care to provide himself with that protection and defence which it appeared the Government was not willing to afford. In England a proclamation respecting combinations had been issued, and the people had, with great good sense, followed much of the advice contained in that document; but what was the case in Ireland? Why was an Association permitted to exist that could not lead to any thing but mischief? That Association threatened and controlled the Government. It was formed of the very dregs of the Catholic Association, and it defied the Government. Why, then, he asked the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary for Ireland, why was some measure not adopted and enforced for the suppression of that dangerous body? The King's Speech appeared to imply, that all the discontent in Ireland originated in the state of the law respecting tithes. That was a great error. The discontent did not arise from any such source, but from the speeches made in the Association, and disseminated throughout the country. It was not tithes, nor any other particular question, that kept Ireland in a ferment, and rendered it a scene of discord and of strife, but it was that eternal agitation that the Government seemed to cherish, using the firebrand which had been snatched from the ashes of the late Catholic Association. If irresponsible combinations and associations were dangerous in England, were they not equally so in Ireland? A proclamation had been issued in England against them; why, at least, had not a similar document been promulgated in Ireland? He would tell the Government this, that if the present Association in Ireland was to be permitted to go on, they must expect associations of all descriptions. All interests would struggle for their own protection. That very day, he believed, a meeting was to take place in Dublin for the purpose of considering the propriety of the Protestants of Ireland forming an association for their own protection. Did the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary for Ireland, imagine, that the intention of the Government to take up the question of tithes would satisfy that unhappy country? It would do, he would venture to tell him, no such thing. The discontented and the turbulent would treat the discussion on that question as a victory which they had gained over the Government; and the friends of the Constitution and of good order would naturally suspect it to be a first stab at the institutions of the country. The state of Ireland was alarming in the extreme. There was nominally a legal government, but in fact the country was swayed by the dictates of the mob and of the Press. That was his sincere opinion, and he had not formed it rashly or inconsiderately. He had been brought to this opinion by seeing, what he lamented to see—namely, the extraordinary patience with which his Majesty's Ministers submitted to the rebukes and intrusion of persons who were connected with the mob and with the Press in their very ante-chambers. He alluded to an interview which had taken place between certain radicals, headed by a tailor and an apothecary, and Lord Grey, in his official capacity, and in his ante-chamber; and also an interview between certain persons belonging to political unions, and the Secretary of State for the Home Department, from whose magnanimity he should not have expected, that he would thus enter into familiar communication with persons whom he had actually denounced as guilty of treacherous, if not positively seditious, proceedings. He was, therefore, compelled to say, that we were now living under the dominion of the mob and the Press! Looking at the state of Ireland, then, he contended, that it was not asking too much to desire to know from the Noble Lord (Althorp), more specifically than had yet been stated, what were the intentions of Government with respect to that country.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* could not see, that so much personal danger existed as the right hon. Gentleman supposed, for those who were opposed to Reform, when he recollected a recent meeting of the county of Sussex, at which that right hon. Gentleman himself attended, and although he expressed sentiments in opposition to those of the whole meeting, he was received with the utmost good humour and politeness; and no attempt at violence or personal disrespect was had recourse to. With regard to a subject in which his hon. and learned friend opposite (Sir Charles Wetherell) was personally interested, he felt bound to say, that the attacks made upon him were of a most disgraceful and infamous character: his hon. and learned friend, however, appeared to have completely justified himself from the aspersions which had been cast upon him, from the misrepresentations which had been made of his conduct, and from the attempt to fasten upon him the utmost obloquy that could attach to a man, by the imputation that he had been the means of wantonly provoking the riots at Bristol, by having gone there to administer the functions of his office, when he might have avoided the mischief by appointing a deputy to perform his duties for him, whereas, in fact, he had no power to appoint a deputy. It appeared to him, that his hon. and learned friend had acted with perfect propriety, and would have been guilty of a dereliction of his duty if he had not acted as he had done. He went to Bristol under the express sanction of the Secretary of State, and was absolved from all blame in the transaction. He could not, however, agree with his hon. and learned friend, that it was incumbent upon the Government to put his name in the commission. He did not think Government were bound, or that it would have been right for them to put upon the commission one who had been the object of such violent animosity, and whose life, he believed, was sought for, and would have been sacrificed without compunction or remorse on that occasion. He approved of much that the right hon. Gentleman opposite had said with respect to the political associations—but he thought, that no new law was necessary to suppress them if they were illegal; and that they were illegal, no man acquainted with the law could doubt. He thought it quite necessary, that the attention of his Majesty's Government should be directed to that subject, and more particularly to the Leeds union, which stated its object (among others) to be, to forward addresses to the Crown and to the Legislature, to protect the interests of the country, and to prevent all public wrong or encroachment upon the rights of the people. If such a body were to take the redress of grievances into its own hands, no Government could exist in the country. The Leeds Union, and one of the Unions in the metropolis, had declared, that all hereditary distinctions ought to be abolished. He did not object to theoretical speculations upon Government, but if associations were framed with the express object to inculcate and enforce those principles amongst the people, no monarchical government could be safe, for the two institutions were totally inconsistent with each other. He hoped, that no act had been done by those meetings which brought them within the reach of the law; but he expected and believed, that, if any such act should be committed, the law would be enforced to put them down, and it was sufficient for that purpose. With regard to the measure of Reform, he retained the same opinion which he had formerly avowed, and should give his cordial and sincere support to his Majesty's Ministers, in carrying through a measure consistent with the principles of the Bill which had been formerly before the House; but he did not feel, that that support necessarily drew along with it an adherence to all the details of the measure. He had never been an advocate for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill;" and he trusted, that while some alterations would not be objected to, that among other improvements, the measure now to be brought before the House, would not contain that most objectionable clause by which weekly tenants paying a rent of 3*s.* 10*d.* for that term, were to have the franchise extended to them. The right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) had said, that if the principles of this Bill would satisfy the country, such a belief would go far to make him agree to the measure. He sincerely believed, that the great body of the people would require nothing more, and would strenuously oppose any attempt to get more. Some would be discontented with the Bill, like the hon. member for Preston, whose conduct certainly appeared to him most extraordinary, supporting the Bill by his vote in that House, and opposing it elsewhere, but the mass of the people, he believed would be satisfied. As to the interference of this country in the affairs of Belgium, it happened that, for want of information, the House were unable to give any opinion whether it was in all respects right and just, or whether it was contrary to principle. From what he knew, he believed it to be consistent with principle. Both parties had acquiesced in that interference, and he conscientiously believed, that to it we were indebted for the present peace of Europe. He was glad of the conciliatory course which had been pursued by the Government towards France, and hoped that it would ripen into that firm amity between the two nations, which was so necessary, particularly at the present time, when civilized Europe was menaced by some of the other great military Powers. There was one topic which he did not know whether it could have been introduced in the Speech, which was comprised in one word—Poland. That subject had been introduced in the Speech of last Session, and he feared, that the present silence upon it was the silence of death. He feared, that Poland, submerged in the blood of her citizens, had fallen, to rise no more. He had seen a paper, published in Paris, which said, that Poland had not been conquered by the arms of Russia, but through the promises of France and England. This he did not believe, and he trusted that England at least was free from so foul a stain.

Lord *Sandon* said, he rose principally for the purpose of expressing his entire concurrence in the views of his hon. friend; like him, to repeat the expression of his continued adherence to the principles of the Bill which he had the honour of supporting in the last Parliament; like him, to accompany it with the declaration, that he was no bigot to its details, and that he earnestly hoped, provided its leading principles were maintained, that it might be now brought before them in a shape more likely to secure the acquiescence of the other House of Parliament than it proved before. To the leading principles of that measure, to the abolition of the nomination boroughs, the enfranchisement of unrepresented great communities, and to a liberal extension of the franchise, he would give his cordial support; and he believed they might so shape their measure for the attainment of these objects as to secure the acquiescence of the House of Lords. He had, in the long intercourse which he had had this year with every class of the numerous and important body of constituents which he had the honour to represent, not found them so bigotted and wedded to the details of that measure as to call upon him for that parrot cry of "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," which had been to so many Gentlemen the passport to public favour on the hustings; on the contrary, in mixing with every shade and colour of opinion, from the Tory even to the Radical, he might say, he had found considerable difference of opinion on many important points, and, even amongst the most reforming, great doubts as to the soundness and safety of the reconstructing parts of the measure. He found not exactly what many opponents of the Bill had called a reaction, but an inclination to pause and reconsider the extensiveness and wisdom of the changes which had been proposed in the constitution of the House of Commons. He believed, that if other Gentlemen had had the advantage he had, of mixing daily and hourly with great masses of the community of every class for ten weeks, and of sifting their opinions individually, not taking them in the gross, as they floated upon the surface in public meetings, and addresses, and declarations, they would have found a prevalence of the same feeling among their own constituents, together with an earnest desire rather to attain the main objects of the measure by some compromise, some approximation to the opinions of the other House, than to risk the destruction of the whole fabric of the Constitution, by a stiff-necked bigoted adherence to the late measure, as it passed out of their hands. If Gentlemen, in the House and out of the House, would have the courage and spirit to declare openly and publicly their sentiments on this point, which they made no hesitation to profess in private, he had little doubt of its being possible to arrive at a speedy arrangement with the other House of Parliament; and it was the duty of every true patriot, of every man who really loved the Constitution of the country, to do everything in his power to facilitate this object—and, if the Lords had acted, as he thought, very unwisely, in the absolute rejection of the former Bill, not to attempt to overbear this, though unwise, yet constitutional resistance, by forcing upon them the same measure in the shape in which it so much excited their apprehensions, but rather to look out for means of approximation, by which the two Houses might be brought together, and a fearful collision avoided, which could only end in destroying all the weight and importance of one branch of the Legislature. And what would have been gained, if, in attempting to win back for one branch of the Legislature the attachment and respect of the people of this country, the influence and value of the other branch, equally important as it was to the framework of our mixed and balanced Constitution, had been totally destroyed? In this good work of conciliation, he could not doubt but that the House would be met full half way by the other House of Parliament—he saw it in the explicit declarations of some peers, and he had read it in the tone of others. He could not doubt but that a large proportion of those peers even who opposed the Bill, would see at length, that the sacrifice of the nomination boroughs was a necessary offering to the intensity of the public feeling; that, although in many respects a very useful and convenient ingredient in our Constitution—the loss of which it would be very difficult to supply—they were liable to many abuses and corruptions, which had at length made them intolerable in the public eye, and that they had thus become rather a source of weakness than of strength to the very interests which they were supposed to protect. He had no doubt that, if that object were effectually accomplished, together with the enfranchisement of the great towns, and the remedy of abuses in the franchise (as he was confident it might be with the acquiescence of the House of Lords), the country would be content to see the details of reconstruction arranged in such a manner as would allay the fears and apprehensions the Bill had excited in the wealthy and educated, as well of the commercial and manufacturing, as of the agricultural classes. He hoped, that in this spirit the House would undertake the work before it; for melancholy, indeed, would it be, if meaning, as many Members of both Houses meant, to accomplish the same object, the two Houses should act as if they were at variance, for want of a little understanding between the parties, and of an open avowal of those sentiments to each other which they had in common, but which neither party was willing to be the first to express. He was anxious, also, to join his hon. friend in expressing approbation of the general conduct of his Majesty's Ministers as to their foreign policy between Holland and Belgium. As far as the House yet knew, our interference between those Powers seemed to have been limited by the soundest views of national interest; and he could not, therefore, join the hon. member for Middlesex in deprecating that course as inconsistent with those general principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations which this country had always professed. Non-interference in the affairs of a nation, when they only concern their own internal welfare, alone was meant when it was spoken of as the principle of conduct. Not to interfere, when those affairs concerned not only those nations themselves, but the peace and welfare of all neighbouring nations, would be a want of common prudence and foresight, highly culpable in any Government, and which no one could think of requiring in a similar case, even of a simple individual in his intercourse with his neighbour. With these sentiments, he begged leave to express his hearty concurrence in the Address.

Mr. *Hunt* said, that the hon. member for Kirkcudbright (Mr. Cutlar Fergusson) had read the Ministers a severe lesson; for he denounced the Political Unions, when he knew in his heart that the Ministers had been kept in their seats by means of those Unions. He knew that they had corresponded with, and encouraged those Unions, and that all their supporters encouraged them. The hon. Baronet, the member for Westminster, had been at the head of one of them, under the sanction of his Majesty's Ministers, and for the support, as it was said, of the King—for the King's name was also used by them. He had been taunted for his popularity on that (the Opposition) side of the House; but he was popular only because he spoke the truth. He had never approved of the late Reform Bill further than as it encouraged a hope, that it might be made a stepping-stone to a more extended plan, which was most desirable, and would be found ultimately necessary, if the permanent peace and welfare of the country was the object of those who were advocates of Reform.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* denied, that Ministers existed, or were supported, by means of the Political Unions. Nor could he admit, as seemed to be insinuated by the hon. Member, that the letters written by the two noble Lords were an encouragement of them. Indeed, he believed, that many of those Unions were opposed to the Ministry in most of the leading points of their policy.

Sir *Francis Burdett* concurred in most of the opinions which had been expressed by his hon. and learned friend (the member for Kirkcudbright) respecting the foreign policy of the present Administration. He objected to the course pursued by the hon. member for Preston, for he found that hon. Member regularly supporting the Bill within, and opposing it without the House, upon all occasions. He contended, that the Political Unions had never infringed the law; nor could he believe, that the persons composing them had any intention of doing so. How any man could bring himself to state, that Ministers derived not only their support, but also their existence, from Political Unions, was a matter far beyond his comprehension. He believed, and admitted, that the chief aim, the main object, of these associations was, to support the honest measure which the Ministry had introduced for the purpose of reforming the Commons' House of Parliament, and that it was their fixed and settled purpose not to do any thing which could impede the views, or thwart the designs, of the present Administration. Belonging, as he did, to these Unions, he defied any man to prove the charge which had been so frequently brought against them, of being contrary to law. Their operations might be contrary to the opinion which his hon. and learned friend had just promulgated, but he defied his hon. and learned friend, with all his ingenuity, to prove that they were in any, the slightest respect, illegal. Some of these Unions, it appeared, had stated, that the distinction of ranks in society was unnatural. That was merely a theoretical assertion; and, so far as any practical deduction could be drawn from such a theory, he by no means concurred in it. But who could pretend to say, that the distinction of ranks was natural? But, supposing that such a statement had been made, and he allowed that it had, was it sufficient to show, that peril either had, or would, arise out of such societies? Surely it was not necessary for that House to take up and discuss every theory that was broached at public meetings. Surely they ought not to cry out "sedition!" when any thing foolish or extravagant was said on such occasions. He believed, that his hon. and learned friend had himself, in early life, belonged to such societies. [Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson:* Never.] Well, he had given his hon. and learned friend credit for belonging to such societies—a credit which it now turned out that his hon. and learned friend did not deserve. But he believed his hon. friend would not contradict him when he asserted, that his hon. and learned friend had taken a part in the proceedings of certain societies, one object of which was to obtain Parliamentary Reform. The fact, however, was immaterial, for all that he contended for was, to deny that there was any illegality in the formation of these Unions, or that there was any bad spirit pervading them. He really believed, that the wish of his Majesty would be sufficient to dissolve them; for, independently of his authority as sovereign, such was the influence which he had derived from his wise and patriotic conduct since his accession to the Throne, that he (Sir Francis Burdett) was convinced, that a mere breath of his would go further to dissolve them than all the arbitrary mandates of any Ministry. Be that, however, as it might, all these Unions would be dissolved, as certainly as the fogs of night were dissolved by the sun of the morning, whenever the people of England should receive that just and constitutional Reform to which they were entitled. Then they would be satisfied; but, if they did not obtain such a measure of Reform, nothing else would satisfy them, or dissolve the Unions. What they would do, were the Reform Bill again refused, he would not venture to predict. Long-forbearing, as the people of England were, they were not forbearing from want of courage. If, therefore, there should still be any men who persisted in maintaining, that the people had not as good a right to be represented in that House, as the peers had to sit in their House, or as his Majesty had to sit upon the Throne, they were maintaining that which would lead to civil war as obviously as language could effect it. The hon. and learned member for Boroughbridge, whose talents and integrity he justly admired, had last night praised him for having withdrawn his name from the Metropolitan Political Union. He would enter into a very brief statement, to give that hon. and learned Gentleman an opportunity of judging whether the praise bestowed upon him was deserved or not. He had read in the public papers, that the council of that society had come to certain resolutions, to which, at its first formation, he had objected, and objected successfully. One of the resolutions to which he had objected, was a resolution by which they voted themselves a permanent body. On seeing the resolution, he had struck the word "permanent" out with his own hand. From the public prints he saw that this society was going on as if it intended to make itself permanent. He also saw it stated, that it had passed a resolution, thanking the king of France for the late creation of peers in that country. This resolution appeared to him so irrational, so inconsistent with the usual prudent character of Englishmen, that he thought the society not dangerous, but ridiculous. He, therefore, made a communication to the council, desiring that his name, for the reasons which he had just stated, should be withdrawn from the society. He received in reply a communication, stating that no such resolutions had been proposed, much less passed, by the society. Such being the case, he was asked whether he still persisted in his determination to withdraw his name. His answer to this question was conditional: he told the council, that it was incumbent upon them to relieve the public mind from the impression which the statement of these resolutions having been passed by them had created in it; and so the matter stood for the present. From the confidence which he reposed in the Government, in the King, and in the People, he wished that the measure of Reform should be left altogether in the hands of the Ministers. The hon. member for Preston said, that he could not agree with him in that wish, for he had, he said, no confidence in the Government. Whether there were others, who, like that hon. Member, would not grant their confidence to Ministers on this point, he did not know; perhaps there might be such persons, for he had heard it whispered, even in that House, that Ministers pushed their principles too far on the side of liberty. This was the great fault of this Administration—this was its glorious distinction. The faults attributed to it arose, not from any intention to widen the prerogatives of Government, and to extend its dominion over the people, but from the anxiety which the Ministers displayed to keep open the communication and intercourse which existed at present between the King and his subjects. It had been stated, that it was disgraceful for a Minister of the Crown to give any answer to the communications which he received from such assemblies as Political Unions. Truly, they were placed in a strange position. The time had been, when members of an Administration were censured for their haughty bearing to the industrious classes, for their inaccessibility, for neglecting the people's interests, and for slighting their applications for redress. But now one Minister was taken to task for having condescended to give a civil answer to an application from a large body of his fellow-subjects; and another Minister was reprobated for having permitted a deputation of respectable men to pass the threshold of his ante-chamber. The assertion, that a Secretary of State was degraded by giving an interview to tailors and apothecaries, struck him as the most extraordinary sound he ever heard within those walls. He could scarcely believe that he was in the House of Commons—in the House of the people—when such sounds assailed his ears. The Speech from the Throne had been described as feeble and delusive in speeches delivered by hon. and right hon. Members, which far better deserved those epithets. What were the objections taken to it? The right hon. Baronet opposite had objected to the circumstance of only fourteen days' notice having been given of the intended meeting of Parliament, and, in an argument more distinguished for its prolixity than for its strength, had said, that the notice ought to have been twenty-three days, and not merely fourteen. This was a cavil really not worth notice. Whoever looked at the agitated state of the public mind must see, that every day's delay in calling Parliament together was injurious, not only to the character of the Government, but also to the peace of the country. He did not mean to say, that all the evils which now afflicted the various interests of society were attributable to this source, or that even a quarter of them arose from the non-assembling of Parliament. He was certain, however, that there was no person connected with the manufacturing or agricultural classes of the country, who did not attribute all the pressure which they now felt to the delay which had taken place in the passing of the Reform Bill. To say that the passing of that Bill would remove all the ills to which they were exposed at present, was an assertion upon which he would not venture; but this he would say, that to tranquillize the mind, and to pacify the anxiety of the empire, it was absolutely necessary that the House should meet. It might have been remarked, in answer to the objections of the right hon. Baronet, that with all the improvements which had taken place since 1797, in the making of roads, and in the conveyance of passengers from one place to another, fourteen days' notice now, was equal to twenty-three days' notice in 1797. The right hon. Baronet had likewise said, that the Speech was not distinct enough—that it was vague and general—and that it descended to no particulars. It omitted, forsooth, all notice of the renewal of the Charters of the Bank and of the East-India Company; but was not the one subject of Reform quite sufficient for a King's Speech at the present moment? Nay, he thought that this business ought to be permanently settled before the attention of Parliament was called to any other; and the introduction of any other subjects into the Speech, was a mistake of Ministers. All the errors, he believed, of the present Administration, arose from their honest intentions, and from their mistake in supposing that they could effect desirable objects in a Parliament such as it was now constituted. He was of opinion, that even if the Speech had alluded to nothing but Reform, and the improvement of the Tithe system in Ireland, it would not have deserved the character of a meagre and feeble Speech. The improvement of the Irish Tithe system was a measure of first-rate necessity and importance. He recollected well, that when the subject of Catholic Emancipation was most warmly debated in that House, he had heard it said by a most competent authority, "This is all well enough, but you are all mad about Catholic Emancipation—the real evil of Ireland is the arrangement of the Tithes." The remodelling of that arrangement is in itself "a pretty considerable subject." The next point in the Speech on which he wished to say a word, was the Convention made with the French government for the abolition of that infamous traffic, the dealing in slaves, to put an end to which we had made such sacrifices. That was a point on which he thought that his Majesty had a just right to congratulate his subjects. Indeed, if ever there was a speech which deserved the praise of being a plain straightforward speech, it was this Speech, which was the most plain straightforward Speech that had been delivered from the

Throne of England of late days. He would not enter further into its topics, indeed he should not have addressed the House at all upon this occasion, had it not been for the allusion which had been made in the course of the Debate to his connexion with the Political Unions. He hoped that Ministers would speedily bring forward a measure of Reform, in which all parties could agree; by so doing, they would establish peace and tranquillity in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and would enable Parliament to deliberate with calmness on the other important subjects which must soon be brought under its consideration.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson:* I never said, that all the Political Unions were illegal. In the observations which I made use of, I was alluding to the Unions denounced in the Proclamations as illegal. I never belonged myself to any such societies—never, at any time; but I have always attended, and I am ready again to attend, at all meetings which may be convened in my neighbourhood, to consider the propriety of a Reform in Parliament.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, he had listened with great surprise to the very extraordinary speech which the hon. Baronet, the member for Westminster, had just made. As the hon. Baronet had been in his place last night, he had then an opportunity of replying to the speech he had now replied to, and it would have been better if the hon. Baronet had taken that opportunity of making the animadversions which he had reserved till the present occasion. Notwithstanding the hon. Baronet's censures, he would repeat that which he had yesterday said—for it was a remark in which the noble Lord (Lord Althorp) opposite had concurred—that Parliament ought to have had a longer notice than fourteen days of the period on which it was to assemble. The noble Lord had only vindicated the shortness of the notice on the ground of necessity; and so far was the noble Lord from having stated that his objection was merely a cavil, as the hon. Baronet had called it—

Sir *Francis Burdett:* I said no such thing. I said that nothing but the circumstances of the case justified the shortness of the notice.

Sir *Robert Peel* thought, that the hon. Baronet had said, that his objection was only a cavil, and that nothing could justify it. The hon. Baronet had now stated the reverse, and was prepared to condemn a meeting of Parliament, without the usual notice, except under very special circumstances; but why, then, did the hon. Baronet speak of fourteen days now being equal to twenty-three days in 1797? The increased rapidity of conveyance, if this argument was good for anything, went to justify a short notice as a practice that might properly be observed, not only now, but at all future times, whatever might be the circumstances, if the Minister of the day fancied he could gain any advantage by acting on the precedent. He had never blamed Ministers for calling the Parliament together at this season: all that he had said was, that Reform being the only alleged cause for its meeting, Ministers had an opportunity, more than fourteen days before, of giving notice that it was to meet now. He should not have objected to their meeting at present, after only fourteen days' notice, if any sudden disturbance had sprung up in the country; but his objection was, that the necessity of settling the question of Reform was as obvious on the 1st as it was on the 22nd of November. He had said yesterday that he was afraid, that the Reform Bill was proposed and supported upon principles which precluded any thing like a final settlement of the question; and he was confirmed in that impression by the Speech of the hon. Baronet, who contended that the people had as much right to equal Representation in that House as the King had to his crown, or as the Peers had to their seats in the other House of Parliament. Now, if such were the case, he should like to know what right the hon. Baronet had to draw the arbitrary distinction which he had drawn between such of the people of England as were 10*l.* householders, and such as were not. If equal Representation was the right of all—what could be said of this Reform Bill—which divided the people into classes, and limited the right of being directly represented to the occupation of a 10*l.* house? He denied the existence of the right, either on one side or the other of the line of demarcation. But how the hon. member for Westminster, who claimed the elective franchise as the prescriptive right of the people of England, could tell him, that this Bill, which confined the elective franchise to 10*l.* householders, would be a final settlement of the question, he could not for his life understand. He would beg leave to say one word about the Unions. The hon. Baronet had complained of the tone in which he had spoken regarding them. Why it was the very tone taken in that Speech from the Throne, which the hon. Baronet so much admired. What were the words used by his Majesty on this subject:—"Sincerely attached to our free Constitution, I never can sanction any interference with the legitimate exercise of those rights which secure to my people the privileges of discussing and making known their grievances; but in respecting these rights, it is also my duty to prevent combinations, under whatever pretence, which in their form and character are incompatible with all regular government, and are equally opposed to the spirit and to the provisions of the law; and I know that I shall not appeal in vain to my faithful subjects, to second my determined resolution to repress all illegal proceedings, by which the peace and security of my dominions may be endangered." The hon. Baronet had said, that he defied any person to prove, that the Unions were incompatible with regular government, and were opposed either to the spirit or the provisions of the law. He would only say, in reply to the hon. Baronet, that the King, for whom the hon. Baronet professed such sincere respect, asserted, that he knew of the existence of Unions confederating in England to oppose both the spirit and the provisions of the law. He did not mean to say, that the particular Political Union of which the hon. member for Westminster was a member, was opposed to the law, but he took it for granted that the King would never have declared his determination to suppress certain combinations, unless such combinations existed, and unless their continued existence was fraught with danger. The attack on them did not originate with him—they were denounced, no doubt for some good reason, by his Majesty, in his Speech to Parliament. As he did not wish to revive the discussion which ought to have closed last night, he would not enter further into these subjects at present. As he was, however, on his legs he would state to the noble Lord opposite (Palmerston), that there were two points connected with our foreign policy, on which he required some information. The first was, whether the government of the United States had acquiesced in the adjudication made by the king of the Netherlands, on the question submitted to his arbitration respecting the north-eastern boundary of the United States? If the negotiations on that subject were not yet concluded, he would not insist upon an answer. The second point, on which he was going to propound a question, was one on which he was surprised that no observation had been made in the King's Speech. It related to the condition of Greece. He was surprised, that after the repeated mention which had been made of the condition of Greece, in the Speeches from the Throne, and after the singular events which had recently taken place there, no notice of Greece should be found in the Speech. He asked, whether the circumstances of the country were such as would enable the noble Lord to give him an answer upon these points?

Viscount *Palmerston:* As to the first question put to me by the right hon. Baronet, I can only say, that the decision made by the king of the Netherlands is to be submitted to the Congress on the first Monday of next month; and that I cannot make any communication upon that subject until after that time. As to the question which he has put to me respecting Greece, the reason why no mention was made of that country in the Speech is, that the matters connected with it, under the consideration of the Conference, are not at present in such a state as would justify the Government in giving any final answer on that point. My right hon. friend must know, that the most important matter is the selection of the Sovereign for that country, which has not yet been made. I can assure my right hon. friend, that when the progress of our measures shall allow us to make a communication to Parliament, we shall be most happy to make it, and to accompany it with the fullest disclosures.

Sir *Robert Inglis* said, he conceived the communication which had taken place during the last Session of Parliament, between the Chairman of the Birmingham Union, and the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government, were most improper and unusual. He did not think the Unions were of so harmless a nature as the hon. member for Westminster had represented them. Was is it a matter of indifference that a public meeting should be called on to declare all hereditary distinctions of rank unnatural, and that they ought to be abolished? He regretted to hear some hon. Members express much sympathy for the fate of Portugal, while none seemed to be felt for Holland, now engaged in an unequal struggle against a powerful combination.

Mr. *Ewart* would not have troubled the House on the present occasion, had it not been for the very extraordinary speech which his noble Colleague, for whom he professed the greatest respect, had just delivered. He understood his noble Colleague to assert, in effect, that if hon. Members were to examine the opinions of their constituents individually, and to strike a balance between the conflicting opinions of individuals in private, and of the same individuals in public meetings, they would find, that a very different opinion as to the merits of the Reform Bill pervaded the country at the present moment, in comparison with that which prevailed in the last Session. He was now speaking before the public, and he stated fearlessly, that the majority of his constituents were decidedly in favour, not only of the principles, but also of the details, of the late Reform Bill. There might be one or two provisions in that Bill which they did not think liberal enough, but that was the only objection which he had heard them make to the Bill. It was due to himself and to his constituents to make this statement, and he was sorry that his noble colleague should have given so erroneous a description as he had done, of the sentiments entertained by their joint constituents at Liverpool.

The Report on the Address agreed to, and the Address was ordered to be presented to his Majesty.

General Registration of Deeds.] Mr. *John Campbell* moved for leave to bring in a Bill for the Registration of Deeds, &c. in England and Wales. This was one of a series of bills he had brought in last Session, and he did not apprehend any opposition to it at this early stage of its progress.

Lord *Morpeth* said, that he had lately been amongst his constituents in Yorkshire, who had universally expressed a wish to him to be exempted from the operation of this Bill; and he therefore begged to express a hope, that the hon. and learned Member would have the goodness to propose the exemption of the county of York himself, when he brought forward the measure.

Mr. *John Campbell* said, it was impossible for him to consent to the suggestion of the noble Lord, for he had himself received repeated and numerous requests from people residing in Yorkshire, wishing that county to be included in his Bill.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* should feel it his duty, when the proper stage should arrive, to offer his sentiments on the subject of the Bill which his hon. and learned friend had moved for leave to bring in; but he would take the present opportunity to assure his hon. and learned friend, that he intended to give it the most earnest and strenuous opposition in his power. There were a variety of provisions in the Bill to which he felt insuperable objections.

Mr. *Strickland* pledged himself to a similar course of opposition, he also felt it his duty to apprize the hon. and learned Gentleman, that he had attended several public meetings since the termination of the last Session, and he had found his constituents in general wholly averse from the Bill, and if Yorkshire was to be included in it, the Table of the House would be covered with petitions deprecating the measure.

Mr. *Schonswar* added his testimony as to the general dissatisfaction that prevailed in and near Hull with the proposed change in the law of registration.

Lord *Morpeth* hoped his hon. and learned friend would, by a prudent concession, exonerate him from the necessity of moving that the county of York should be exempted from the operation of the Bill.

Mr. *Paget* assured the hon. and learned Member, that he had read the Bill, and believed no person but a professed lawyer could comprehend it. There were many circumstances which would make the operation of the Bill inconvenient. A main one was, that it would go to throw great obstacles in the way of honest and enterprising people, who were occasionally in the habit of raising money on the deeds of property they possessed in land by depositing such deeds as securities with their bankers.

Mr. *John Campbell* in explanation, observed, that it was not intended to render it necessary, that the original, but only a duplicate, of the deeds should be registered under the Act; and he was of opinion, that the measure would facilitate the transactions to which the hon. Member had alluded, instead of rendering them more difficult.

Leave given, Bill brought in, and read a first time.

Arrangement of Business.] Lord *Althorp* said, considerable inconvenience often resulted to hon. Members who had notices of Motions before the House, which they were obliged to postpone from time to time, in consequence of the business of Government being allowed to have precedence of that originating with Members not forming part of the Administration. An attempt had been made last Session to establish an improved classification of business; the expermient had, however, failed, or rather, had not been put to the test of operation, owing to the intense interest felt upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform, in which all minor considerations and matters of form merged. It was his intention to submit a proposition now to the House, with a view to afford opportunities to hon. Members not connected with the Government to bring on, positively, business in which they felt interested, without running the risk of being disappointed, as was now the case. He intended to propose, that a day should be set apart when these notices should not be superseded by Government business which happened to be also on the paper.

Mr. *Hume* believed it to be highly necessary that a different arrangement from that now in force should take place before hon. Members could feel satisfied with the chance they had of executing business confided to their care. He had always thought it would be a far better plan, that instead of taking, as they did now, arbitrarily, the first or thirty-first topic on the list, they should be each taken up and debated in the exact order in which they were placed on the list.

Lord *Althorp* observed, that he could not accede to a proposition which he felt would be productive of great inconvenience to Government, He hoped the arrangement he proposed, would prove that he really was anxious to afford greater facilities to individual Members, though at an expense to the officers of Government. He should, therefore, move a resolution that Orders of the Day should take precedence of notices on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and that on Wednesdays those of Government should not be entitled to precedence.

Resolution agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, December 8, 1831.

MINUTES.] Returns ordered. On the Motion of Lord TEYNHAM, the amount of Duty paid on Hops, for the year 1831, and the number of Bushels of Malt that have paid Duty in the same year.

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.] The *Lord Chancellor* said, he begged to inform the House, that their Lordships had waited upon his Majesty with the Address of that House, to which his Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer.

"My Lords:—I thank your Lordships for your loyal and dutiful Address, and I rely with just confidence upon your zealous co-operation in all measures calculated to improve the condition of my subjects, and to maintain the honour and high character of my country."

Earl *Grey* moved, that his Majesty's most gracious answer to the Address, be entered on the Journals.

Ordered accordingly.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA.] Lord *Ellenborough* said, he rose to move for certain Returns, and he did so at that early period of the Session, because it would take some time to prepare the documents he required. He wished to move for Returns respecting the Financial Affairs of India, and also for a Report of the Committee of the House of Commons of last Session, with a view to determine how far the commercial means of the East-India Company went to meet its expenditure, without calling upon the assistance of the mother country. He could not help taking advantage of that opportunity to say a few words with respect to the—as it appeared to him—extraordinary omission of all allusion to the affairs of our Indian possessions in the Speech from the Throne. He must infer from that omission, that it was not intended, during the present Session, to bring the question of the East-India Company's Charter before Parliament. He owned, that he was not surprised at this, when he considered that the parliamentary duties of the President of the Board of Control were so severe during the last Session, that it was physically impossible he could have discharged the ordinary duties of his office in an adequate and proper manner. He knew it might be said, that the Charter of the East-India Company did not expire until 1834; but he begged to remind their Lordships, that they were now at the commencement of the Session of 1832, and that, if they put off the consideration of this great question to the next year, they would defer it to the last moment, and be compelled to come to a hasty decision upon a question of the last importance to the community. Indeed he felt, that the opinions expressed by the noble Lords opposite, in 1813, when the question was brought forward at an advanced period of the year, were so strong, in condemnation of the postponement of the measure until the eleventh hour at that time, that he could not avoid entertaining great hopes that Government would now afford complete time for the discussion of the subject. Upon that occasion it was utterly impossible for their Lordships properly to consider the question. The bill for regulating the affairs of India was passed in the House of Commons on the 13th of July; it passed the Lords on the 16th, and received the Royal Assent on the 21st of the same month. He again said, that for these reasons he was quite satisfied that the noble Lords opposite would not fall into the course they had then so severely and properly condemned; but would now afford the amplest time to their Lordships for considering this great question in all its bearings. Since the period to which he had alluded, a Committee had been appointed, at which the noble Marquis opposite (the Marquis of Lansdown) was a constant attendant; and certainly the papers which were issued by it could alone be justified by the fact, that there had been a full examination of all persons connected with the affairs of India, then in England. He thought it would be advisable, that this Committee should be renewed; for it should be observed, that persons were continually returning to this country from India, and that the best information was, of course, to be derived from the last comers. If, therefore, that Committee was not renewed in time to take advantage of such evidence, he gave notice, that he would submit a motion on the subject. Not only did he insist upon the re-appointment of the Committee on this account, but also because there was an urgent necessity that at no distant period there should be a full inquiry into the financial branch of the question, for, upon the view taken by Parliament of the financial affairs of India, would depend the question as to whether the commercial means were such as to enable the Company to carry on the government without any assistance, direct or indirect, from this country. The noble Lord concluded by moving for Returns connected with the financial branch of the East-India question—for the Reports of the House of Commons, and by giving notice of motion for a Committee.

Earl *Grey* was free to acknowledge, that the omission of any allusion to the affairs of India, in the Speech from the Throne, was, as the noble Baron had inferred, owing to the circumstance that Ministers did not intend to bring any question relating to the important subject of Indian affairs before Parliament during the present Session. He would also acknowledge, that the noble Baron was partly correct in his statement of the amount of the duties of the President of the Board of Control. He would admit, likewise, the correctness of the noble Baron's statement, that very little consideration had been bestowed upon the subject on the renewal of the Charter in 1813. On that occasion, as the noble Baron had remarked, many noble Lords, and he acknowledged that he had been one of them, loudly exclaimed against the conduct of the then Government, in calling for so important a measure as the renewal of the East-India Company's Charter, with so little preparation; but he pledged himself, that ample time should be given for its discussion in all its bearings on the next renewal. He considered, however, that a great part of the difficulty and responsibility attending the settlement of such an important question, in which so many interests were involved, had been obviated in consequence of the very comprehensive and diligent inquiries that had been carried on for some time past by means of Committees of both Houses of Parliament. In point of fact, nearly all the information that could be obtained, was at this moment before Parliament, embodied in the Reports of these Committees, and there was nothing to prevent both Houses coming to a decision as to the renewal of the Charter at a very short notice. For these reasons Ministers had not deemed it expedient, during the present Session, to bring forward any measure on the subject. With respect to the noble Baron's intended motion for the re-appointment of the Committee, all he could then say was, that Ministers would take the subject into early consideration, and that Parliament would find them most willing to co-operate, not only in bringing forward every information in their power, but also to assist in making inquiries in every other quarter from which additional information might be derived.

Motion agreed to.

POOR-LAWS.] The Marquis of *Salisbury* begged to inquire of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, whether it was his intention, or that of any other member of his Majesty's Government, to redeem the pledge given by the noble and learned Lord during the last Session, to submit some proposition to their Lordships for amending the present system of Poor-laws. He felt, that this subject was of vital importance to the country, and seeing that no allusion was made to it in his Majesty's Speech, he feared it was the intention of Ministers to overlook it for the present.

The *Lord Chancellor* would not undertake to say whether it was, or was not, the intention of his Majesty's Government to call the attention of Parliament to this important subject, or, if they did, at what period of the Session it was probable they would do so; but this he would say, that if no other individual undertook the duty, he would undertake it himself, and unquestionably some measure on the subject would be brought forward by some member of his Majesty's Government.

The Marquis of *Salisbury*: During the present Session?

The *Lord Chancellor:* Yes; certainly, he meant during the present Session.

TITHES (IRELAND).] Viscount *Melbourne* gave notice, that on Thursday next he would, pursuant to the recommendation in the Speech from the Throne, with respect to the payment of Tithes in Ireland, move for a Committee to inquire into the present Tithe-system in that country.

Lord *Cloncurry* had a number of Petitions to present with respect to the payment of Tithes in Ireland, which he would take an early occasion to submit to their Lordships, but he could not forego the pleasure of taking that, the first opportunity, of stating the satisfaction he felt at the recommendation in his Majesty's most gracious Speech, on a subject so important to the best interests of Ireland. The tithe-laws, in their present operation, were partial and oppressive—they had one measure for the rich, and another for the poor, though, he admitted, that to remedy the evils would be a measure of extreme difficulty.

The Earl of *Wicklow* rose to order, and begged leave to remind the noble Baron, that it was irregular to enter into statements which were likely to provoke discussion, on giving a notice. The more regular course would be, to defer his observations until he brought forward the petitions.

Lord *Cloncurry* said, that his chief object was, to express his thankfulness to Ministers for the very fair and considerate manner in which they had introduced the subject, by a recommendation from the Throne for the Parliament to take it into consideration. The opposition to the payment of tithes was chiefly among the small tenants, and if the landlords of Ireland would pursue a more liberal policy towards their tenantry, he was sure it would go far to mitigate the evil. The clergy he had ever found moderate in their demands.

Lord *Ellenborough* begged to know, whether the prayer of the petitions intrusted to the noble Baron was merely for an inquiry into the operation of the tithe-system in Ireland?

Lord *Cloncurry:* The petitions simply arraigned the partial and oppressive character of the tithe-system in Ireland.

Lord *Ellenborough* said, it was most desirable, that all petitions should be referred to the Committee about to be appointed, in order that it might be clearly ascertained where the ground of complaint lay.

BELGIC NEGOTIATIONS.] The Earl of *Aberdeen* wished to know from the noble Earl (Grey) opposite, whether he was prepared to lay before their Lordships those documents which would throw light on the conclusion to which the representatives of the five Powers had arrived, with respect to the settlement of the question between the king of Holland, and Belgium?

Earl *Grey* was not then prepared to state when the documents alluded to could be laid before the House, as the treaties had not yet been ratified.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* said, the noble Earl well knew that the articles of that treaty had been published in every newspaper in the kingdom. In the whole course of the negotiations a considerable degree of mystery had been persevered in, which should be now cleared up. He would, however, then make no further observations on the subject, than simply to give notice, on the part of his noble friend (the Duke of Wellington), that the noble Duke would submit a motion to their Lordships on this subject, as soon as his health would permit. It was earnestly to be hoped that the health of the noble Duke would enable him to submit, as soon as possible, such a motion to their Lordships, because the affairs of the Neth rlands were arrived at such a crisis that the honour and justice—and, he would add, the character—of the country were materially implicated. Indeed, he felt this so strongly, that should the health of the noble Duke not permit him soon to resume his place in that House, he would take the responsibility of the introduction of the subject on himself, and submit a motion respecting it.

ANATOMICAL SCIENCE.] The Earl of *Harrowby* begged to present a Petition to their Lordships, which he thought was entitled to their attention, coming, as it did, from able and respectable gentlemen, and couched as it was in proper and respectful terms. It was signed by the Chairman and Secretaries of the "Hunterian Society," meeting in Aldermanbury, on behalf of its several members. It set forth the great importance of the question, and that, so far back as 1828, the present Petitioners had ventured to call their Lordships' attention to it; that the state of the law loudly called for the consideration of their Lordships; that, as the law now stood, subjects could not be procured for anatomists without exposing the parties to prosecutions for misdemeanors, or prompting those parties to the commission of crimes which it was revolting to human nature to reflect on; that it was quite impossible for students, surgeons, and others, to attain expertness in, and the requisite qualifications for, their professions, without having opportunities to dissect human bodies; that in consequence of the state of the law, and of particular occurrences, the obtaining of subjects had become almost impossible; that the impediments thus thrown in the way of most important studies threatened to be most serious to society: and that they therefore prayed their Lordships to institute inquiries, to ascertain whether any remedy could be applied to the evils and difficulties apprehended by the petitioners. This subject was of great importance in connexion with recent events, and he therefore wished the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack would inform him, whether his Majesty's Ministers contemplated the proposition of any inquiry, or the introduction of any measure on this subject?

The *Lord Chancellor* felt it to be his duty to state, that the subject appeared to him to be one, the difficulty of which was equalled only by its importance. However, he thought, in the present excited state of the public mind, it would be as well to avoid all discussion on the subject, and that it would be especially wise to delay any legislative measure regarding it till that excitement had abated.

The Petition was read.

The Earl of *Harrowby*, in moving that the petition do lie on the Table, remarked, that in presenting this petition he considered he had only performed his duty; but that, with respect to its prayer, which was for inquiry, he had no intention of originating any motion on the subject.

Petition to lie on the Table.

Political Unions.] The Earl of *Winchilsea* was anxious to learn from the noble Earl opposite, whether Ministers intended to bring forward any measure with a view to putting down those Political Unions and illegal combinations which, according to the noble Earl, were incompatible with good government, trenched upon the honour and dignity of Parliament, and were opposed to the rights and privileges of the Crown? It was the more necessary that they should have distinct information on this head, as but one Political Union—that of Brighton—had dissolved itself, in obedience to the proclamation issued by the Government. The others had merely suspended their proceedings for the present.

Earl *Grey:* In answer to the noble Earl, I have only to say this—that believing as we do, that the authority with which the law arms the Government, is fully equal to the suppression of all Associations, be their character or title what they may, which at all affect the dignity of Parliament, and the rights and honours of the Prerogative, it is not our intention to submit to the Legislature any measure for additional powers.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
Thursday, December 8, 1831.

Minutes.] The House met *pro formâ*, and the Speaker, accompanied by the Mover and Seconder, and several members of the Privy Council, proceeded to St. James's to present the Address in answer to his Majesty's Speech.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
Friday, December 9, 1831.

Minutes.] New Writ ordered for the Borough of Leominster in the room of Thomas Brayen, Esq., who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

Bill brought in. Read a first time; to provide payment for Outstanding Lottery Tickets.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Sir Francis Burdett, the Parochial Rates, Taxes, and Assessments, paid by the Inhabitants of St. James's Westminster:—On the Motion of Mr. Hunt, the number, &c. of the Yeomanry force of England and Wales:—On the Motion of Mr. Alderman Wood, the number of Acres of Land under the Cultivation of Hops, in the year 1831, distinguishing the Parishes, and the amount of the duties on Hops, for the same year, distinguishing the old from the new duty:—On the Motion of Sir John Burke, of Fines levied on Jurors for non-attendance or other causes, during the last five years in Ireland. On the Motion of Mr. Maberly, of all Hemp, Flax, and Linen yarn, the produce of Foreign Countries exported, and imported, during the year 1831; the same for the produce of Ireland; an Account of all British Linen Cloth exported, and imported, from different parts of the United Kingdom to Foreign Countries, and the amount for Home consumption, with an account of the Bounty paid upon exportation, and the amount of duties paid upon foreign Hides imported.

Petitions presented. By Lord Morpeth, from Martin Stapylton, praying the House, that in any Reform which might pass into a Law, there might be included an Enactment to prohibit any person from taking his seat in that House, who should be, directly or indirectly, by himself or friend, guilty of any act of Bribery; and from the Landowners of Northallerton and its vicinity, praying that the county of York might not be included in the provisions of the General Registration Bill. By Mr. John Wood, from Persons in Birmingham, for the new Beer-shops to be placed on the same footing as Licensed Public-houses. By the Attorney-General, to the same effect, from Nottingham. By Mr. Labouchere, for the abolition of the Duty on Soap.

His Majesty's Answer to the Address.] The Speaker stated, that he had to read to the House, his Majesty's Answer to the Address, which was as follows:—

"I return you my sincere thanks for your loyal and dutiful Address, and for your assurance that you will make such provision as may be required for the public service. I rely entirely on your attachment to my person and government, and on your zealous co-operation in such measures as may be necessary for maintaining the honour of my Crown, and promoting the safety and welfare of my people."

It was resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious Answer to their address."

GRAND JURIES (IRELAND.)] Mr. *Leader* rose to present a Petition from part of the county cess payers, in the important barony of Duhallow, in the county of Cork. The petitioners were the cess payers of the northern part of this district, and in which there had been no resident gentry for many years. They stated, they had paid a large amount of county cess, and had never received a remunerating shilling, in the way of presentment, within the district of their residence, while the other part of the barony, in which the Grand Jurors generally resided, was cut up into ornamental and circular roads. At the same time the charges to which the petitioners were subjected were increased annually by new valuations, and enlarged charges, without the smallest attention being paid to the honest expenditure of the sums raised for the benefit of the barony in general. The petitioners stated, That the applications to Magistrates at the Petty Sessions was a mockery; that their applications were sometimes passed at such Petty Sessions, but were regularly cashiered by the Grand Jury; that the mode of nominating Grand Juries was degrading to the administration of justice, as it led to a corrupt, partial, and wasteful expenditure of the public money; that some material changes ought to be made in the manner of appointing Grand Juries if such persons were to continue to have the irresponsible power of disposing of funds raised for the benefit of the public generally. The petitioners suggested, that if such large sums were to be annually raised, the cess payers ought to have the election of those by whom they were so severely taxed, and that, while the great county and barony roads were maintained by trusts or public Boards, the parishes should have the laying out of their own money; under the control of government engineers. The petitioners proceeded to illustrate the hardships of their situation, by shewing the severe local injuries they had endured, from the corrupt and improvident manner in which their funds were managed, which were so great, to use their own words, "that the neglect, oppression and injustice of the system were calculated to drive them reluctantly to insubordination, and almost to compel them to acts of riot and disturbance." This petition was signed by several hundreds of respectable occupiers of land, and its prayer was fully corroborated by what had been stated at a meeting of the county-rate payers of Tyrone. They stated, "That the Grand Juries of Ireland are nearly permanent, and virtually self-constituted bodies. That in the county of Tyrone the great and influential majority of the Grand Jury now are either the same identical men who constituted the Grand Jury five-and-twenty years ago, or the heirs or successors of such of them as have, since that time, either died or been removed, holding very nearly the same places respectively on the panel, from year to year, to the present time; and that such is the constitution of Grand Juries throughout the kingdom. That bodies thus constituted are altogether beyond the reach of efficient control, and, like all oligarchical and irresponsible bodies, have a natural tendency to disregard trust, neglect duty, blink the public weal, and to co-operate, confederate, and combine with one another, to advance their own interests, and to protect their own creatures, for the purpose of screening their own corruptions. That the Grand Juries throughout the kingdom are generally composed of the second class of landed proprietors, and the agents of the great estates whose principals are, for the most part, absentees. That the parties to a Grand Jury presentment are most commonly the following description of persons: first, the head Overseer, who is almost always the agent for, or owner of, the premises through which any old road has been passed, or any new one is intended to be passed. This gentleman receives the money presented, from the county Treasurer, but makes no affidavit whatever, nor does he otherwise appear ostensibly in the undertaking. The person next in consequence to him, is the accounting Overseer, an inferior person, who is to the road jobbers in a county what the tithe proctor's viewing and valuing Bailiff is to him in the parish. To this man's conscience is intrusted the principal affidavit required by the law. Next downwards in the scale of degradation, are two persons, called by the county treasurers, applicants, and who are, in point of fact, persons still lower in degree than the accounting Overseer, and, generally speaking, his dependants. To these two last-mentioned personages, as the law now stands, is intrusted the initiation of all road presentments, and all other matters and things connected with roads in Ireland. That these two last-mentioned agents are set in motion by the head Overseer and accounting Overseer alluded to, or one of them, is what ought not to be disputed, and cannot be denied with truth. They are the first persons, however, who make their appearance in any presentment, and are supposed by the laws to act voluntarily, and for the public good. They appear—imagine the utility, limit the direction, and estimate the whole expense of every newly-projected road. Each makes an affidavit before certain Magistrates at the road sessions, of the truth of his estimate, &c. Upon this rotten foundation rests all the presentments for new roads made in Ireland. In practice, there is now no inquiry instituted, either as regards utility, expense, or direction, by the Magistrates, at the road sessions; and, if the Grand Jury to whom the application is referred do not throw it out, the work goes on under the inspection of the accounting Overseer, who never fails to swear, that the work has been duly executed according to the estimate, and that all the money presented has been duly expended on the work." Such were the opinions of the landed proprietors of the county of Tyrone, and what was the result of such a system—why, that clubs were actually formed for the redress of local grievances, such as road jobbing, and all other misapplications of the county cess, and the Tyrone Independent Club was compelled to enter into large subscriptions to do what Parliament had evaded doing, namely, to redress the local and almost intolerable grievances of the Irish people. What were the facts disclosed in the appendix to the reports of the Select Committee on the State of the Poor, page 63, and the report of the Committee on Grand Jury Presentments of 1827, page 4. Before the Union, the presentments were 400,000*l.* annually; in 1810 the Grand Jury presentments were 632,693*l.*; in 1820, 741,829*l.*; and in 1829, 888,932*l.* Such was the enormous increase. To this must be added the great charges on the account of tithes made by the Church. He implored the House to attend to the fact, that previous to the Union, the whole government of Ireland, civil, military, and naval, including local improvements, was carried on by a local legislature, for a million per annum, and part of that was raised by a lottery. At present the cost was double that sum, and the charge was so large, that the industry of the country was wholly weighed down by it. In such a state of things, it was easy to account for clubs, and unions, and associations, when prosperous harvests only tended to aggravate the sufferings of the people. He felt it to be his bounden duty to press these considerations upon the attention of the House, for no Government could ever give satisfaction in Ireland while there were so many grievances arising from local taxation and oppression.

Sir *John Brydges* said, there was one observation of the hon. Member which he felt it necessary to notice, that was, that the amount of tithe had increased of late years; but that evidently arose from the increase of agriculture, growing out of the prosperity of the country. He thought the attack on the Church, therefore, unfair, and he regretted to observe, that such attacks were at every opportunity brought forward.

Mr. *Leader* said, as the manufacturers of Ireland had been sacrificed, that country had now nothing but agriculture to support her people, and he felt it his duty, therefore, to watch with unceasing care, that the charges upon that were not increased unnecessarily to add to her misfortunes and sufferings.

Petition to be Printed.

DRAWBACK ON SPIRITS.] Mr. *George Dawson* wished to put a question to the hon. Gentleman opposite. During the course of the last Session, a Committee had sat upon the question of the drawbacks allowed to the exporters of Irish and Scotch spirits distilled from malt, and the result of this inquiry was, that the Committee stated, that great frauds were practised with respect to those drawbacks, but they came to no decision as to the course that was proper to be adopted, leaving the whole matter in the hands of the Government. He understood, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed a Bill either to do away with the drawback altogether, or to modify it in such a way as to remove the means by which these frauds were now committed. He wanted to know if that was the fact?

Mr. *Spring Rice* wished, that the question had been put in the presence of his noble friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He, however, had no hesitation in saying, that the matter had been under the consideration of the Ministers, and that they would shortly be prepared, to submit a measure to Parliament growing out of the evidence taken before the Committee of last Session.

FINES AND RECOVERIES, &C.] Mr. *John Campbell* moved the second reading of the Fines and Recoveries Bill. He said, that the Bill was exactly the same as that introduced by him last Session, and he should not, therefore, trouble the House with any observations on the subject.

Mr. *Spence* was convinced of the expediency of passing this Bill, and he recommended Gentlemen who were at all opposed to it, to read a report of what had passed only two days ago, relating to a suit which had been instituted in the Court of Chancery, the object of which was, to get rid of transactions which had taken place with certain property from the year 1723 down to the present time, in consequence of a flaw in levying the fine in 1723; and the decision of the Court was, that the claimant was entitled to recover, notwithstanding that the property was mortgaged, and had passed through several hands.

Bill read a second time, as were likewise the Limitation of Actions Bill, the Courtesy of England Bill, the Dower Bill, and the Inheritance Bill, brought in by Mr. John Campbell.

Lord *Althorp* moved, that the House do resolve itself into a Committee of Supply.

COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE.] Mr. *Robinson* wished to know whether the negotiations which had taken place between this country and France, in consequence of the treaty of navigation of 1826, had been brought to a conclusion.

Lord *Althorp* said, that the negotiations were going on, and that he had every reason to hope that they would soon be brought to a satisfactory conclusion?

SILK SMUGGLERS — PROSECUTIONS.] Mr. Alderman *Venables* begged to ask the right hon. Gentleman, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, whether the prosecution for smuggling, which had been instituted against a house in the silk-trade in the city of London, had been continued or not, and what was the result?

The *Attorney General* said, that his right hon. friend, to whom it properly belonged to answer that question, was not present, but he thought he might take upon himself to give an answer to the hon. Gentleman. The prosecution to which the hon. Member had alluded, was a prosecution for penalties for evading the payment of the duty on certain silks. There were others, but one alone was about to be brought to trial, when it was compromised for a sum of 20,000*l.* Probably the whole amount of the fines to which the parties had subjected themselves, might amount to about 25,000*l.* He believed, that the amount received as a compromise was the largest the Government had ever obtained from such a prosecution. There were goods to be taken back, which might possibly amount to 5,000*l.* So that the offending parties would have to pay a sum of 15,000*l.*, which was sufficient to make them suffer so severely as to be a guarantee that they would not repeat the offence.

Mr. Alderman *Venables* wished to put one more question, which he did at the request of the silk-trade generally. They wished to know for what particular reasons the compromise was effected? for they felt very strongly, that it was a most injudicious course, to compromise such actions. They were the more anxious on this subject, on account of the distress which prevailed in the trade, and the facilities which existed for smuggling.

Mr. *Hunt* said, he had adverted to this subject last Session, and he then received what he understood to be a distinct pledge that no compromise should take place. He would venture to assert, that three times the amount of silk was smuggled into the country beyond what was paid for, and he knew, that the trade had felt the utmost anxiety on this subject, and had expected penalties to the amount of 50,000*l.* to be recovered.

The *Attorney General* was bound to state, that this matter had come into his hands without instructions or restrictions as to what he was or was not to do. He believed, that in the pledge spoken of by the hon. member for Preston, his right hon. friend only intended, that the case should be brought into Court, to be there dealt with as might be proper; and so far there had been no violation of the pledge. The fact was, that if every thing charged could have been proved, the penalties could only have amounted to 25,000*l.* The compromise, therefore, was only for a sum of 5,000*l.* less than might have been obtained had every thing been fully proved against the parties.

Mr. Alderman *Venables* was bound to say, that Government had, on this occasion, obtained a more satisfactory settlement of the prosecution than had ever before been obtained; but the objection to any compromise still existed.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that as this case had excited a great deal of attention, he thought it would be of advantage if the papers connected with it were laid on the Table. Those papers would show the way in which the duties had been originally evaded, and they would inflict that punishment which the compromise had enabled the guilty parties to avoid, but which was the most effective that could be employed against them—he meant the punishment of publicity. If the compromise was effected, as he supposed it was, before the trial, of course there could have been no publication of the circumstances of the case, and the disgrace attendant on such a publication was wanting to complete that punishment which, without it, would be hardly sufficient to prevent parties from being guilty of the same offence.

Lord *Althorp* said, the object of Government most assuredly was, to prevent smuggling if possible, and the object of the parties in this case, in agreeing to a compromise for so large a penalty, was, perhaps, chiefly with the view of avoiding the additional punishment of publication, otherwise he agreed with the right hon. Baronet in the principle, that every publication ought to be given to the circumstances of the case, since it was the object of the Government to prevent the recurrence of such offences.

Mr. Alderman *Venables* said, that he should take an early opportunity of moving for the papers.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply. That part of the King's Speech which informed the House that his Majesty had directed the Estimates for the ensuing year to be laid on the Table, having been read,

Lord *Althorp* moved—" That it is the opinion of this Committee, that a Supply be granted to his Majesty."

On the question that the Resolution be agreed to, being repeated,

Affray in the County of Kilkenny.] Mr. *George Dawson* said, he begged to be allowed to take the present opportunity, to put a question to the right hon. Secretary for Ireland. It appeared, from the statements in the Irish newspapers, that there had been a regular battle between his Majesty's troops, and some insurgents or White Boys, or he knew not what to call them, in the county of Kilkenny, and that in that battle twelve men had been killed, and forty-six wounded. He believed this statement to be true, because he had received a similar account from a Magistrate of the county. It was necessary, therefore, to put some questions to the Government, and what he wished to ascertain was, whether the right hon. Gentleman had received any report from the Lord-lieutenant of the county, relating to this unhappy transaction, and whether he would lay the papers before the House? If there was no report, he wished to know whether the Government would not institute an inquiry into the matter? He thought it well worth an inquiry, for he asserted, that within the last year, under the present happy system of Government, there had been more blood of his Majesty's subjects shed, at Castlepollard, at Newtownbarry, at Merthyr-Tydvil, and at Bristol, than had been spilt in some of those great battles that had decided the fate of nations.

Mr. *Stanley* had not the smallest difficulty in answering the question of the right hon. Gentleman, and he should the more readily give an answer, as it would be satisfactory to the right hon. Gentleman, since it would show, that his friend, who had given him the information, had made a statement containing a most extraordinary exaggeration of the facts of the case, melancholy as he allowed they were. The right hon. Gentleman had, without necessity, referred to Castle-Pollard, to Newtownbarry, to Merthyr Tydvil, and to Bristol. Without, however, answering those observations, he would state, with respect to this particular matter, that the facts of this battle, as the right hon. Gentleman called it, between a portion of his Majesty's troops were these: A small party of police had succeeded in apprehending eight persons, charged with having committed an assault upon a house, and were about to convey these persons to prison, when they were attacked by a body of peasantry, for the purpose of effecting a rescue. The newspapers had, he believed, given as full information as had been received by the Government. The assistance of the military, however, was required, and the result was, that instead of there having been twelve persons killed, there had been three men killed, and three or four wounded. He deeply regretted, that this loss of life should have occurred; but, at least, this was not as bad as the right hon. Gentleman's statement represented it to be. The party of police ultimately succeeded in conveying their prisoners to the county gaol; and from all the information the Government had received, he believed that not the smallest blame was attached to the officers commanding the troops on the occasion. If the right hon. Gentleman required the papers after this explanation, he had not the slightest objection to their production.

Mr. *George Dawson* was perfectly satisfied with this explanation at present. If a trial was about to take place, he should not want the papers; but if there was not to be a trial, he should certainly wish them to be produced. It would be satisfactory to the country to see how the new Lord-lieutenants' Bill had operated in Ireland.

MUNICIPAL POLICE.] Sir *Robert Peel* hoped he might be allowed to take this opportunity of putting a question to the noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), in reference to the measure contemplated by Government for the establishment of a Police. The House was aware that there was a law in existence, which enabled small towns and parishes, with the consent of a certain number of the inhabitants, to establish a Local Police, for the security of persons and property. What he was desirous to learn was, whether the measure contemplated by Ministers would interfere with the operation of the Act to which he had just alluded?

Lord *Althorp* had no difficulty in stating, in reply, that the measure in contemplation, for the establishment of Municipal Police, would not interfere with the Act to which the right hon. Baronet had referred.

MILITARY AND NAVAL ESTABLISHMENTS.] Mr. *Hume* asked whether the Estimates for the Military and Naval Expenditure were not to be reduced? He contended that they were now much too large.

Lord *Althorp* replied, that it would be extremely inconvenient at this period to enter into any explanation as to the financial views of Government; but he could assure the hon. member for Middlesex, and the House, that it was the intention of Ministers to adhere to the strictest economy in framing the Estimates for the public service. He must, however, decline stating anything further.

Mr. *Hume* said, he did not ask for the particular account of each separate Estimate, but for information on the simple fact, as to whether the amount of the whole Estimates exceeded or fell short of those of last year. Something ought at once to be known on the subject. Last year the Establishments had been considerably increased. The Army had been increased from 81,000, to 88,000 men, and the Navy from 29,000, to 32,000 men—and the expenditure for these services had increased from 16,800,000*l.* to 17,800,000*l.* He contended, that before the Resolution was agreed to, some information on the subject ought to be given. If none was now afforded, he should, on the bringing up of the Report of the Committee, move an amendment.

Resolution agreed to. House resumed.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE.] Lord Duncannon moved, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee, for the purpose of considering the propriety of appropriating a portion of the land revenue of the Crown, for the completion of the repairs and improvement of Buckingham Palace.

Mr. *Hume* hoped, that some clear understanding would be come to, as to the amount which the public were to be called upon to expend for the building and repairs of Palaces. An estimate ought to have been presented, having this object in view, during the last Session, and he hoped it would be forthwith furnished.

Lord *Duncannon* said, he could not exactly say when such a return would be presented; it ought to be made by the Board of Works.

The House resolved itself into a Committee.

Lord Duncannon moved a Resolution, that in the opinion of the Committee, it was expedient that a sum not exceeding 78,750*l.*, arising from the sale of part of the land revenue of the Crown, should be applied to defray the expense incurred by the repair and improvement of Buckingham Palace, and the charges of the architect employed in completing the works.

Mr. *Hume* inquired whether the amount named in the Resolution would complete the Palace, including the necessary furniture, &c., or whether it was probable, that another demand would be made hereafter for furniture?

Lord *Duncannon* said, the sum now proposed to be granted would complete the building and repairs of the Palace, and render it fit for the reception of his Majesty; but no part of this sum was intended to be expended in the purchase of furniture. There was a large quantity of furniture in store, which his Majesty had directed should be applied to furnishing Buckingham Palace, but it would not, he believed, be sufficient. It would be necessary to provide some furniture.

Mr. *Hume* certainly did not object to furnishing a Palace, the building of which had cost the country above 500,000*l.*; all he desired was, to know how much the country was to be called upon hereafter to pay for furniture. He also wished to know, whether it was intended to expend any more money on St. James's Palace, which had already cost the country a very large sum?

Lord *Duncannon* replied, that after Buckingham Palace was completed, and fit for the occupation of his Majesty, the recommendation of the Committee had been, that no further outlay should take place on St. James's Palace.

Mr. *John Wood* had been one of the members of the Select Committee, by which body it was recommended that Buckingham Palace should be finished, and that afterwards the Palace of St. James should be applied to some other public purpose. The House would be guilty of a dereliction of its duty, if it did not take care that that recommendation was carried into effect.

Mr. *Goulburn* hoped it would not be understood, that the Committee had unanimously decided, that no more money was to be expended on St. James's Palace. He was one of those who thought that the building must hereafter require some expenditure, if it were only to prevent it from falling into decay.

Mr. *Croker* entirely concurred with his right hon. friend (Mr. Goulburn). The idea of abandoning St. James's Palace had never, as he understood, been decided on by the Committee. It was allowed, that St. James's was not suited for a royal domestic residence, and that, to make it applicable for such a purpose would create great expense. Upon these grounds it was resolved to finish Buckingham House, and keep St. James's for other purposes.

Mr. *Hume* wished to know how far Ministers intended to follow the recommendation of the Committee? for after what they had just heard, it became necessary to understand whether the opinions of the right hon. Gentleman, or those of the Committee, were to be preferred.

Lord *Duncannon* begged to explain. He thought his Majesty's Government would not be justified in suffering St. James's Palace to fall into decay. All he meant to state was, that when Buckingham Palace was completed, no addition would be made to St. James's; but there must be some expenditure to keep it from falling into decay.

Sir *George Warrender* thought, it would be very bad economy to abandon St. James's Palace, on which a large sum had been expended, and which contained some of the finest apartments in England.

Mr. *Hunt* could see no sufficient reason for continuing to occupy St. James's Palace, when Buckingham Palace was completed. It was not without precedent to pull palaces down that cost much in construction, and he mentioned Kew and Carlton Palaces as instances. He had heard it asserted, however, that his Majesty preferred the old Palace, and he wished to ascertain whether the King proposed to live in Buckingham Palace if it was completed.

Lord *Duncannon* said, he understood his Majesty intended to reside in Buckingham Palace when it was made habitable and fit for his residence.

Mr. *Warburton* said, he had understood that the Committee had come to no decision respecting St. James's Palace; they had left the point to be determined by Parliament.

Mr. *John Wood* hoped, that the Report of the Committee would be soon printed, that the House might be in possession of sufficient information, before it decided upon these matters. He had understood that the state apartments in St. James's Palace were gradually falling into ruins, and if so, the sooner they were pulled down the better.

Lord *Duncannon* knew that it had been the wish of the Committee that much money should not be expended at St. James's Palace—no more, in fact, than was necessary to keep it in repair.

Mr. *Hunt* said, that his hon. colleague appeared to have started a fresh hare. He was afraid, by what he could understand, that the plan of the Committee would not be attended with any decrease of expense, if they were to keep up the State apartments of St. James's Palace. 78,000*l.* was required for Buckingham House alone, and it would probably be better to have new state apartments built at the latter palace, rather than be at the expense of keeping up two palaces.

Lord *Duncannon* begged to say in reply, to the hon. member for Preston, that all that was intended by the vote at present before the House, was to make Buckingham Palace a fit residence for the Sovereign, but no further expense would be incurred without a direct application to Parliament. There was no doubt, that very splendid state apartments already existed at St. James's Palace, but if their condition was so bad that they would soon fall down, it was evident some measures must be taken to supply their place. For the present, however, he would assure the Committee, that it was not intended to expend more money on them than was sufficient to keep them fit for use.

Resolution agreed to. The House resumed.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.] Lord *Duncannon* rose to move for leave to bring in a Bill for uniting the office of Surveyor General of his Majesty's Works and Public Buildings with the office of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues. He thought it necessary to give a brief explanation of the views of his Majesty's Government in proposing this consolidation. It was the intention of Ministers, that for the future the Surveyor-general of Public Works should be one of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests; they proposed also to retain the services of the Deputy Surveyor of the Board of Works, who was an architect; in other respects considerable changes would be made in these departments. A great number of subordinate officers would be dispensed with, who were now employed at a considerable expense. It was intended for the future, that all articles furnished to the public buildings should be supplied by competition and contract, with the exception of the smaller articles, which would be furnished, as at present, by the Board of Ordnance. To some of the officers who would be thus displaced—namely, those who had given up the whole of their time and services to the duties of this department, and who had been employed in it for a considerable period, it would be necessary to give compensation. But that allowance was not to be given to those who had only been employed for a short period, or partially. He trusted this course would meet with the approbation of the House. In carrying this arrangement into effect, it was found necessary to apply to Parliament, because the accounts of the office of the Board of Works were audited by the Commissioners of Public Accounts, and those of the Woods and Forests by the Auditor of Land Revenues. It was proposed, that both should henceforward be audited by the Commissioners of Public Accounts, and that the place of Auditor of Land Revenues should be abolished. But, as the latter was a patent office, it was necessary that compensation should be given for its loss, and on that point the Government required the sanction of the House. He should move for leave to bring in a Bill for that purpose, and should propose, that the consideration of the proper allowance to be given as compensation should be decided by arbitrators, one to be chosen by the Commissioners of the Treasury, and the other by the patentee. The only other point to which there was any necessity for him to allude at present, related to the valuable documents in the custody of the Land Revenue department, the preservation of which was alike important to the public and the Crown; and it would, therefore, be expedient to make some provision to take care of them. He believed, that the arrangement contemplated would be useful to the public, and he hoped, that there would be no objection to his bringing in a Bill to effect the proposed objects. The noble Lord concluded by moving for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Acts, 10 Geo. 4th, c. 50, and 54 Geo. 3rd, c. 157, and for the purpose of uniting the office of the Surveyor-general of his Majesty's Works and Public Buildings with the office of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues.

Mr. *Maberly* said, he was anxious that the principle of consolidation should be carried into effect wherever it might be practicable, as he was convinced such a practice would lead to a considerable saving in the public expenditure, but he thought that it would have been better in this case to transfer the whole duties of the Board of Works to the Ordnance department; and that he was satisfied, might have been done without any increase of expense. It seemed to him, that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests could know nothing of public buildings, while the Board of Ordnance was fully in possession of all the necessary knowledge, and quite equal to the duty of taking care of them. That Board had a number of engineers attached to it, who were in full possession of the requisite knowledge, and the increase of their salaries, to allow them to perform the additional duties, would bear no proportion to the expense of a whole establishment of such persons, who would be required by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to carry these new duties into execution. He therefore hoped his noble friends would take this subject into their further consideration, for he was convinced their great object was economy in the expenditure of the public money.

Lord *Althorp* said, that the Board of Works was designed for the purpose principally of attending to the public buildings which were connected with Crown property, and his Majesty's Government thought that, as in the management of private property, the same individual should attend both to the land and the buildings upon it, so it ought to be with respect to the Crown property and the buildings upon it. For this reason they proposed the incorporation of the Board of Public Works with that of the Woods and Forests, and he did not think, that this alteration would materially increase the expense of the management of the latter department, while a considerable saving would be effected in the office connected with the Land Revenue. Besides this advantage an individual responsibility would be secured, in the management of the business, by which he hoped the works undertaken would be better performed. He did not think, that the duties of the Board of Ordnance were analogous to those connected with the palaces belonging to the Crown, and he considered the arrangement proposed by his noble friend much better than that suggested by the hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *Hume* said, that as the Board of Works had the superintendence of public buildings to the amount of 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* a year, including that House amongst the rest, he thought it would be better to transfer these duties to the Board of Ordnance, which Board, there were good reasons for believing, would be able to perform the duties most effectually, as it had already had the management of barracks, and other public buildings connected with them, and was provided with engineers and all necessary officers. That Board had the superintendence of the public buildings in Dublin, and he was at a loss to know what difference there could be between the repairs of palaces and other public offices belonging to the Government. No man approved more than he did of consolidation, but he hoped that no superannuation or compensation would be given until it had been first submitted to the Treasury, and by them submitted to that House.

Mr. *Warburton* said, that the only reason he had for objecting to the arrangement was, that he thought a permanent officer more likely to do the duty effectively than a removable officer, as the Commissioners of the Woods and Forests were, although he admitted that there was no reason to complain either of the present or the last persons who filled that office. He thought, that if the buildings now under the control of the Lord Chamberlain were placed under the same office, it would be a great saving and benefit to the public.

Mr. *Goulburn* merely rose to observe, that the arrangement proposed, relating to the Lord Chamberlain's department, by the hon. member for Bridport, had been carried into effect some years ago.

Leave given, and Bill brought in and read a first time.

COMPENSATION TO OFFICERS OF LAND REVENUE.] Lord *Duncannon* gave notice, that he should, on Monday, move for the appointment of a Committee to consider of the expediency of abolishing the office of Auditor of Land Revenue.

Mr. *Hume* expressed a hope, that no compensation would be given without ample proof that the office was a patent one, and therefore he trusted the patent would be laid upon the Table, in order that he might be satisfied if the holder was entitled to compensation.

Mr. *Maberly* did not think, that the present temper of the country was at all favourable to giving large retiring allowances to officers holding places of emolument. He trusted the precedent afforded by the cases of the Commissioners for Lotteries would be avoided; these persons had received large allowances on giving up places which had no duties attached to them.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.] Mr. *Goulburn* wished to have some understanding on the subject of an arrangement which was proposed last Session, for making Wednesday an order day. He was not aware that that was intended as a permanent regulation, but that it had merely been adopted on account of the particular circumstances of the last Session. If it were permanently adopted, the result would be, that Wednesday would be the only day on which Gentlemen not connected with the Government could bring forward business; for, without meaning to impute any want of courtesy to Ministers, he thought he might safely say, that they would not allow Gentlemen unconnected with them to bring on business on Monday and Friday. From this a great impediment to the public business would necessarily arise.

Lord *Althorp* said, that the arrangement of making Wednesday an Order day had been proposed as an experiment, but there never had been an opportunity of trying the experiment, owing to the Reform Bill. The right hon. Gentleman said, that his Majesty's Government would never allow Gentlemen unconnected with them to bring their business on, either on Monday or Friday. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman, that he should not wish to take advantage of the courtesy of the House, when Wednesday was an Order day, any more than when it was not. He was sure the Government would not prevent Gentlemen from bringing on business on Monday and Friday, when it could be made convenient. But he could give no specific pledge on the subject, further than to say, that on Wednesday the Government would not ask precedence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, December 12, 1831.

MINUTES.] Bills. Brought in, by Mr. CRAMPTON, to amend the 7th of George 4th, called the Subletting Act, to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Juries in Ireland. By Mr. EVANS, to prevent the application of Corporate Funds to Election purposes. Read a second time, Lottery Tickets Bill.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Copies of the Instructions given by the Secretary of the Home Department to the Parliamentary Commissioners, with the Returns made by them to the Home Office. On the Motion of Mr. HUME, the Salary and Emoluments received by the Auditors of the Land Revenue during the last twenty years; and a statement of the Offices which would be abolished, transferred or created by the Consolidation of the Board of Works with the Board of Woods and Forests, with retiring allowances, pensions, &c.; and all the Emoluments derived by the Clerks of the Post-office from the transmission of Newspapers to Ireland:—On the Motion of Sir ROBERT INGLIS, of the number of Jesuits and Priests, or other Monastic Orders, in Great Britain and Ireland, and all Tithes belonging to Laymen in the different dioceses in Ireland:—On the Motion of Mr. PRAED, of the number of Voters polled at the last general Election, the probable number of Voters and the present number of Freemen in all the Corporate towns of Ireland:—On the Motion of Mr. SPRING RICE, Copies of all Treasury Orders by which Duties have been raised since January, 1800, with Copies of the Resolutions on which they were founded; of all appointments to places in the Excise and Customs' Departments during the last twelve months; and of all persons who have retired when superannuated, and the amount of their pensions, in Ireland; the public Income and Expenditure for the four last years up to 5th January 1831; the sums contributed by Great Britain for the erection of Fortifications in the Netherlands; of all Excise prosecutions for the recovery of Duties on Paper, for the last fourteen years; the quantity of Malt manufactured and brought to charge in Scotland and Ireland from 5th January 1830, to 5th January, 1831; all Spirits distilled in Great Britain and Ireland from 1825 to January, 1831; of Malt charged with duty in Great Britain and Ireland; of Malt imported into each country; and of the quantity used in distillation in Scotland and Ireland from 1825 to January last; of the sums paid by the Excise and Customs for Saccharometers and Hydrometers from 1823; of Spirits distilled North and South of the Highland line, from October 1823, to July 1830; of the number of persons who had emigrated to various Colonies and Countries since the passing of the Act 9th George 4th; of Malt Spirits distilled by each Distiller; and of Corn-wash, also distilled by them from 10th of October 1827; of Malt Spirits bonded from 5th of January, 1826 to 5th January, 1831; of the Sums advertised to be applied to the discharge of the National Debt during the last eight quarters; and of surplus revenue really applied to the discharge of Debt; abstract of Votes in Supply in the last three years; and amount actually expended; of the sums due to the Excise under 4th George 4th, for Spirits produced under proof; for a return of the sums due to the Excise; for additional duties on Spirits under 1st William 4th; of all Steam Vessels belonging to the Public, and their employment; of the number of Stamps issued to each Newspaper in Ireland, from 5th January, 1830 to 5th October, 1831; for a Return of Malt made, and duty thereon, from 10th of October, 1827 to 10th October, 1828.

Petitions presented. By Mr. DOMINICK BROWNE, from the Householders of Galway, to preserve the peculiar Franchise of that Borough in the Irish Reform Bill. By Mr. HUME, from Felton, Gloucestershire, for the abolition of Tithes.

COMPENSATION—LAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT.] Lord Duncannon moved, that the House go into a Committee on the Bill for granting Compensation to Officers in the Land Revenue Department.

On the question being put,

Mr. *Hume* thought it would be desirable to appoint a Committee to inquire whether it would not be better to transfer the duties of the Board of Works to the Ordnance, than to the Woods and Forests.

Lord *Duncannon* said, he thought there was no necessity for such an inquiry; a great part of the business of the Board of Works was already done by the Office of the Woods and Forests; certain parts of parks and buildings were connected with the latter Office, and other parts with the former—and it was to prevent the present collision between the two Boards, that the present measure was introduced.

Mr. *Maberly* said, it would be much better, in his opinion, as he had already stated, to transfer the business connected with the Board of Works, to the Ordnance, which Board had a competent establishment of officers and engineers, capable of superintending all public buildings, as they already did those connected with military purposes. The question, therefore, simply was, whether they should consolidate the Board of Works with those of an established and perfectly-organized department, or whether these duties should be transferred to persons ignorant of their nature. The advantage of this latter arrangement, according to his noble friend, would be the consolidation of the office of the Board of Works with that of the Woods and Forests; but surely this could not be equal in advantage to transferring the duties to the Ordnance. He perfectly agreed with his noble friend, that it was most advisable to abolish the Board of Works. On the whole, however, giving full credit to his noble friend for his intentions, he thought the proposal of his hon. friend, the member for Middlesex—that the subject should be referred to a Committee—most proper.

Lord *Duncannon* said, the Ordnance could not possibly perform the duties of the Board of Works without a large addition to the present establishment of officers.

The noble Lord Duncannon laid upon the Table a copy of the patent of the office of Auditor of Land Revenue, and moved a Resolution, declaring that compensation ought to be granted out of the Land Revenues of the Crown to the holder of the patent office of Auditor of the Land Revenue.

Mr. *Hume* said, he should object to any compensation calculated on the fees and emoluments of the last few years. In consequence of the improvements in Regent-street and Regent's Park, doubtless a larger salary had been received by the Auditor of late than at any fomer period, or than he was ever likely to receive again. The average should be taken, therefore, for a great number of years, and not for the last six or seven.

Lord *Duncannon* said, the present question was simply, that a compensation be made to these parties, but it was intended the question of amount should be settled by arbitration—one arbitrator to be chosen by the Crown.

Sir *Robert Inglis* begged the noble Lord would inform him, whether the sum of 250,000*l.* paid out of the Treasury to the Board of Works had been wholly applied, or was any part of it to be repaid to the Treasury, and what portion of it had been expended on Buckingham palace ?

Lord *Duncannon* stated, that 100,000*l.* had been repaid to the Treasury, and that the remainder was in course of payment.

Resolution agreed to.

SUPPLY—INSURANCE DUTIES.] Lord Althorp moved the Order of the Day for receiving the Report of Supply.

Mr. *Cripps* wished to avail himself of that opportunity to ask the noble Lord, whether Ministers proposed to make any reduction in the Insurance Duties? The subject was very important at present, when so many fires were taking place in various parts of the country.

Lord *Althorp* trusted he should be excused, if he did not answer the question of the hon. Gentleman at that moment, because it would evidently be very inconvenient if he were to be called upon to answer prematurely questions connected with the revenue. He hoped the House and the hon. Gentleman would not expect him to give an opinion as to the expediency of reducing those duties at present.

SUPPLY — PUBLIC DISTRESS.] Sir *Richard Vyvyan* was anxious to put a question to the noble Lord, on a subject of great importance. The Speech delivered to Parliament from the Throne, said, that great distress existed in the country, and the question which he wished to put, was whether it was the intention of his Majesty's Government, to propose the appointment of a Committee, to consider whether any means could be devised, of alleviating that distress which was felt so deeply, and generally throughout the country. It was not necessary for him, at present, to state his opinion of the causes of that distress, but he must be permitted to say, that the quarantine regulations, which had been alluded to by some hon. Members as one great cause of it, was entirely inadequate to produce such extreme suffering.

Lord *Althorp* replied, that it was not at present, the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to propose any Committee.

SUPPLY—THE BURKERS.] Mr. *Hunt* rose to put a question to a Member of Government, and he was sure that the public mind would be greatly relieved, by an answer from the proper authority. It had been stated, in a letter which bore the signature of a Magistrate of the county of Middlesex, that the persons who had been lately executed for the crime of burking, instead of confessing to having committed three or four murders only, had, on the day previous to their execution, confessed that the number amounted to sixty, and that they were going on in their narrative, when they were stopped by the Ordinary of Newgate. He might, perhaps, have expressed himself in a laughable manner upon this question, and judging from the conduct of some hon. Members, he was sure that must be the case, but he would say, that it was one which had very much agitated the public mind, and which was in itself very important. Not that he was at all disposed to believe the fact, because he saw it stated in a newspaper. But there were a great number of persons who did believe it on that account; and he wished that the hon. Under-Secretary of State would let the House know, whether the fact was as had been stated.

Mr. *Lamb* was not aware upon what authority the communication to which the hon. Gentleman alluded, had been put forth by the newspapers. The office to which he had the honour to belong, had heard of no confession made by those parties, beyond what had been already published.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* said, that he had seen the criminals, and had communicated with the Sheriffs and the Under-Sheriffs on their case. He had observed the report in question, and, in consequence of it, applied to the Sheriffs, who assured him, that the men had declared, in the most positive manner, over and over again, that they had told all they knew. He was, therefore, astonished when he saw the statement in the newspapers.

Mr. *Hunt* was sorry that, according to his view, the matter was still left in a state of considerable doubt. The hon. Under-Secretary of State said, that he had heard of no other confession than that which was published. But the statement was, that on the night before the execution, another confession was made to a certain person of sixty murders, and which confession was going on, when it was stopped by the Ordinary of Newgate. Neither the hon. Under-Secretary nor the worthy Alderman stated, that he had had any communication with the Ordinary—and, although he believed the facts to be as they stated, still he thought their statement would not be satisfactory to the public, and he hoped the House would obtain further information.

Mr. *Lamb* regretted that his answer had not been as satisfactory as he intended it should be. He had had no communication with the Ordinary of Newgate; but he would say, that all the confessions which the criminals made, had been published.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* said, that he had had a communication with the Ordinary, and could say, that no other confession was made, than that which had been published.

Report of Supply brought up.

SUPPLY — DECCAN PRIZE MONEY.] Mr. *Hume* begged to put a question to the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, respecting the Deccan Prize Money. Six months ago, the noble Lord had said, that he hoped in a few weeks to be able to communicate the measures which were in progress for the ultimate settlement of that affair. Since then, he and other hon. Members had asked for information on the subject, but had been unable to obtain it. He wished that the Government would now give some answer that might be satisfactory to the numerous applicants.

Lord *Althorp* said, that he should be prepared to give an answer on a future day, and in the mean time he would take care to have the documents consulted.

Mr. *Hume* would repeat his question on the next Supply day, and then ask whether the delay had arisen from any defalcation of money in the hands of individuals? He thought it just to all parties, to give them an opportunity of clearing themselves.

SUPPLY—FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.] Mr. *Portman* wished to ask the hon. member for Boston a question relating to a subject which had much excited the public mind. He alluded to a notice given by that hon. Member last Session, of his intention to move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the present laws for the regulation of Friendly Societies. As he (Mr. Portman) had conducted the present Act through the House, he had received many communications on the subject, which he was unable to answer, and, therefore, took the liberty of asking, what were the intentions of the hon. Member, and what was the precise object of the Bill which he proposed to introduce?

Mr. *Wilks* said, that his intention was principally to regulate the period within which all friendly societies, although they should have been already enrolled, would be compelled to re-enrol themselves. Three years were allowed for the purpose by the present Act, which three years would expire in July next; and, as there were 7,000 societies which remained un-enrolled, it would be a very great inconvenience to them if the time were not extended. His object was, to extend the time for two years, as related to existing societies.

Report agreed to.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—BILL FOR ENGLAND—FIRST STAGE.] Lord John Russell moved, that that part of the King's Speech which related to Reform in Parliament should be read. It was read accordingly, as follows—

"I feel it to be my duty, in the first place, to recommend to your most careful consideration, the measures which will be proposed to you for a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament. A speedy and satisfactory settlement of this question, becomes daily of more pressing importance to the security of the State, and to the contentment and welfare of my people."—After which

Lord *John Russell* addressed the House nearly as follows:—In answer to his Majesty's most gracious Speech, delivered from the Throne, at the opening of the present Session, there was a vote of this House, that an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, in which the following words formed a part:—"We beg to assure your Majesty, that we receive, with all humility and respect, your Majesty's gracious recommendation, that we should enter upon the careful consideration of the measures which will be proposed to us for a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament, and that we feel convinced, that the speedy and satisfactory settlement of this question, becomes daily of more pressing importance to the security of the state, and to the contentment and welfare of the people." With that sentiment, in which this House concurred without a division, there are few now present who will not be ready to agree, for, whatever may have been the merits of the measure that was proposed in the former Session, or of that which I am now about to propose, there is no one who has attended to this great question, and noticed the manner in which it has agitated the country from time to time, the agitation increasing with every returning period of distress, but must be convinced, that the time has now arrived, when its speedy and satisfactory settlement is of an importance very nearly equal to that of the question itself. It so happens, that in this country, where freedom of debate always has existed, and I hope ever will continue to exist, that the topics chosen by the advocates of the measure, or by its opponents, have always been urged to an extreme point, so that both parties respectively exalt the benefits, or deplore the evils, of the measure they support or oppose, and they do this to such an extent, that at length the country has reached a condition in which it is dangerous to suspend any longer a final decision on a subject which has caused much discussion, and on which so much difference of opinion has prevailed. It becomes, in consequence, the duty of Parliament, with all convenient expedition, to put an end to these conflicting opinions, and to bind impatient desires on the one hand, and obstinate resistance on the other, by the compelling yoke of parliamentary law. That such has been the state of different questions which have been the topics of debate in this country, few who have attended to them, will deny. We all recollect the great measure passed a few Sessions ago—I mean the question of Catholic Emancipation. On that occasion, although I am, and always have been convinced, that right and reason, and political expediency, were on one side, yet I think it cannot be denied, that the immediate benefit to be derived from that measure for the people of Ireland, and the instant tranquillity that was expected to flow from it, were grossly exaggerated on the one hand; but, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that the topics of the utter subversion of the Established Church, and of the threatened discord between the two classes of the people, or the renewal of persecution, were in like manner grossly exaggerated, until it became the duty of Parliament then not to leave any longer the topic of discussion open to agitation, but to place under the solid sanction of their authority and approval, a measure the best calculated, in their opinion, to effect a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the great question which then agitated the public mind. A similar state of things exists at present with regard to the great measure which I am about to introduce to the House; no one thinking calmly can fail to allow, that both the evils to be remedied, and the advantages to be derived from that remedy, are highly coloured on the one hand, and that, on the other, the dangers to the Constitution, which it is said we are going to overturn, and to our established institutions, have been made the subject of many merely imaginary fears. It is, therefore, not only for the sake of the measure itself, but also with regard to the present state of the country, that his Majesty's Government has called Parliament together, to endeavour to effect that speedy and satisfactory settlement of the question of Parliamentary Reform which is so desirable, and to compose those differences which have divided parties and Parliament upon this great topic. It will be our duty so to act, that whatever may be the evils from which the country at any time suffers—whatever may be the causes that embarrass its commerce, or the difficulties under which its trade may be labouring, that to those embarrassments and difficulties, these topics of denied political rights, and disregarded political interests, shall not be brought in to aggravate the distress, and sharpen the complaints of the people. We must now do our best to settle the question, in order that we may be the more able to give our free and full attention to other important subjects, which cannot fail to demand our early, our serious, and our most deliberate consideration. It will be recollected, that at the end of last Session, when the Reform Bill was rejected by the House of Lords, the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government declared, that he remained in office only with the intention of bringing forward a measure not less efficient than that which had been rejected. The noble Earl made the declaration in the face of Parliament, and he made it, too, under the eye of his Sovereign, who was graciously pleased to express his wish that the noble Earl should remain in office. By that tie he has remained in the situation he now holds, and by that same tie he holds the confidence of the people, which was immediately expressed to him, on his making the declaration, that any future measure to be brought forward by him should be no less efficient than the former. This House likewise declared, that to the principles of that Bill, and to the leading provisions of it, they were firmly attached. I recal these circumstances to the minds of the Members of this House, because they will save me from the necessity of stating those general topics of Reform, or re-arguing those reasons, on which the principle of the Bill which was rejected last Session mainly rested. His Majesty's Government resting upon the foundation of Lord Grey's declarations, and upon the pledge given by this House, in favour of the Bill introduced by the Government, it is unnecessary for me to argue in support of the provisions of the Bill which I am about to ask leave to bring in. It will be sufficient for me to say, that it is founded on the principles on which alone the Government can propose a Bill of Reform to this House, and on which alone this House, consistently with its own declared sentiments, can entertain it. The arguments, therefore, which I shall address to the House, will turn merely upon the best mode of carrying these principles and these provisions into effect; upon the mode by which they can be made most permanent, and most likely to be adapted to the state of the country, without those alterations to which almost every great measure must be subject in a course of years. The first great principle of the last Bill, introduced to the House last Session, was to get rid of the nomination boroughs, by the disfranchisement of such of them as were decayed, and had become inconsiderable. The next was the enfranchisement of certain large and populous towns, and giving new Members to large counties. The third related to the right of voting which we proposed to introduce into all boroughs. With regard to the principle of disfranchisement, it will be in the recollection of the House, that we declared, in order to prevent the direct power of nomination, that it was necessary to take a certain number of small boroughs, where freedom of election could not be hoped for, or obtained, and to draw a line of demarcation between them and boroughs of somewhat more consideration, and into which we could introduce a greater number of electors, so as to establish more fully the principle of this Bill, which is the principle of the Bill of Rights, that elections ought of right to be free. In order to take certain boroughs out of the operation of the principle of complete disfranchisement, we took the census of 1821, and established a certain line of population, below which the borough to be disfranchised would have no right to send Members to Parliament. Since that time the new census has been nearly completed, and it is natural that such an important circumstance should not be thrown out of view. At the aame time I think there are certain objections to that census, which I stated formerly, one of which is, that the census of 1831, being made at a time when a particular cause was assigned for the disfranchisement of boroughs of small population, it was almost impossible, that, in some instances, at least, persons would not be gathered together in certain of these small boroughs, in order to make up the number of inhabitants to the required amount of 2,000. We have thought, therefore, that as the test of population might not, in all cases, be perfectly accurate, it would be better to take the number of houses, rather than that of persons; it being less likely that improper practices could be resorted to, with regard to the return of the number of houses, than with regard to the return of the number of persons. But there was another reason why we considered it proper to take houses instead of persons. There were other difficulties, besides those I have alluded to, respecting the census of 1821, which much embarrassed the progress of the Bill of last Session. When that census was first taken, it was supposed, that the difference between the limits of the borough, with regard to its population, and the limits of the borough with regard to that portion of it which was entitled to send Members to Parliament, was not so material as to make any great difference. But it appeared, in the discussions which arose upon the Bill, that there was often a great difference between the two, and the difficulty was, to draw the line where the census ought to be disregarded, and where it ought to be adhered to. I think that we drew the line as fairly as we could, but the census itself was imperfect, and nothing could more fully prove that fact, than the statements of a right hon. Gentleman opposite, with regard to a place, which, according to another estimate, never could expect to retain its right of returning a Member; I allude to the borough of Saltash. When I say, that we drew the line as fairly as we could, I must not omit to remark upon the recommendations of two hon. Members who may be supposed to have much considered the subject. The hon. member for Thetford, who has paid a great deal of attention to this subject, said, that in order to get a fair criterion, we should leave out from the Returns for the towns all persons connected with agriculture; and the hon. member for Bossiney said, that there was a great difference in extent between the parishes of the north and the parishes of the south, and that we ought not, therefore, to take parishes in the north, as from their superior size, they did not form a fair criterion for those of the south. Had we adopted either of these suggestions, especially the latter, and had we said, that beyond a certain line one way we would, and beyond a certain line the other way we would not, recognize the existing parishes as parishes, we should have exposed ourselves, not only to attack, but to ridicule. Considering, therefore, that as this census was framed, it was not calculated to give us as just and complete a view of the boroughs as was requisite, we have taken every means to obtain a correct account of them, of their importance, their population, and their size, in every instance in which this Bill will affect them. Those Gentlemen who went through the last Bill, will see that in doing this, we have had a matter of no small difficulty to accomplish. Mr. Pitt, in bringing forward his scheme of Parliamentary Reform, in 1785, said, "I will take the criterion, by which I will judge what boroughs are decayed, from the number of houses within them. This is a mode of judgment which is not liable to error, and which I conceive to be perfectly consistent with the original principle of Parliamentary Representation."* But I think, that if he had gone further than merely to make the proposition, he would have found, that the course he had marked out, was not so easy and simple as he seemed to imagine. For instance, where the borough contains the whole town, he might arrive at a satisfactory result; but in other cases, where the town goes beyond the limits of the borough, he would have found a difficulty he did not anticipate, and that it would be unjust to say, that he would strictly confine himself to the borough, and not allow to the town the importance which its growing size, wealth, and prosperity deserved. This is a matter which it is difficult to ascertain with exactness, and even within these few days, with regard to the borough represented by the right hon. Baronet opposite—I mean the borough of Tamworth—it has been doubted, whether the number of houses had been calculated for the town or for the borough. Persons residing there have sent up Returns, which those who have visited it on the part of the Government, have thought insufficiently represented the extent and importance of the borough. Under these circumstances, therefore, we have taken another test, which, combined with the test of houses, will give a more correct view of the importance of the boroughs. We have adopted this other test, in order that we may not place towns with a number of mean low houses, in a situation of greater advantage than towns with a smaller number of better and more respectable houses. We have not taken the number of 10*l.* houses only, but the amount of Assessed Taxes, up to the month of April of this year. To do this, it was necessary for us to take the assessed taxes paid by the whole town, without regard to the exact limits of the borough. I own, that I thought, during the discussions of last Session, that it was in vain to attempt to obtain such accurate returns upon these points as would render it expedient to propose them to this House, as the basis of a legislative enactment; but although the subject is surrounded with difficulties, I hope to be able to produce satisfactory evidence to the House, that fair grounds have been taken with respect to all these boroughs. In this part of our labours we have been much assisted by those Gentlemen who were sent into the country as Commissioners with the object of defining the limits of the various cities and boroughs. They have paid much attention to this subject, and have consequently been able to give us much valuable information. Besides this, we have had letters written to the returning officers of different boroughs; and, although in some instances the instructions have not been understood, and the answers have been necessarily sent down again for revision and correction, yet I am bound to say, the answers have been, in general, fair and explicit; and in the majority of cases, where they have been corrected by the Government Commissioners, the correction has rather gone to show, that the returning officer had not given a sufficient breadth to the town, than that he had taken too much for its limits. Having these grounds for our information, a particular task was intrusted to Lieutenant Drummond, by the noble Lord at the head of the Home Department who wrote Mr. Drummond a letter, requesting him to take this mass of information into his particular consideration, and from it to make out a series of 100 boroughs, beginning with the lowest, and taking the number of houses and the amount of their assessed taxes together as the bases of their relative importance. From his return of these boroughs, the grounds on which he calculated, so as to arrive at a correct conclusion being fully detailed in the letter and appendix, explanatory of the course he has pursued (which documents are before the House), the first clause of the Reform Bill, the schedule A, has been framed. The next question for the Government to decide was, what they would take as the principle of disfranchisement, and where they would draw the line. As I have before said, the line must be in every way an arbitrary line, whether we take as our principle the number of houses, the amount of assessed taxes, or the limits of a borough. In all these cases, the line must be an arbitrary line, founded on the judgment of those who make the distinction, whether we take 2,000 persons or 500 houses, or 500*l.* assessed taxes. In this instance we have been guided by the number of boroughs then proposed to be disfranchised, on account of their inconsiderable size, which was fifty-six. The consequence of taking Lieutenant Drummond's report as a basis for disfranchisement, and taking the same number, is, that some boroughs which formerly escaped disfranchisement as populous and large, will now be placed in schedule A, while others, which are better towns in comparison, will be taken out of that schedule, and be placed in schedule B. The latter are five in number, and a sixth is under consideration. The boroughs that are to be taken from schedule B, and placed in schedule A, are Aldborough, in Yorkshire, Amersham, East Grinstead, Oakhampton, and Saltash. There is one other borough, which was in the list of the forty-one boroughs in schedule B, in the late Bill, and with respect to which there are even now still some doubts as to what are the proper limits of the borough. That is the borough of Ashburton. Supposing that place to be one of the fifty-six, then the boroughs that are taken out of schedule A and placed in schedule B will be Midhurst, Petersfield, Eye, Wareham, Woodstock, and Lostwithiel. Another part of the disfranchising clauses relates to the boroughs inserted in schedule B; and, in speaking of that schedule, I must apprize the House, that it stands upon a different principle from that which governs schedule A. The boroughs placed in schedule A were inserted therein because, from the smallness of their size, and the limited extent of their population, elections in them could not be free, and because their representatives were returned, either by nomination or by the influence of gross corruption. But the boroughs placed in schedule B were placed there on the principle of not giving to the smaller towns such a large share in the Representation as they possess at present, and it was, therefore, judged proper, that one of the Representatives of a certain number of places should be taken away. This would also have the further effect of diminishing the numbers of the House. With respect to the propriety of a certain number of boroughs having but one Representative, the opinions of the framers of the Bill remain unchanged, but with regard to the number of the Members of the House, it has been matter of serious consideration whether, after the number has been enlarged from that point at which it was put in the last Session, so as to be only twenty-three less than it is at the present moment—whether, after that enlargement of numbers, it might not be more advantageous to retain its numbers undiminished, more especially as those who object to the diminution of the House may be conciliated without sacrificing any of the principles of the Bill. In considering that question, another advantage was perceived; namely this. It had been one of the most constant objections to the measure of Government, that many of the large towns left with only one Member would be in a state of discontent till they had obtained two. Without yielding to that argument—for I think, that in many instances one Member would be fully sufficient to represent the particular interest of these towns, it is evident that there will be a great advantage, if, by giving them two Members, these objections might be in some degree obviated, and the larger among these towns would thus be placed in a better situation; but, at the same time, it was evident, that if we proposed to give the whole number of vacant places created by the schedule B to these large towns, we should be giving a degree of weight to the manufacturing interest, which, without some balance or counterpoise, would be considered objectionable. It then came to be a question whether we should give an additional number of Members to the large counties. It appeared to us, that it would not be an advantage to adopt a further division of counties for that purpose, or to give three Members to those counties which now possess two. The only way, therefore, to avoid the difficulty was, to give a certain number of these Members to the towns of the greatest importance which had been placed in schedule B, supposing, that we took the list of forty-one towns in schedule B, as it stood last Session. That course was resolved to be adopted, and it is therefore proposed, that of the twenty-three Members whose seats, after the arrangements I have mentioned, will remain to be disposed of, ten shall be given to the more considerable towns, that, under the last Bill, were to return but one Member each to Parliament. One Member we propose shall be given to Chatham, to separate it from and make it entirely independent of Rochester, and one other to the county of Monmouth, which has repeatedly petitioned for another Member, and which has, of late years, much increased in population and wealth; and the other eleven we propose, shall be given to the larger towns, which, in the former Bill, were placed in schedule B. Thus are the whole of the twenty-three disposed of. In consequence of this arrangement, there will be thirty boroughs in schedule B, instead of forty-one, and instead of there being sixty-nine places sending but one Member each, there will be only forty-nine. According to the present proposition, and to the scale which I have mentioned, founded upon the houses and the assessed taxes, we have prepared the list of the boroughs in schedule B, which are now reduced to thirty, and which, in several instances differs from the former lists, besides the eleven boroughs to which I have already referred. [The noble Lord here read the names of the places included in schedule B, for which see the Act in the Appendix to this Volume.] There is another circumstance which I deem it right to state to the House. It was the subject of much comment in a former Session. According to the returns respecting those small towns, if the number of forty-one had been taken, it would have included the borough of Tavistock. As this borough is one which has been more questioned and was likely to be more examined and scrutinized, than any other, I am, for that and other reasons, most anxious that every possible light should be thrown upon its condition and circumstances. That borough will retain its two Members according to the present scheme. But if any Gentleman chooses to say, that any unfair rule has been attempted to be established with respect to that borough—that any unfair advantage has been taken of my official situation, for the purpose of placing it beyond the reach of disfranchisement—if Gentlemen say that, I shall only assert, that such statement is utterly false and unfounded. I will now state to the House, the names of the places to which in consequence of the addition that is to be made, we propose to give two members instead of one. The towns to which I refer are Bolton, Brighton, Bradford, Blackburne, Macclesfield, Oldham, Stockport, Stoke-upon-Trent, Halifax and Stroud) I will now pass to another part of the Bill, namely, to that part which refers to the right of voting. And here let me state, that schedule A, and the 10*l.* clause were the two great pillars upon which the former Bill rested: without them, it would dwindle away to nothing, or to worse than nothing; with them, any defects will be compensated by the great advantages which will be derived from the disfranchisement of the small boroughs, and by establishing a right of voting in cities and boroughs, founded upon the old common law of the land, and adapted to the present state of society—a right of voting which, it is hoped, will bring into the constituency those who are best qualified to exercise the important privilege, from their education, from their general intelligence, and from the stake which they have in the country. I shall not, however, now, unless specially urged so to do, discuss the merits of that question. On the second reading, a fit opportunity will be afforded for that purpose, when I will more particularly undertake to show, that if Ministers had raised the qualification in large towns, and diminished it in small towns, they would have been making a set of small scot-and-lot boroughs, and would have been alienating from the Government a large mass of active and intelligent persons, whom they ought to endeavour to conciliate. I have only now to state, in reference to it, that our intention in making any change in this part of the Bill, is not with a view of diminishing the real value of the privilege conferred, by raising the amount of the qualification, but with the view of effecting such an alteration as will make this provision of the Bill more efficient, and better calculated to attain the object with which it was originally introduced—namely, that of adding to the constituency a mass of intelligent and well-qualified electors. In respect to this portion of the provisions of the former Bill, I am ready to admit, that it was faulty, and required amendment. The only doubt, however, which Ministers had respecting it was, whether it was drawn up in such a manner as would enable those who were to derive their franchise from it to exercise it. As the clause stood in the last Bill, the right of voting in boroughs was to be enjoyed by occupiers of houses assessed to the house-duty or poor-rate at 10*l*., or rented at 10*l*., or of the annual value of 10*l*.; but then this right was afterwards limited thus:—that no one, whose landlord compounded for the rates, should be entitled to vote, unless he claimed to be rated in his own name; and that no one should be entitled to vote for any premises, unless he had occupied the same premises for twelve calendar months, and had not been in the receipt of parochial relief during that time. We now propose, that every one who occupies a house of the value of 10*l*. shall have a right to vote in behalf of it, provided he is rated, not that he shall be rated at 10*l*., but that he shall be placed on the poor-rates; and then the only question to be decided will be, whether the house or warehouse occupied be of the value of 10*l*. a year. This clause is one of such importance, that I trust the House will allow me to read it at full length, as I intend to move it in the Bill. [The noble Lord here read clause twenty-seven of the Bill, for a copy of which, see the Appendix to this Volume.] There is also another clause similar to one in the former Bill, which enacts, that any person who is not rated to the poor-rates may demand to be placed upon them, and being so placed upon them, may claim to be put on the registry. The mode of ascertaining the value of the house where any dispute arises respecting it, will be, that on a fixed day, as in the former Bill, the Barrister to be appointed for that purpose will hold his court, and will there examine as to the value of premises upon which parties claim the right to vote, and he will also decide as to whether all the names placed on the list by the Overseers shall be allowed to remain, and whether any others of those claiming shall be added. This may appear to some Gentlemen a matter of difficulty, but in some towns, where all persons assessed on houses of a certain value have a right to vote for guardians of the poor, this mode of ascertaining the right of parties claiming is in common use, and in some very populous places—at Norwich, for instance, where there are from 3,000 to 4,000 such houses of 10*l*. value, the matter is managed with little difficulty. Birmingham, too, I understand, affords a similar instance. In fact, it is nothing different from a scot-and-lot qualification, excepting that there is a limit affixed to the qualification. Those who know the abuses which have crept into every sort of privilege in this country will, I am persuaded, feel, that this is much less liable to abuse than any other that has been suggested, and that, upon the whole, it affords every prospect of working well in practice. It will, of course, be fully recollected, that to the former Bill many objections were made, on the ground that its operation would be unjust towards Corporations. It was said, because we were about to take away the corporate right of voting for Members of Parliament, that we were destroying Corporations. That I deny. In the late Bill, however, those privileges of voting were confined to the lives of the present possessors; but the Bill which I now ask leave to introduce will preserve the rights of freemen, and the inchoate rights of apprentices and others. It goes a step further than the previous Bill, for it continues the franchise to all freemen possessing it by birth and servitude, provided they are resident in the towns for which they possess the franchise. There are many who set a great value upon those rights, and it is not intended to effect any alteration in them, further than limiting the right of voting to persons residing within the borough, or within seven miles of the place of voting. There is another point to which I do not think it out of place here to advert:—it is a clause to be introduced, to provide for the possibility of new charters being given to boroughs by his Majesty. In all cases of such charters, the returning officers appointed under the Bill will cease to discharge that duty, the Mayors or chief magistrates of the boroughs will become the returning officers. Every person must acknowledge how desirable it would be, could it be effected, to unite under charters those persons who possess the right of voting, and that giving charters on liberal principles—such as that of the most ancient privileges of the freemen of the city of London—would be, in every case, an improvement; and, whenever such an alteration takes place with respect to a borough—and it is one which will greatly contribute to the quiet, order, and good government of towns—the transfer of those duties may be made with exceeding advantage. There is another right reserved under the Bill, to which I shall now call your attention. In cities which are counties in themselves, the freemen stand in a different situation from those in which other freeholders are placed. In some cities, being counties of themselves, the possession of a freehold gives a right of voting for the county at large. In other cases, such freeholds give the right of voting only for the city; and in other cases, confers no privilege of voting whatever. It is intended that those who vote for the county at large shall remain undisturbed; those who vote for the county of the city will also be allowed to retain their vote; but it declares, that those who heretofore possessed no privilege of voting for either county or city shall be thrown into, and vote for the adjoining county at large. Another point to which I wish to call the attention of the House, is, that by the former Bill, certain Commissioners were appointed, to inquire into and ascertain the limits of boroughs, and make a report on that subject, and other matters, to both Houses of Parliament; and so soon as that report should have been received and adopted, it was intended to be acted on, with respect to such places as should be included in it. In most instances, persons have been sent to perform the duties that would have devolved upon the Commissioners, if appointed, and such an amount of information has been acquired, by the ability and intelligence by which their endeavours have been conducted, as will, I think and hope, supersede the necessity of appointing any Commissioners by the bill. By means of the information which has thus been obtained, and which we expect to be able to lay before the House soon after the Christmas recess, we shall be enabled to prepare a separate bill, to define the proper limits of cities and boroughs, which will thus be determined by the judgment of Parliament itself, without reference to the opinion of others. I have further to state, that from the reports received from the gentlemen sent into the country, for the purpose to which I have adverted, it is thought, that the strict rule of requiring 300 electors might be advantageously departed from. It was necessary, according to the former plan, to place some limit upon the Commissioners. But Parliament will have now the means of legislating in connection with the general measure, and of making up a constituency suited to the present circumstances and feeling of the country. I have now, I believe, gone through all the essential alterations made in the Bill, of course, without entering into any of its details or wording, though, even in these, I think it will be found that many material improvements have been introduced. It will, therefore, now be for the House to determine whether or not it will adopt the present measure, and to how far it can be adopted, consistently with being pledged to the leading principles of the measure of last Session. In all its leading features the present Bill will be found, I trust, the same, or nearly the same as that which was rejected last Session by the House of Lords, improved, I hope, in its details, but not weakened in any one essential point. It is not my wish now to enter further into those details. I shall, certainly, if it be the pleasure of the House to enter at once into the debate on this Bill, be ready to enter into those details immediately, but my opinion is, that it would be much more convenient to postpone the debate until some future time, when the Bill has been printed, and placed in the hands of Members. I am any thing but willing to provoke a discussion at this moment; but thus much I may be allowed to observe, that Ministers had to consider what was their duty in the present situation of the country, and of the Reform question; and their deliberate conviction is, that they could not, consistently with what they owe to Parliament and themselves, do otherwise than lay the present measure before the House; and I trust the time is coming when both sides of this House will concur with those out of doors, that it is full time to abandon that which can no longer be defended. Whatever the merits of the ancient system might have been in its time, and for its purpose, I shall not now stop to inquire; the only question for us now is, to consider how we shall best form a new system for the future government of this country—upon what principles we shall best provide for the future liberties of the people, consistently with a due regard to the privileges of the other House of Parliament, and the prerogatives of the Crown. If my noble friend at the head of his Majesty's Government has said—nay, has entered, as he undoubtedly has, into a voluntary engagement—that the measure about to be introduced shall not be less efficient than the former; there can be no question that he made that engagement, bound by another engagement not less in force, and to which he must have felt himself under the necessity of reconciling it, and in conformity with which the public must receive it. However anxious my noble friend may be to concur in laying before Parliament a measure not less efficient than the former, yet he can never lose sight of that other principle which compels him to give his support to no proposition which does not respect the privileges of the other

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* Hansard's Parliamentary History vol. xxv. p. 441.

House of Parliament, and go to uphold the just prerogatives of the Crown. If there are those who, referring solely to the voluntary engagement of my noble friend, would require him to go further, I hope they will bear in mind that he was bound by both engagements. The monarchy in this country is at the present moment in a situation, which makes it our duty to watch over the rights of all the authorities of the State. There cannot be the slightest question that my noble friend was, and must have felt himself bound not to concur in the introduction of any measure inconsistent with those privileges and prerogatives. If I look back to what has been going on in this country, and throughout Europe—ever since I had the honour of a seat in this House, ever since the peace with France—during the last fifteen years, there has been a constant attempt on the part of the public mind and the intelligence of this country to obtain an alteration in the laws and institutions of England; in those very laws and institutions which we have been most accustomed to regard with reverence and affection. Whether we refer to the laws relating to trade and commerce—the Navigation Laws, which were once looked upon with a sort of superstitious reverence—to the laws relating to religion, by which it was thought to protect that Protestant Ascendancy which so long excluded Protestant and Roman Catholic Dissenters from the privileges of the Constitution—we shall find, that each and all of them have been successively attacked and successively altered. Or if we look to the frame of our criminal laws, or to the laws of property, we find, that the increasing intellect of the country, has demanded extensive change and reform. On all these subjects it had become the duty of the Government to make the necessary changes, and admitting, which is indisputble, that the demand for alteration is importunate and extensive, it becomes the Legislature and the Government, in acceding to that demand, to proceed without running the risk of destroying that which we already possess. We are bound not to put to hazard the excellent frame of our Constitution; though at the same time we cannot oppose an obstinate refusal to the well-founded demands of the people, when justified by the intellect and virtue of the country. The consequence of this general feeling is, that few now remain who think that no change should be made in our laws. The right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Robert Peel) has himself been a large reformer, both in the commercial and the criminal laws. The right hon. Baronet, at least, must acknowledge, that he had not feared to introduce an extensive reform, with the view (which no one more applauds than I do) of rendering those laws more compatible with the present state of society. On one great question, connected with which there was more difficulty than with any of the rest—I mean the change which put an end to religious distinctions—Parliament yielded to the authority of those to whom it was most accustomed to pay deference, and such a change was made as greatly surpassed all others in comparison. When I see all this going on—when I see from day to day bills introduced for effecting the widest and the most extensive changes in all that we have been in the habit of clinging to with much tenacity, can I feel surprise that a loud and importunate demand should be made for an alteration—for a removal of those abuses and deformities imputed to our Representative System? Now, then, that we have arrived at the time when a change is unavoidable, let us fairly set about considering the mode in which it can be best effected, consistently with the rights and privileges of the three branches of the Legislature. The question we have to decide is, whether imperious circumstances do not require us to make a considerable alteration in the system of Representation. Such an alteration as may on the one hand bind the people still closer to the Constitution, and on the other, hold them in still stronger attachment to the three branches of the Legislature. I will not, however, now enter into the arguments which may be urged on this topic, but I will say, without dwelling upon the demerits of the ancient system, that it is now doomed to last no longer. I take the declaration from those most attached to things as they are—from their declarations at London and Liverpool and other places, where the utmost efforts have been made to excite resistance to public opinion, and where a sentiment has been uniformly expressed—even in the narrow circle of the opponents of the last Bill in favour of Reform. It is, therefore, clear, that the present system cannot last long. All parties admit, that some change must be made, and I trust they will agree that the measure which I have now the honour to propose, instead of being the monster some chose to represent the Bill of last Session, is calculated to promote the peace, the welfare, and the prosperity of the country. I now move for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Representation of the people in England and Wales.

Sir *Robert Peel* rose for the purpose of requesting that the noble Lord (Althorp), would be pleased to state, what course he proposed to adopt with respect to the progress of the Bill through the House.

Lord *Althorp* said, that if the House should agree to allow the Bill to be introduced and read a first time on this evening, he should propose to carry it no further than the second reading before the Christmas recess. After the Bill should have been read a second time, he would move the adjournment of the House till after the holydays. As to the day to be fixed for the second reading, he thought, that as the Bill would be prepared and ready for delivery to Members early on Wednesday, it would not be too soon to fix the second reading for Friday. There would, he thought, be the less objection to this course, as the Bill had been so fully discussed in the last session, and no alteration was now proposed in the principle. He should hope, that if it was not intended to take the sense of the House in the present stage of the Bill, the discussion might be reserved for the second reading.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that speaking for himself only, without saying whether Friday would or would not be a convenient day, he was not disposed to take any division on the motion for leave to bring in the Bill; and was willing to let the discussion be taken on the second reading. If the House took the same view of the subject, and he believed it was disposed to allow the Bill to be brought in, any discussion at present would only anticipate that which must take place in the next stage, and would be at once unprofitable and inconvenient. On that occasion they would have to discuss those great questions which the noble Lord had omitted to notice, namely, the necessity of making this extensive change; whether that necessity, if it existed, arose from the nature of things, or from the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers; whether the real motive for the Reform Bill was the practical permanent good it was to effect, or the temporary advantage of yielding to a clamour for Reform, which had been mainly encouraged by the Ministers themselves. These were questions which must be discussed on the second reading; but without entering into any of them on the present occasion, there was one feeling, which it was vain to suppress—one in which there must be general and unanimous concurrence on all sides—that of rejoicing at the great escape they had had from the Bill of last session; a feeling of the deepest and sincerest gratitude to those to whom they were indebted for rescue from a danger which he had never fully appreciated till he heard the speech which the noble Lord (Lord John Russell) had just delivered. He would not say by what mode the House ought to express its thanks for that escape, and for the opportunity once more afforded to it of again deliberating on the important change proposed in the constitution of the country; but this he did know, that the speech of the noble Lord, and the new Bill, now moved and about to be introduced, were a full and complete answer to the calumnies of the last session, against the factious delays, as they were then called, of those who sought to introduce those very modifications which were now relied on as the great improvements of the Bill. The advantage of those much maligned delays and objections was now visible. He saw it in many places; for, on hearing the outline of the new Bill, he found that there was scarcely an amendment which had been offered from that (the Opposition) side of the House, which had not been adopted. The principle of population was abandoned—the census of the present year was preferred to the census of 1821—the rights of freemen by birth or servitude were preserved—schedule A was re-modelled — schedule B was totally changed, and many other modifications, which the Opposition had struggled in vain to introduce last session, were now voluntarily admitted by the noble Lord as so many improvements in his plan of Reform. Even the Commissioners, whom the Ministers had so strenuously preserved last session, were now to be given up. He would not go into the other changes which the noble Lord had mentioned: he would not stop to inquire why, when five boroughs were taken out of schedule A, as many more should be added, so as to make it contain the exact arbitrary number of fifty-six, as it stood in the last Bill, when clearly fifty-one was the proper number, according to the shewing of the noble Lord himself. He would not examine why the number of boroughs having but one Member each should be reduced from sixty-nine to forty-nine; nor would he enter into any inquiry as to the cause of the change in the right of voting in cities and counties; but leaving all these as matters for future discussion, he must congratulate himself and his right hon. friends on the opposition they made to the last

Bill, of the beneficial effects of which they had now such unquestionable proofs. He admired the candour and justice of the noble Lord, in commenting so severely on the blunders and defects of the late Bill, but he owned he was not prepared for such a sacrifice to the *manes* of the late Parliament as the adoption of the resolutions of General Gascoyne.

An *Hon Member*, on the Ministerial side, here intimated, that that resolution was not adopted in the new Bill.

Sir *Robert Peel* had no desire to misrepresent what fell from the noble Lord, but he had distinctly understood him to say, that the present number of Members in the House, 658, would be preserved. If he had misunderstood the noble Lord, he would of course set him right.

Lord *John Russell* said, that he had stated his intention to preserve 500 Members for England and Wales; to have 105 for Ireland, and 53 for Scotland.

Sir *Robert Peel:* Which numbers, as he calculated them, would exactly make up the present number of the House. Now, what were the words of General Gascoyne's resolution but these? "That it is the opinion of this House, that the total number of knights, citizens, and burgesses, returned to Parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, ought not to be diminished." He had understood the noble Lord to say, that he intended to preserve the present numbers; and what, he would ask, was that but the adoption of the resolution of General Gascoyne? As to the proportion of Members to be given to Ireland and Scotland, he would only observe, at present, that they should be able to form a more correct judgment of the Bill for England and Wales, if, before they proceeded to its consideration, they were informed of what was intended to be done with respect to the Scotch and Irish Bills. The noble Lord had told them, that he still adhered to the 10*l.* clause. He cared little for the name: the name might be preserved, and yet the character and nature of the qualification professing to pass under that name might be totally changed. The circumstances under which the occupier of a 10*l.* house would be entitled to vote, were the only questions worth considering. He had not risen for the purpose of entering into an examination, or of seeking for any present explanation from the noble Lord, as to any part of the Bill. He rose chiefly to vindicate himself and his hon. friends for the course they took last session, in opposing the Bill then before Parliament. After all that had been said, in the House and out of the House, as to the nature and alleged object of that opposition, what was at length the result? Why, that it was now declared to be the deliberate conviction of the King's Government, that the objections the Opposition then took were well founded. On this important question of the formation of a new Constitution for the country, they now saw, that the objections then urged were not without their important use, and that the delay of a few months could not now be considered, what it had then been so constantly held up to be, as time thrown away. In a measure of this magnitude, an attention to the most minute details was of the utmost importance, and the alterations in the new Bill proved, that when they came to discuss matters of such extreme interest, involving the organization of a new frame of government, they were bound to proceed most warily and discreetly, and not to grudge the delay of a few months employed in preparing the materials out of which a new Constitution was to be moulded. Why the opportunity was not taken last session to effect the alterations which were now proposed, it was not for him to say, but that such an opportunity then presented itself could be no more denied than that such an opportunity at present existed. Whatever might be his objections to the Bill which was now about to be introduced, he rejoiced, for the sake of the character of those on that side of the House with whom he had the honour to act, that such a triumphant refutation had been brought forward of charges which had been made against them. He rejoiced at the delay which had taken place, not only on account of the amendments which had been made in the details of the Bill, but because—if the House should determine, on the second reading of the Bill, to adopt the principle of the measure, and to make so extraordinary and extensive a change in the frame and constitution of the government of this country, they would be enabled to follow the example of the King's Government, and make still further improvements in the details of the Bill. Another, and as it appeared to him, a great advantage, arising from that delay was, that they would now have an opportunity of discussing this important question in a state of greater calmness, influenced by less excited feelings, and altogether under circumstances better calculated to enable the House to arrive at a wise and dispassionate conclusion. It could not, certainly, be denied that this was a subject which, above all others, was deserving of a calm, and deliberate, and cool consideration. If it were true that upon subjects of comparative indifference—upon matters infinitely less extensive in their bearings upon the interests and welfare of the country at large, discussion was to be deprecated at a time when public excitement and agitation prevailed with regard to them—if it were fit, according to the just doctrines of the Lord Chancellor, that even in regulating the practice of anatomy—even in taking precautions against the continued commission of foul and systematic murder, discussion should be postponed until the first burst of indignation and alarm had subsided—surely it was at least equally fit, that when that living and nobler subject, the Constitution, was to be submitted to the amputation and dissection of, he must say, not very experienced practitioners, the most delicate operations should not be performed while their passions were heated, and their judgment disturbed by external clamour, and while their hands were yet trembling with the fever of an unusual and unnatural excitement. Greatly, therefore, did he rejoice at what had occurred at the close of last session, and highly gratified was he that they should be enabled to benefit by the suggestions which had been then made; and that, in consequence of the delay which had taken place with respect to this measure, they could now, on both sides of the House, approach the consideration of the subject with that calmness, good temper, and moderation, which the subject demanded and deserved. The noble Lord who introduced the motion to the House, said, that an absolute necessity existed for the speedy and satisfactory settlement of this question. The noble Lord said, that extravagant hopes had been excited—that undue apprehensions had been encouraged — and that there was no safe alternative but to turn the expectations of the people into realities. That statement of the noble Lord was a decisive proof how cautious a responsible Government ought to be, not to encourage expectations which it might find impossible to satisfy, and not to take a course that necessarily led to agitation and excitement which it might find it difficult to allay. The assertion of the noble Lord reminded him of what he had heard from the noble Lord opposite (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), towards the conclusion of the last session. That noble Lord then told them, that when his Majesty's Ministers first proposed the measure of Reform, they did not expect that it would be carried by the House of Commons. It was a remarkable circumstance, indeed, that when such a question was to be brought forward, his Majesty's Government should not attempt the settlement of it by means of the free and unbiassed judgment of both Houses of Parliament, but that they should, in the first instance, introduce a measure which they expected would be rejected by the House of Commons. ["No, no," from Lord Althorp.] He might have mistaken what had fallen from the noble Lord on the occasion to which he alluded, but on one of the last days of the session he did understand the noble Lord to say, that when the measure of Reform was first brought forward, so little did the Government reckon upon the success of their measure, that they expected their bill would be at once rejected. He for one deeply regretted, however opposed he was to hon. Gentlemen on the other side as to the extent and necessity of Reform, that the same moderation and temper which distinguished the speech of the noble Lord that night, had not prevailed in the councils of the King's Government when this question had been first introduced. Whether they were to expect from the tone of the noble Lord to-night, that considerable modifications would yet be allowed in the Bill, he did not know, but of this he felt convinced, that he should best perform his duty to the people of this country by viewing such a measure as this, not in its present operation, but in its ultimate, and permanent effects; and, if he thought it would be ultimately and permanently prejudicial to the welfare of the country, by giving to the principle of this Bill a steady, and firm, though, as he was unwilling to prolong agitation, a reluctant opposition.

Lord *Althorp* begged, in the first instance, to be allowed to explain what he had really said towards the conclusion of the last Session, and to which allusion had been made by the right hon. Baronet. It was quite possible, that what he said on that occasion might have been misunderstood, but he never intended to say, that when his Majesty's Government first brought forward the measure of Reform they had no expectation whatever of carrying that question. What he meant to say was, that, judging from the impression which the statement of his noble friend made upon the House on the occasion of his proposing the measure in the first instance, he thought, that if a division had taken place upon that night, the great probability was, that the Bill would have been rejected. This much he was ready to admit, but he would wholly deny, that Government brought forward the measure having no expectation of carrying it. In order to ascertain this point, the motives that induced Ministers to bring forward the late Bill should be considered. They had not taken that step in consequence of any excitement which they themselves had produced; but it was the natural and inevitable consequence of the long-continued and everyday increasing opinion on the part of all the best educated and most intelligent classes throughout the country, that a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament was become indispensably necessary. That feeling existed throughout the country to such a degree, that it was not necessary for him to bring it to the recollection of the House, and that it had such an existence before his Majesty's present Ministers came into office, he supposed no reasonable man would deny. By their accession to office, he had no doubt that the expectations of the public were raised, knowing, as they did, the opinions which were entertained by his noble friend at the head of the Government, and anticipating, as they had a right to do, that those opinions would be carried into effect. In that way his Majesty's Ministers might have been the cause of some excitement; but that a general expectation and desire for Reform prevailed throughout the country, previous to their coming into office, he imagined that no man who looked back at the occurrences of the last year could for a moment doubt. He entirely concurred with the right hon. Baronet in the opinion that it was most desirable that this question should be discussed coolly, deliberately, and without heat; but he could not avoid remarking, that the speech of the right hon. Baronet did not quite accord with his very proper recommendation. He must say, that he hardly remembered ever having heard a speech in that House, which, though it preached up calmness of temper and coolness of deliberation, was so much calculated to excite heat, and to provoke warmth of discussion. The right hon. Baronet said, that all the alterations which Ministers had made in the Bill should have been made in it last Session, and that every one of them had been then suggested from that side of the House. But he begged to say, that he did not recollect that a question had been moved from that (the Opposition) side of the House with respect to any one of the alterations which had been since made in the Bill. His Majesty's Ministers had certainly given their attention to every reasonable suggestion which had been made with regard to the details of the Bill; and many of those alterations which were now proposed might have been pressed upon their consideration; but he did not remember that an opportunity had been given them from that side of the House, during the last Session, for adopting such alterations. The right hon. Baronet said, that he considered the alterations which had been made in the Bill so many improvements. He conceived that they were all improvements, but the right hon. Baronet complained that they had not been introduced into the Bill during the last Session. But the state of the case was this:—After his Majesty's Ministers had brought forward the measure, objections were raised to some of its details, and various improvements were proposed in it. The Bill having been thrown out, they employed the interval that had since elapsed, in endeavouring to remove all reasonable objections to the details of the measure, and in introducing such improvements into it as were consistent with the great principle of the Bill; and because they had done so, and because they had attempted to render the measure as perfect as they could, the right hon. Baronet now taunted them with having made these alterations. Would it have been the conduct of men of sane minds, when time for consideration with regard to a measure of this description had been forced upon them, not to employ it in endeavouring to remove all the reasonable objections which had been raised to the Bill? The right hon. Baronet had remarked, with an air of triumph, that they had given up the Commissioners; but that was a necessary consequence of the fact that the Commissioners had now made their inquiry, and there was no longer any need of their services, which was the reason, and the only reason, for the omission of that clause. His Majesty's Ministers had, upon all former occasions, acknowledged that it was an objection, and a disadvantage in the consideration of the effects of the provisions of the Bill, that, previous to receiving the report of the Commissioners, some time would be left to their discretion. But they had had now time to make the necessary inquiry, and his Majesty's Ministers considered that it would have been a great dereliction of their duty if they did not submit the result of that inquiry to Parliament. The right hon. Baronet spoke of the great alterations that had been made in schedule A, and congratulated the country on the escape which it had had from the provisions of the late Bill. Now as to schedule A, fifty-one boroughs out of fifty-six remained as before, and whether the alteration which was proposed to be made as to the other five would be advantageous or disadvantageous, at all events it was not one from which the right hon. Baronet had much reason to congratulate either himself or the country on having had a great escape. The right hon. Baronet alluded also to the 10*l.* clause, and with regard to it he truly said, that no great difference had been made in that clause by the alteration which had been introduced into it. The fact was, that the clause had been merely simplified in its wording and provisions; but in its practical effect it would be precisely similar to that contained in the late Bill. He did not know whether the right hon. Baronet would congratulate the country upon having had an escape in that instance. The truth was, that the main principles of the Bill remained precisely the same as they were before, and in all points of material consequence the details even would be found similar to those of the late Bill. He should not trouble the House further on this occasion, but he could not avoid making those few observations in reply to what had fallen from the right hon. Baronet. He would only express a hope, that discussion would on that occasion be avoided, and that the motion of his noble friend for bringing in the Bill would be acceded to without opposition.

Mr. *Croker:* Sir, if it had not been for one or two expressions which fell from the noble Lord who has just addressed the House, I should have been well content to have remained silent on this occasion, and rested my defence, and that of my right hon. friends, on the speech of my right hon. friend, and on the palinode which we have this evening heard from the noble Lord, who, as the organ of Government, has introduced this measure to the notice of Parliament. That noble Lord has stated, that the alterations that have been made in this Bill owe their origin, not to any desire of conciliation, or to the purpose of giving way either to the clamours or the perseverance of Gentlemen on this side of the House; but, to the desire of preventing the injustice, and curing the improprieties, that ought never to have been admitted into the late Bill. Now, after this statement, I beg to recal to the recollection of the House what took place last Session. I then took the liberty of opposing the second reading of the Bill, because I believed, that I saw in it principles that would prove dangerous to good government, and because I could not find in its details any adequate compensation for that danger—I opposed it, Sir, because I thought I perceived in it an attempt to shake the Constitution to its very foundation, or, to adopt the phrase made use of by a learned Lord on that occasion —to leave neither a rag nor a shred of the ancient Constitution behind. But, though these were the causes that determined me to give my most decided opposition to the measure, I left my general objections to the principle of it at the door of the Committee, and endeavoured to apply to the details of the Bill, the principle of the Bill itself, so that, in the event of its passing, it might, at all events, be as perfect in its provisions as my humble efforts could make it. The first complaint that I made in the Committee was, that the noble Lord had mistook and misunderstood the principle of population on which he affected to proceed, and that he had confounded the population of parishes and towns. I was not singular in this view; for, besides many hon. friends of mine who agreed with me, there were several independent Gentlemen, in different parts of the House, who concurred in the position that I laid down. I took occasion at that time to tell the noble Lord, that its operation would be what I then called, and what he now admits to be, injustice. But did he, in consequence of my representations, change those provisions of the Bill? No; he then persisted in adhering to what he now calls erroneous, and the result was the passing of a Bill, which he justly says has been characterised as monstrous.

Lord *John Russell:* I did not say, that it was justly termed monstrous.

Mr. *Croker:* No, the noble Lord did not say, that it was justly so called; but he stated that it had been characterised with that epithet, and that he trusted, that that characteristic was now remedied. The noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has told us, that he cannot charge his memory with a single instance in which we brought to the test of a division any of those improvements which are now proposed in the present Bill by his Majesty's Government. But let me ask the noble Lord, if he does not remember the vote on Aldborough, in Yorkshire—a motion to transfer which place from schedule B to schedule A was made on the very last night of the

Committee, and which was resisted by a large majority, though I have no doubt that there is just as large a majority present to-night ready to vote exactly the other way? Let me also ask the noble Lord, whether he was not told, that the principle which he was applying to Northallerton was false, and whether our advice on that point was not rejected? And yet we now find, that Northallerton is placed in that schedule which we recommended. Let me ask the noble Lord, did he never hear of Morpeth? Did he never hear of Calne? Does he not remember, that he was told, that to Dorchester and to Guildford he was applying the strict borough rule, while he was allowing Calne and Northallerton to return their full number of Members; not because those boroughs in themselves were sufficiently populous to justify the claim, but because they were made so by the addition of adjoining parishes? Does the noble Lord forget our division on the case of Chatham? So far, then, from agreeing with the noble Lord in what he has stated, I beg to repeat, that I do not remember a single point, as far as schedules A and B are concerned, that was brought to a division in the Committee by a motion from the Opposition, which has not been conceded in this new Bill.

As to the debate being adjourned to the second reading, I am perfectly content that that arrangement should be adopted; but I beg to say, that my great objection is, as it ever has been, to the principle of the Bill; and unless, therefore, I see a great alteration in the mode in which the Bill is to operate, my objection will be quite as strong as it ever has been. I am ready to admit, that improvements may make the Bill more perfect in itself; and, indeed, that was the very point which I was so desirous of enforcing on the attention of the noble Lord when the late Bill was in Committee; but though this is true, the very height of perfection in its machinery will not be sufficient to reconcile me to the Bill itself.

Before I sit down, I beg to ask the noble Lord, when we are likely to have laid on the Table of the House the very important information which he mentioned in the course of his speech? I myself have prepared a motion for the production of such information as I deem necessary; but as I am bound to believe, after what has fallen from the noble Lord, that he will supply the desired documents, and probably in a better shape than I could propose, I shall postpone my motion till I have in my hand the information which the noble Lord offers, and which I hope will be laid on the Table sufficiently early to leave time for me or any other Member to move for further papers, should we find the information produced by the noble Lord inadequate to the objects which we have in view.

The Marquis of *Chandos*, as it was understood that no opposition was to be offered to the Bill at present, and as the debate was to be taken on a future stage of the measure, would trouble the House with but a few observations. Whatever might be the opinion come to on a future discussion with regard to this most important measure, he, for one, could not but lament the circumstances which had happened up to the present time. He could not but lament, too, that those circumstances had not been viewed in a different light. Had a spirit of conciliation and concession been manifested upon the former occasion, and been acted upon more extensively and more liberally in that House, he was convinced that, in such a case, it would have been met with a corresponding spirit in another quarter. He hoped, that that unfortunate defect might still be remedied, and if it were possible that a Bill of Reform should pass both Houses of Parliament, that it would satisfy the country at large, and not be one adopted and supported solely by one party; although he was ready to admit that party was a large and most respectable one. He regretted the power which had been brought into action to facilitate the passing of this Bill. He could not help feeling that the House was discussing this most important subject at a moment when there were other assemblies sitting in this country, promulgating opinions and assuming powers which no other assembly whatever but the House of Commons had a right to promulgate or to deliberate upon. He hoped and trusted, that before the debate on the second reading took place, they should see a disposition on both sides of the House to conciliate and to concede. He should rejoice to behold such a disposition displayed. He must say, that he had objections to offer to many parts of the Bill, but he should reserve his statement of them for that occasion. He could not avoid, however, expressing at once his great objection to the granting of so many additional metropolitan Members. He thought that they were thus throwing away Members, for which many other places in the country, better entitled to them than the metropolis, would be grateful. He could not assent to grant additional Members to the metropolis; for, after the specimen which he had lately seen of the means which might be had recourse to, to overawe the votes of the Members representing the metropolis on this question, he could not but view such a grant with alarm and distrust. He felt strongly, too, as to the giving one Member only to some towns. He did not think, that one Member could properly represent the feelings and opinions of his constituents, and he would, therefore, recommend, that to all such towns two Members should be given, by whom alone their interests could be properly represented. There were other alterations which he would recommend to be made in the Bill, but as he had said already, he would reserve the statement of them until the debate on the second reading. His principal object in rising was, not to discuss the Bill, but to guard the House against any heat or warmth which might arise from what had been said; and he would conclude by expressing a hope, that this important subject would be discussed in a cool, calm, and deliberate spirit.

An *Hon. Member* said, his only object in rising was, to warn his Majesty's Ministers not to be betrayed into any unguarded expressions or concessions by the course which had been adopted by their opponents, and the opponents, until now, of all Reform. As he believed and hoped that the Bill which they had now produced, was one well calculated to satisfy the just and reasonable expectations of the country, he trusted they would stand by the whole of its essential provisions, and if there was to be any concession, it ought to proceed from the noble Marquis and his hon. friends, who must now be fully convinced, that the great majority of the intelligent people of the country were in favour of Reform.

Mr. *Hunt* observed, that the noble Lord, when introducing the former Bill, had spoken of the Representation of the people, but upon this occasion the noble Lord had omitted that phrase altogether, and now spoke of the Representation of the property and intelligence of the country. He was happy the noble Lord had so fairly taken this distinction, for he had no hesitation in saying, though he would admit, that the alterations which had been made in the Bill were great improvements in it, that this Bill would exclude nine-tenths of the male population of this country from any share in the Representation. He had no hesitation in saying, that if this Bill should be passed into a law, and he had no doubt that it would be passed, seeing the disposition with which it had been received on that (the Opposition) side of the House, that it would not be found satisfactory to the great majority of the people of this country. He had been accused of speaking favourably of the late Bill in that House, and unfavourably out of it. Nothing could be more incorrect than such a charge against him. He had opposed the late Bill on many occasions, and he had been charged as its greatest enemy in that House long before it went out of it. With regard to schedule A, he did not care one farthing whether certain boroughs were taken out or left in it; but he was glad that his Majesty's Ministers had redeemed their character for impartiality, by taking the notorious borough of Calne out of the list of boroughs with two Members, and putting it in schedule B. There was one change in the Bill which he thought would be satisfactory to the country, and that was, the new arrangements which would simplify the rights of voting. He did not see why a man living in a 10*l.* house should be compelled to pay up his rent in order to entitle him to vote. That was a provision in the former Bill of which he had always loudly complained. He had then said, that they might as well compel a man to pay his butcher or his baker, as to pay his rent, in order to qualify him for an elector. It appeared to him that all those who supported the former Bill had no reason to disapprove of this, except through sinister motives. It could not be denied, however, that the cuckoo cry of "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," was now blown into air, and he hoped they should hear no more of it; for the present Bill, without altering the principle, was a complete alteration of the measure. He did not think that the aristocracy had anything to fear from the Bill, for it had been shown lately by the public Press that it would not operate against them. They had heard a great deal of the labours of the Parliamentary Commissioners through the country, which labours, he believed, consisted principally of eating and drinking. At all events, he knew, that in the town of Bolton the Commissioners did nothing beyond stopping at the best inn, living on the best fare, and sending to the collectors for a return of the assessed houses. In that town, with a population of 42,000, of which 14,000 were adult males, there were only 680 assessed houses. He would do the best in his power to simplify and amend the Bill. He knew it would pass, and he hoped it would give more satisfaction than the other; at the same time, in spite of the hon. member for Kirkcudbright, he would speak his opinions on the subject both in and out of the House.

Mr. *Leader* begged to say, that he would support the Reform Bill for England, even were no Reform to be extended to Ireland. He, however, deeply lamented the declaration of the noble Lord with respect to Ireland, and the limitation of the number of Members for that country, which he could not but feel to be unjust. Ireland dealt with this country to the amount of 20,000,000*l.* a-year, and its population were active, enlightened, and energetic. He would, however, suspend any further observations for the present, again expressing his regret that the number of Irish Representatives was not to be increased. But he must, however, be permitted to remark, that he agreed with the noble Marquis (the Marquis of Chandos) that the city of London, which drew towards it constantly the wealth of the empire, should not have such a number of Representatives as would preclude other and more distant portions of the empire from their fair share of the Representation. The proportion now fixed for Ireland and Scotland would, he feared, lead to great dissatisfaction.

Sir *Charles Forbes* thought the changes proposed were of very little consequence. The principle of the Bill remained the same. When he saw such a mushroom place as Brighton was to have two Members, while Aberdeen and Dundee were only to have one each, as well as the county of Inverness, though all were of so much importance, he knew his countrymen would be dissatisfied with it. He had hoped, that the Lord Advocate would have done what was expected of him in Scotland, and would have protected the interests of his country. He would say loudly, considering the wealth of that portion of the empire, and the high character of the people, that justice had not been done to them. An adequate number of Representatives had not been granted to that country. In every other respect he disapproved of this Bill as much as he did of the former one, which was a monster that ought never to have been allowed to shew its face in that House. They ought to have come down and opposed it at first, and if they had done so there was very little doubt as to what would have been the result. He should continue to oppose the Bill, and no intimidation should weigh a feather in the scale against his determined opinion. He stood there to do his duty according to his conscience, and do it he would, and oppose this monster with a new face upon all occasions, let who would gainsay his motives.

Lord *Ebrington* said, that after the discussion which had already taken place, it was neither his wish nor his intention to prolong the debate for more than a very few minutes. As, however, at the close of the last Session, he had called upon the House to declare its confidence in the Government, he hoped he should be pardoned for the anxiety which he felt to say a few words on the present occasion. That anxiety he should have felt under any circumstances; although not in so great degree, perhaps, had the observations of the right hon. Baronet opposite been of a different character. Notwithstanding the attack which that right hon. Baronet had made upon his noble friend, and upon the Bill which he had that evening introduced, he felt, for his part, most anxious to return his grateful thanks to his Majesty's Ministers, for the manner in which he conceived they had redeemed the pledge made by them at the close of the last Session, and by which, in his opinion, they had proved themselves fully worthy of the confidence which was reposed in them. Had they made in this Bill the changes which had been called for by a noble relative of his, he (Lord Ebrington) could not have supported it. He should then have felt, that they had acted inconsistently with their duty, and with the pledge which they had given to the country, and that they were calling upon the House to agree to a measure different, in many important particulars, from that which had received the sanction of their own recorded opinions. In short, he should have felt, that a measure so brought forward would not have been well received by the great body of the intelligent people of this country. The Bill which his noble friend had introduced this evening, was, he conceived, in all its main principles, equally as effectual, equally as desirable, as that of the last Session. The alterations which had been made were such only as would tend to simplify, and, consequently, to improve it. Under these circumstances, he should give it his undivided support; and he doubted not but that it would be received by the country at large with the satisfaction and gratitude which it seemed to him to deserve.

Sir *John M. Doyle* felt it to be his duty, both as an Irish man, and an Irish Member, to protest, with his hon. friend, the member for Kilkenny, against the crying injustice of not alloting more Members to Ireland. The Irish Members had been the stanch supporters of the late measure, they intended to be so of this, but they expected in return that their own country would be fairly treated, and it must be so, if the Legislature expected agitation to cease.

Mr. *Baring* said, he was ready to admit, that it was desirable that this question, which agitated the country from one end to the other, should be set at rest. He felt quite confident, that there were no hon. Gentlemen in that House, who would provoke unnecessary discussion for the purposes of delay; but, at the same time, those Gentlemen who were sensible of the importance of the question at issue, could not waive their privilege of examining the subject; and all must be aware, that a measure of this nature, could not be allowed to pass without an ample discussion. There was, undoubtedly, no reason, because the country was looking, as he admitted it was, with great anxiety to the Bill, and was desirous of having whatever benefit it could bestow, that that anxiety should prevent the House from giving to the Bill due deliberation, and induce it to pass the Bill without subjecting it to a close examination. He had heard the principal part of the noble Lord's speech with satisfaction; and, though he could not say, that there were many substantial alterations in the Bill, yet he hoped, that the tone of the noble Lord's speech would be followed out by the promoters of the Bill; and the House would have the satisfaction of seeing—what was so very desirable—the spirit of conciliation preside over all the discussions. Because some persons cried out against discussion, that House was not to pass the Bill in a lump without due consideration. If that were the case, and the same persons who had protected them against the consequences of the rash measure which was last brought forward, should not forget what was due to themselves and the country, it would be impossible that the present measure should not have the same termination as the last. It was a momentous question to alter the whole Constitution of the country, and provide hereafter for its Government; and though he would give no pledge, he would repeat, that he was sure it was the desire of the Gentlemen on that side, as well as the other—though it was impossible to know more of the Bill than had been stated by the noble Lord—that a Bill might come forth out of the discussion, which should satisfy all reasonable parties. Undoubtedly it was true, that a large portion of the people were in favour of Reform, but at the same time it was true, that among a respectable portion, if not numerically great, yet in possession of great property—he might say, nine-tenths of all the vested interests of the country—the greatest possible apprehensions prevailed. If the measure were not fully discussed, these two classes would not be pleased; and the result would be unsatisfactory, and most prejudicial. He confessed, that he approved, as far as he understood them, of the greater part of the changes made in the Bill; but he was unable to judge of them as a whole, from not having the Bill before him. He would, therefore, only say, that he was decidedly of opinion, that after such a sweeping measure of Reform had been proposed—after the sweeping change which had been brought forward by his Majesty's Ministers—after the expectation which had been created, there must also be great apprehension. He admitted, that great excitement prevailed, that great expectations had been caused, by the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, and that in consequence of this excitement, and in consequence of what had taken place, it was their duty to look at the existing state of things, to take the wishes and opinions of the people into consideration, instead of only considering what was abstractedly due to the Constitution, and what was abstractedly due to the country. He must take the question into consideration, on this principle, and endeavour, in conclusion, to ascertain what was likely to satisfy all parties. He hoped that the Bill might do this. He had no objection to an early second reading of the Bill, but as it could not be printed for some time, decency required that five or six days should elapse, after the Bill was printed, before it was read a second time. He submitted, therefore, to the consideration of the House, that the second reading of the Bill should not take place till next week.

Lord *John Russell*: The Bill will be printed on Wednesday morning.

Sir *Robert Peel* asked, whether, if the debate upon the second reading of the Bill were not concluded on Friday night, it was the intention of Ministers to sit on Saturday? If that were the case, and the discussion was protracted, the Sabbath might be broken in upon. He begged, therefore, to remind them of the great inconvenience of sitting on that day, and trusted, they would accordingly postpone the discussion until Monday.

Mr. *Baring* would put it to the noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), whether, at this season of the year, when it was of importance that Members should not be detained in town, it would not be better that the second reading of the Bill should be postponed until after Christmas?

Lord *Althorp* admitted the inconvenience of sitting on Saturday, but thought, as it was intended, as soon as the discussion on the second reading of the Bill was concluded, to adjourn for the holydays, that it would be more convenient for the House to meet, with the probability of adjourning on Saturday, than to adjourn the debate from Friday to Monday or Tuesday. Under these circumstances, should the debate last more than one night, he should certainly propose to sit at an early hour on Saturday.

Sir *Robert Peel* again suggested, that the second reading should be postponed till Monday.

Lord *Althorp* must persist in proposing Friday. The debate might extend far into the week, if Monday were appointed for the second reading.

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, he must object to Friday being appointed for the second reading. He must be clearly understood, as not at all pledging himself to the arrangements proposed. He was greatly disappointed by the insignificant differences between the present Bill and that of last Session. He heard much of the candour and assurances of the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but he must say, that he saw nothing of the kind. The attempt that noble Lord now made to thrust the Bill upon the House, was most unsatisfactory. It was extremely hard to press such an unjust measure so hastily forward. The only reason why it was carried with such breathless haste was, to secure the popularity of Ministers. He wished for a full and fair opportunity to consider this new measure. Neither the good of the country, nor the permanent reputation of the Government would be forwarded by such conduct.

Sir *George Warrender* could not abstain from expressing his gratitude to Ministers for the spirit of conciliation which characterised the Bill which the noble Lord had that evening introduced. He wished to receive it, and he hoped the House would receive it, in the spirit in which he was sure it had been proposed. At that moment he could not make up his mind to vote for the second reading; but he should be ready to support such a measure as, after due consideration, should appear necessary for the peace and security of the country. He wished to assure the noble Lord, that his former opposition was dictated solely by conscientious views.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* thought it would be convenient to the House to know, to what period the Christmas Recess was to continue. Ministers must be aware how important it was, that Members should be in the country at this season of the year. He begged to remind them, too, that they had been summoned to attend no less than three Sessions of Parliament in the present year.

Lord *Althorp* would rather not pledge himself, at that time, to any definite period at which the House should reassemble. He was aware of the propriety—of the importance, indeed—of Members being in the country at that season; but, considering the nature of the question which they had to discuss, he thought it desirable, that they should meet again at as early a day as possible after Christmas. It would, undoubtedly, be necessary to avoid meeting until after the Quarter Sessions; but, as they would conclude on Saturday, the 7th of January, he should propose, that the House should reassemble on the Tuesday or Thursday in the following week.

Mr. *Sheil* said, that when the last Reform Bill was proposed, it was announced, that Ireland was to have five additional Representatives, and Scotland five also. Afterwards, as that Bill advanced, it was announced, that Scotland was to receive three more additional Members, making altogether eight; but nothing more was said with respect to Ireland. That being the case, he had ventured to ask the noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) one evening in the House, whether it was intended that Ireland, like Scotland, should receive any Members in addition to the five by which it was at first proposed to increase the Representation of that country? To that question no answer was given, on the ground, that it was irrelevant to the subject then under consideration, and that it could not be properly replied to, until the Irish Bill came to be discussed. The fate of the Bill for England determined that for Ireland, and the period of its discussion never arrived. What was now proposed? That the Members for Ireland and Scotland should remain the same as was at first proposed last Session, and that those for England should be increased. Had not Ireland reason to complain of such a proposition? He thought it was unwise on the part of the noble Lord, and of the Government of which he was a member, to submit such a proposition to the House; and he would hint to him that as, in the last Session of Parliament, it was found necessary to add to the number by which it was at first proposed to increase the Representation of Scotland, so, in the present Session, he might find it necessary to add to that of Ireland. As the matter stood at present, he felt convinced, that it would only tend to create dissatisfaction and discontent in Ireland. It had been said by the noble Lord, that it was not intended to affect the rights of Corporations during the life-time of those by whom the rights were then enjoyed. It was now proposed to give a perpetuity to the rights of Corporations. That being the case, he begged to know, whether the rights of the 40*s*. freeholders were also to be preserved in perpetuity? When the measure of Catholic Emancipation was passed, the rights of freemen in towns were preserved in perpetuity—those of the 40*s*. freeholders in towns for their own lives. Roman Catholics were excluded from the Corporations of Dublin, of Drogheda, and of many other places in Ireland. If, therefore, under the present Bill, the rights of Corporations should be preserved in perpetuity, and those of the 40*s*. freeholders only for their own lives, when those lives had expired, the beneficial effects of the measure of Catholic Emancipation would in many places, be totally defeated. The result of this would be a repetition of the rancour and religious discord which it was hoped the Relief Bill would have totally removed. He had felt it necessary to make these observations, that the Government might know what the feelings of the people of Ireland really were. Agitated as that country was, it was impossible that she could feel otherwise than indignant, and full of resentment, at the manner in which she was to be treated by this new measure of Reform. His Majesty's Ministers had thanked the Members for Ireland for the support which they had given them when the question of Reform was last under the consideration of the House. It had been stated, in the House, as well as out of the House, that the Irish Members were the champions by whom the Reform Bill was sustained and carried through one of the Houses of Parliament. Having given such support to the question of Reform as regarded England, he demanded for them peculiar attention when they spoke of it as regarded their own country.

Lord *Clive* viewed with great pleasure the alterations which had been made in the plan proposed by Government, in conformity with the spirit of the proposition which had been submitted to the last Parliament by his hon. and gallant friend the late member for Liverpool. The present Bill, when compared with the late measure, evinced a spirit of conciliation on the part of the Government, for which he was sincerely thankful. He had no doubt the alterations would be considered as improvements, and be, therefore, acceptable to the country. He felt it necessary that, in the present state of the country, something should be done to satisfy the people. In the course of its progress through Parliament, he hoped it might still receive further improvements and amendments, such as would simplify its provisions, and facilitate its operations, and render it more conformable to the preservation of our existing institutions. In this spirit he must refer to the speech of a noble Lord (Sandon) a few nights ago; he trusted he was not in error in supposing that the Government felt inclined to adopt the sentiments of that speech, and to produce such a measure as might meet with the general concurrence of Parliament. At present he would abstain from going into the general question, but there were three points on which the present Bill differed from the last, which he felt called upon to notice. The first was the 10*l*. franchise. In the former Bill there was no criterion by which 10*l*. houses were to be judged, but by the present Bill a criterion was to be applied. The next point was the appointment of Commissioners to settle the boundaries of all boroughs. That proposition was not to be introduced in this new measure, but the whole was to be determined by Parliament. He had always entertained a strong objection to it, and he was glad to find it had been superseded. The last alteration he should notice, and perhaps it was the most important one, was, the preservation of the rights of freemen, by birth and by servitude, in perpetuity. That was an alteration he highly approved of. He certainly regretted, that more alterations had not been made; he regretted that the metropolitan districts were adhered to; but still he felt bound to say, that he was thankful to the Ministers for the changes which had been made. He admitted, in the present state of the country, the necessity for some Reform, and he was anxious to have that Reform as consistent as possible with the preservation of the established institutions. He hoped, however, that he should not be considered, in thus expressing his acknowledgment to the Government, as, giving any pledge as to what would be his future conduct with respect to the particular provisions of the measure. At that preliminary stage of the Bill he did not feel himself at all called upon to go into details, or to offer any further remarks.

Mr. *Portman* would not trespass at any length upon the time of the House, but he could not, after the speech of the noble Lord, help congratulating the House, on the prospect they now had, of a speedy and satisfactory termination of the Reform Question. For after the speech of the noble Lord who had just spoken, and that of the right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Robert Peel), he trusted his right hon. friends would persist in bringing on the second reading of the Bill on Friday; and when he also heard the hon. member for Thetford's admission, that something like Reform was necessary, he thought himself justified in assuming, that the discussion was not likely to be very protracted. It was so desirable, that hon. Members should be in the country at this period of the year, that he hoped his noble friend would by no means delay in taking the second reading on Friday next, so as to admit of their adjourning for the holidays as soon as possible. He could not anticipate any objection on this head from hon. Members opposite, after the conciliatory tone expressed by them with respect to the Bill announced by Ministers: indeed, he hailed that tone of conciliation as auguring well for its future stages. He conceived himself warranted to infer, particularly from the observaiton of his noble friend (Lord Clive) opposite, that the opponents of the former Bill were disposed to consider that just announced in a spirit of conciliation; and it was a matter of great satisfaction to the supporters of the former Bill, and consequently of that shortly to be before them, that those alterations which tended to conciliate its opponents, were not calculated to raise difficulties or misgivings in the minds of the advocates of Reform. The principle of the two Bills being identical, there could be no doubt on the part of the friends of the former Bill, as to their course with respect to the new measure.

Sir *Robert Inglis* was anxious, so far at least as he was himself concerned, to guard against the inference which might be drawn by some persons, from what had just fallen from the hon. member for Dorsetshire. He was no party to the mitigated hostility, alleged by that hon. Member to exist on the part of the opponents of the former Bill, as having been just announced by the noble Lord; and would not be a party to any such compromise. He conceived the principle of both Bills equally objectionable, as both were destructive of those institutions under which this country had enjoyed so many blessings.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, the hon. member for Dorsetshire had, from very contracted and confined premises, drawn marvellously large conclusions. His noble friend (Lord Clive), had very courteously thanked the noble Paymaster of the Forces for the alterations he had made in the new Bill, which his noble friend had called concessions; but he had said nothing whatever to justify the pretended inferences of the hon. member for Dorsetshire. He was one of those who had not abated, and would not abate, one jot of his hostility to a measure, which in his conscience he believed would be fatal to the established institutions of the country. At the same time, he did not hesitate to say, that he conceived the present Bill to be, in many of its provisions, a great improvement of that formerly under their notice. Those improvements, be it understood, had been suggested by those on the Opposition side of the House, so that their approving them could not be considered as, in any way, a compromise of their hostility to the main principle of the Bill itself. For instance, he had himself more than once raised his voice against the unconstitutional principle of depriving the freemen of corporate boroughs of their chartered rights—and had particularly cited the cases of Oxford and Bristol as a proof, that the acting on such a principle would be productive of great discontent throughout the country; adding, that in his mind, great misunderstanding existed, both within and out of doors, with respect to the tendency of such a principle. He was told, that he was in error, and that policy and expediency recommended the extinction of these corporate rights. But what was the case now? Why, that his suggestion was adopted by Ministers, and that not only existing freemen, but those who would be entitled to their freedom by birth, were to retain their rights in perpetuity, in those places to which the disfranchising schedules would not apply. This was an important alteration in the measure of Ministers; one, too, not the result of what the noble Paymaster of the Forces called "the whisper of a faction," but, as it was to be presumed, of the well-grounded conviction of reasoning men. He would not, however, then go at length into the topic. He had risen chiefly for the purpose of denying the justness of the conclusions of the hon. member for Dorsetshire, with reference to the speech of his noble friend. These was nothing in that speech which justified the supposition that his right hon. friend (Sir R. Peel) had lost the vote of the noble Lord. But even if his right hon. friend had that misfortune, his right hon. friend would, he hoped, continue his opposition, if on consideration it appeared just and necessary, and he should command to the last his (Sir Charles Wetherell's) vote, and he believed also, the vote of every other hon. Member who opposed the late Bill. The 10*l.* clause had been altered several ways, but whether it was now so altered as to be satisfactory he should not then argue. It had formerly been altered in obedience to the mandate of the Political Unions; it was now altered again, so that, if Ministers restored it to its pristine objectionableness in their rejuvenescent measure, they would have to consider how far the alteration, might call down upon them the censure of their masters and allies, the Political Unions. It was when the noble Lord at the head of the Government was in correspondence with the Birmingham Union, of Ministerial epistolary memory, that the first alteration was made in the 10*l.* clause, so that they might expect another correspondence between the same parties, ending in another alteration; but there was no mode in which it could be shaped in which he could give it his support. The hon. member for Dorsetshire had expressed a hope and an expectation, that there would be no division on the second reading. The hon. Member was most egregiously mistaken—and it was to correct so monstrous an assumption that he had risen. He must, however, notice a phrase which had fallen from his hon. friend, the member for Honiton. His noble friend (Lord Clive) had praised the concessions made by Ministers, and the hon. Baronet had spoken of the tendency to concession which the present Bill displayed. He could neither see the concession nor the tendency to concession. As far as he could understand the statement of the Paymaster of the Forces, there was not one objectionable principle of the old Bill given up. His objections, therefore, remained unaltered, and he should urge them upon every opportunity. The noble Paymaster of the Forces had used one expression which he did not perfectly understand. That noble Lord had spoken of the boroughs in schedule A as doomed to destruction. So the noble Lord had told them before; but those boroughs had once outlived the prediction, and he knew of no reason why they should not again survive it. He entirely agreed with those who wished that the discussions should be carried on with temper, but that was no reason for superseding them altogether. With regard to the period of the second reading, he must say, that if the Bill could only be printed by Wednesday, Friday was a very early day; still he should not make that a point of fixed objection. Let not hon. Members on the other side, or the Government, however, imagine that there was no dissatisfaction at the present Bill. Was Ireland content? And would no dissatisfaction be heard on the part of Scotland?

Mr. *Shaw* could not permit the assertion of the hon. member for Louth (Mr. Sheil) to pass uncontradicted—he meant the assertion, that the perpetuating the franchise rights of freemen would tend to preserve the Protestant strength in corporate towns in Ireland. The fact might be so in some of the towns, if the clause stood by itself; but when the clause extending the franchise to all householders was taken into consideration, it would be found, that the general result of the Bill would be the placing the choice of the Irish Members wholly in the hands of the Catholic electors. In Dublin, for example, there were at present about 4,000 freemen—that is, Protestant electors; but the Bill would extend the franchise to upwards of 20,000 householders, the large majority of whom were Catholics. Again, he could hardly persuade himself that the hon. Member was serious when he contended, that if the Reform Bill passed, the Irish 40*s.* freeholders now existing in corporate cities, and who were most of them fictitious voters, ought to be retained in order to counterbalance the votes of the freemen, when it was evident, from the extension of the household franchise, there could be no possible necessity for such a measure. He was free to admit, however, that the alterations proposed, of extending the present privileges of freemen to perpetuity, made the measure more palatable to him than it was, but he had some suspicion, that the advantage would be more specious than real, in as much as the ancient privileges of the freemen would virtually merge in the newly-acquired and much more extended right of the house-holders.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* felt himself called upon to say, that the hon. member for Dorsetshire had misconceived the observations of his noble friend (Lord Clive) near him. His noble friend had most distinctly avoided pledging himself with respect to the future stages of the Bill, and had only, on the present occasion, expressed his gratification—he would not say exultation—at seeing alterations, the suggestion of which had emanated from the Opposition side of the House. He agreed with his noble friend in considering those alterations in the light of improvements, but he still felt his objections to the extent and principle of the Bill itself to be so strong, that he could not bring himself to vote for it, however disposed to do so from the consideration of the present circumstances of the country. Upon this point he had little to add to what had fallen the other night from his noble relative Lord (Sandon). Every man must feel, that the time was come when something must be done to allay the public excitement with respect to Reform. After the decision of that House—after the marked declarations of the executive—the good of the country required the speedy settlement of the important question before them, and every man must feel indisposed to protract by an irritating contest that settlement. In saying this, it was not to be inferred that his objections to the principles of the late Reform Bill were at all changed. The proper inference was, as had been stated by the hon. member for Thetford (Mr. Baring), that hon. Members were compelled to look at the Bill, not as it squared with their own abstract opinions, but in relation to the present circumstances of the country. When considered with reference to the present state of the public mind, it could not be denied that the question of Reform was a very different one now from what it was a very few years ago. It was then but occasionally touched upon by Members in their individual capacity. It was now brought forward by Ministers in their official capacity, after having obtained the sanction of a large majority of that House, rendering it incumbent upon every sincere patriot to promote its settlement in the spirit of mutual concession, and of statesmanlike and practical policy, so as to relieve the country from the evils of protracted suspense and excitement.

Mr. *Portman* in explanation, begged leave to say, that he had not represented the noble Lord (Clive) opposite as having abandoned his ground of hostility to the principles of the Reform Bill, but as disposed to receive the alterations in the present plan, in a spirit which warranted him in considering that his opposition would be of a less uncompromising character in future.

Lord *Clive*, in explanation, said, that all he had intended to say was, that it was a gratification to him to find in Ministers a spirit of conciliation towards the opponents of the Bill, inasmuch as Ministers had adopted several of their suggestions in the measure now under consideration; and that though he would not make, in that preliminary stage, any formal objection, he did not, therefore, pledge himself not to oppose it in its future stages.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, he should be ashamed of himself if he could be supposed capable of seeking to induce hon. Members to vote with him by any twisting or unworthy modification of his opinions; and he should also be ashamed of himself if it could be thought, that if other hon. Members saw reasons to modify their opinions, he should therefore charge them with inconsistency. If his noble friend (Lord Clive) should differ from him with respect to the great measure shortly to be before them, he would give his noble friend full credit for his motives, and their friendly intercourse would receive no interruption. For his own part, he could not consider the alterations which had been made in the proposed Bill from that discussed last session—though they were improvements, and suggested by the opponents of that Bill—such as to do away with the main objections which he had stated to the former measure. Indeed, he took it for granted that no statement could be more painful to the Ministers, than one which went to prove, that there were any important changes in the spirit and principle of their measure. That, however, was not the occasion to state his views on this head. All he would then say was, that when the noble Lord (Althorp) stated, that Ministers could not think of proposing a measure of Reform less efficient than the last, he did not expect that such alterations and concessions would have been made as would have induced those on the Opposition side of the House to support it at all. Whatever other hon. Members might do, he should oppose the second reading.

Mr. *Labouchere* was rather surprised, when such a great alteration was to be made in the Constitution, that something more was not done for the satisfaction of Ireland; but he was not surprised that the alterations which had been made should not give satisfaction to Irish Members. He confessed he felt bound to accede to the opinion expressed by the member for Louth (Mr. Sheil), that the course now pursued towards Ireland would strengthen the power of the agitators and the discontented, and afford a handle for still stronger language of complaint. The right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) had observed, in the course of his speech, that the Members of the other branch of the Legislature deserved the thanks of that House, and the gratitude of the country, for having so honestly and conscientiously discharged their duty, and enabled the members of the Government, and of the lower House, to reconsider the question of Reform. He was one of those, however, who did not feel this gratitude. On the contrary, he saw many evils arising from the rejection of the former Bill, although he admitted, that some advantages had been obtained by the reconsideration of the provisions of the Bill. He, however, could not see why the other House of Parliament had not sent the Bill down with these amendments and improvements, instead of throwing it out altogether; and by that means have enabled the country to escape many evils which had resulted from the loss of time, and the continued agitation of the question. He as well as others would, he believed, have been ready to give the suggestions and amendments of the other House their best consideration, and to have adopted any measures which were likely to procure that degree of unanimity and conciliation which the interests of the country demanded; and he considered it, therefore, unfair to claim for the Members of the other House, a gratitude to which they were not entitled. He for one should never cease to regret the decision of the Peers on that occasion. It would be long before the Members of that House recovered the respect they formerly possessed. It would be long, very long, before the heads of the Church recovered the same situation and power which they possessed before that unfortunate rejection of the Bill. It would be long before the Church establishment, to which he was sincerely attached, would obtain its former influence over the people, and be restored to that affection in their hearts, which, he regretted to say, had been so much diminished since the unfortunate connection of the Church with the question of Reform. Feeling this, and looking to the consequences which had followed the course pursued by the House of Peers, he confessed he could not remain silent, when it was said they were entitled to claim the gratitude of the country.

Mr. *Hume* was happy to express his approbation of the principle of the measure proposed by the Government, but he must join with the member for Louth, and the other Members for Ireland, in regretting that some measures had not been adopted to put an end to the complaints of the people of Ireland. He feared much, indeed, that the passing by the claims of Ireland to an enlarged Representation would give inveterate offence to the people of that country; and he must say, that, if he was an Irishman, he should feel, that he had a right to complain loudly of the injustice with which his country had been treated. The noble Lord, although he explained very clearly, on a former occasion, his desire to preserve the relative proportion between the Members of England and Ireland, seemed to have now entirely forgotten his own former remarks in his speech of that evening; and, consequently, he (Mr. Hume) feared much that the noble Lord had added one more that night to the many other grounds of complaint which the people of Ireland had already against the Government of this country. He trusted, that Ministers would, at all events, re-consider that part of their plan. He must say, that he thought they deserved the thanks of the country for their exertions, and that they had rendered the Bill as perfect as circumstances would permit. He doubted, however, the propriety of giving two Members to so many boroughs, and thought that it would have been better if they had proceeded on a different principle, and given one Member to twenty-six new boroughs possessing a population of from 5,000 to 10,000 persons. The noble Lord, the member for Liverpool (Lord Sandon), had the other night said a good deal of the necessity of conciliation, and of the opinions of his constituents with respect to the principle of the Bill. He (Mr. Hume) was quite satisfied, notwithstanding what the noble Lord said of the opinions of the people of Liverpool, that the feelings of the country were decidedly in favour of the principle of Reform; and that, if Ministers had offered any thing short of the Bill, the people would not accept it. He was happy, however, to see that the principle had been fully adhered to; and he trusted, that the Government would not, in the discussion of the details, abandon one iota of the principle they professed to adhere to.

Lord *Sandon* said, that as he had been so pointedly alluded to by the hon. member for Middlesex, he felt himself bound to offer one or two words in explanation of what had fallen from him on a recent occasion. The hon. Member had not correctly stated the tendency of his observations. To the great principles of the Reform Bill of last session, that is, to the clauses for the extinction of the nomination boroughs, for the investing the large towns with the right of returning Representatives, and for extending the franchise, he begged it to be understood that he adhered. What he had said by way of objection was, that Ministers had been too pertinacious as to the details; and that many of them might have been so modified as to obtain the support of moderate men, without a compromise of the great principles of the measure. Some such modifications had, as they had that evening learned, been introduced into the Bill now before them, and more might be made with advantage. He approved of the alteration, for example, with respect to the population basis of the former Bill, and was glad to find that a plan embracing the household wealth of the country was to be acted upon. He was also glad to find, that the rights of freemen in corporate towns were to be preserved inviolate. He was convinced that all parties would best promote the interests of their country by assenting to the destruction of nomination boroughs, as a basis of a mutual good understanding throughout every class of the British community without the walls of the Legislature. Entertaining those sentiments, which he ventured so briefly to express, and being convinced that it was for the interest of all parties to endeavour to raise a fabric of mutual conciliation, he trusted that ere long they should see an effective measure of Reform carried, to the satisfaction of an intelligent and excited public, without in any way unduly interfering with the just rights and privileges of the other House of Parliament.

Mr. *Ewart* was happy to see some satisfactory prospect of the settlement of the question of Reform. The former measure, it was admitted by all, had several details from which some dangers were apprehended by certain parties. He agreed, therefore, with his noble colleague, that some modifications of the measure were necessary; but he understood the noble Lord, on the previous occasion on which he had declared his sentiments to the House, to have asserted that their common constituents did not approve of the 10*l.* qualification. He had then declared, and he must still adhere to the declaration, that that clause met with the approval of the majority of the community which they had the honour to represent. He rejoiced to see this qualification retained in the Bill before them, and he was therefore fully determined to support the Bill, convinced that by doing so he was acting on the confirmed conviction of the intelligence of Liverpool.

Mr. *O'Ferrall* was sorry to say, that the measures of the Government, as far as they related to Ireland, would prove anything but satisfactory. He owed it to his constituents and the people of that country, to declare, on the first opportunity, that he considered his Majesty's Ministers had acted most unwisely, by departing, in the measure of Reform they had now introduced, from the principle of giving additional Representatives to Ireland. He was confident that the objects of those who were interested in the progress of Political Unions would be strengthened by the declaration of that evening; and although it would be to him a matter of great regret to forfeit his position in that House or in the country, yet he would say, that if Ireland could not obtain redress in the English Parliament, she must seek it elsewhere, and by other means. He would and must seek it in political agitation. He knew the consequence of political combinations. He had seen their effects in other countries, and he could well imagine what they would prove in his own; his countrymen possessed strong feelings, and he was sure that the course pursued by the noble Lord would add force to the opinions of those who were at present influenced in favour of agitation. He, therefore, did hope Government would, in settling the great measure of Reform, reconsider the question, so far as related to Ireland, and taking into account her present political condition, allow her such an additional number of Representatives as would entitle the author of the measure to the thanks and gratitude of her people.

Lord *John Russell* said, that he was happy to understand, that the alterations which had been made in the Bill had met with the approbation of several hon. Members who had been opposed to the former measure; but leaving that question at present, he begged to add a few words with regard to the question of the number of Members to be given to Ireland. He must be permitted to say, without intending the slightest disrespect to the hon. Member who had introduced the subject, that he must be excused for not entering into so large a field of discussion on the introduction of the English Reform Bill. This much, however, he would say, that before the question of Reform was introduced at all, the number of Members for England was 513, and for Ireland 100; whereas, by the plan now proposed, the number of Members for England was to be reduced to 500, while the Members for Ireland were to be increased to 105; so that whatever alterations were to take place, were in favour of, and not against the Representation of Ireland. With regard to that, however, as well as to all other points, he was perfectly ready to enter into a full explanation of the views and motives of the Government, when the question was fairly brought before the House. With regard to the question of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Croker) on the subject of the additional information that might be required, he had only to say there was no objection to supply all the information which the Government possessed; but he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would give notice of the time it was required, as the persons now employed in obtaining information for the Government, were already so hard pressed that it would be very inconvenient to burthen them with much additional labour. With respect to the limits of the boroughs, he believed they could not be fully settled before the Recess.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* wished to know when Ministers intended to bring in the Irish and Scotch Reform Bills?

Lord *Althorp:* Shortly after the Recess.

Sir *Robert Peel:* Probably the noble Lord will have no objection, before the adjournment, to state on what day the Bill will be committed? This information will be desirable for Gentlemen who are in the country.

Lord *Althorp* said, he would state before the recess the fact which the right hon. Baronet wished to be acquainted with.

Mr. *Callaghan* said, that anxious as he felt to give his support to his Majesty's Ministers, and sure as he was, that Reform would benefit his country, he could not refrain from expressing his disappointment that his Majesty's Ministers had not endeavoured, by increasing, not only the franchise, but the number of Irish Representatives, to conciliate the Members at present returned by that country. For his own part, anxious as he was to continue the support which he had hitherto given to the Ministerial measure of Reform, he could not pledge himself to follow up that support on the present occasion, unless some more satisfactory course should be adopted for equalizing the Representation of the country at large, by giving additional Members to Ireland, than the Bill which was about to be introduced promised to do. He would not, at present, enter into the question further than to say, that he had regretted to understand last Session from the right hon. Secretary for Ireland, that he had no intention to introduce any measure of enfranchisement with regard to that country. He was fully persuaded that there was an absolute necessity to do away with exclusive privileges, or at least neutralize them, by extending the franchise to resident householders, and he further believed, from the inquiries he had made, that it would be necessary to reduce the qualification below 10*l.* or the existing constituencies in several large towns would be very much reduced. He, therefore, trusted that Government would consider the propriety not only of giving additional Representatives, but also of extending the franchise generally in Ireland.

Leave was given, and Lord John Russell brought in the Bill to amend the Representation of England and Wales. It was about to be read a first time, when

Sir *Robert Inglis* objected to the Bill being now read a first time, on the ground that the title of it was printed. He considered this a departure from the usual forms.

Lord *John Russell* trusted the Bill might be read a first time.

Mr. *Hume* said, he believed it was the wish of the House that bills should be laid on the Table in manuscript, but he did not think this an objection to the Motion.

Lord *Althorp* hoped the hon. Baronet would not press his objection.

Mr. *Herries* suggested that the circumstance, although contrary to rule, was frequently permitted for public convenience, and had grown into a practice.

Bill read a first time.

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HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, *December* 13, 1831.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read a first time; for encouraging and employing Agricultural Labourers; to diminish the expenses of Commissions *de lunatico inquirendo.*

REFORM.] The Earl of *Coventry* presented a Petition from the Noblemen, Gentry, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Worcester. The petition was signed by several noblemen, and by persons of the greatest wealth and respectability in the county. The petitioners, after expressing their approbation of their Lordships' conduct on a late occasion, prayed that House to pass no Reform Bill which had not for its object the preservation of the constitution in Church and State. The petition was not confined to the higher and aristocratical classes. It had been submitted for signature to the middle classes, and he was happy to say, that there was attached to it the names of many honest and industrious freeholders and tradesmen, who possessed property and wished to maintain it. These respectable persons fully concurred with those of higher rank, and were anxious to attach their names to a petition which called upon their Lordships for such a measure of conciliation as would promote the stability of the Constitution, and the safety and security of the country. He hoped their Lordships would follow this advice, and adopt a measure of conciliation, as due to themselves on both sides of the House, and such as would ensure the well-being of the whole community. He would remind them of the fable in Æsop, where, during the quarrel of two claimants to a property, the property itself was abstracted by a looker-on of the dispute; and he hoped, when the Reform Bill came before the House, it would be such as would admit of a general union of sentiments.

Petition laid on the Table.

BRITISH FACTORY AT CANTON.] Lord *Ellenborough* rose to move for copies of all correspondence between our factory at Canton and the East-India Company, relative to existing differences between the factory and the local authorities of Canton. He was aware, that their Lordships were indisposed at the present moment to attend to any thing but what was immediately passing around them, but he was induced to bring the subject under their Lordships' notice, on account of its great importance. It might, however, be as well to state to their Lordships, that some alterations had taken place with regard to the question he was now about to submit to them; but these alterations he did not consider of sufficient importance to induce him to forego his intention of submitting a motion for the production of the papers he required. It appeared that, on the 20th of May last, a notice was issued by the Select Committee of the factory at Canton, proclaiming that there would be an entire suspension of commercial intercourse on the following 1st of August, on account of aggressions which the Select Committee stated had been made on British commerce, and the notice concluded by appealing for support to the Court of Directors and the British Government. This was the latest information that had been obtained when he had determined to move for the production of the necessary documents to elucidate this case; but he had since been informed, that subsequently to the publication of this notice, another was issued, on the 10th of June, by which the former notice was withdrawn, and a declaration made, that commerce was to be carried on as usual. The reason given by the Select Committee for withdrawing the notice of the 20th of May was, that the conduct of the local authorities, which in their opinion, justified the suspension of trade, had been approved of by the emperor of China. The Select Committee, therefore, no longer insisted on the suspension, thinking it better to wait for the result of the references which they had made to the Court of Directors and his Majesty's Government. The Select Committee, however, recommended to all British residents to exert every means to recover such property belonging to them as was at present in possession of the natives. It was quite impossible to look at these two papers, without being satisfied that British interests in Canton were placed in great peril by the persons who conducted our affairs there. He also understood, that the Select Committee had called on the Government at home to support their demands by armed interference; but he trusted that, before his Majesty's Government consented to adopt any such proceeding, it would look calmly and deliberately at all the circumstances of the case, and be fully convinced that the cause was a just one. As far as he was at present able to judge, he did not think that armed interference in support of the pretensions of the Select Committee would either be just or adviseable. Probably their Lordships were not aware that the Chinese authorities had in November, 1829, and May, 1830, relaxed, to a considerable extent, he believed one-third, the duties previously laid on British shipping entering the river of Canton. This he understood was a very important concession, and to this was attached the privilege of addressing such authorities in the Chinese language. Notwithstanding this temperate conduct of the Chinese authorities, on the main principles of the intercourse between the two countries, yet they had thought proper to require, by a notice served upon the Select Committee, that certain regulations should be enforced with regard to the native servants of the factory, and the manner in which Europeans should be carried about the town. Availing themselves of these regulations as a pretence for finding fault, certain merchants at Canton addressed, on the 16th or 18th of October, last year, a paper to the President of the Select Committee, couched in very intemperate language, in which they required, that certain restrictions imposed by the Chinese on the proceedings of foreigners should be removed. Those restrictions might be very absurd, but they were all imposed by the law of the country, and it appeared to him to be the duty of merchants to submit themselves to the regulations of the land in which they desired to carry on trade. This intemperate remonstrance, however, was laid before the Chinese authorities, and brought forth a reply from them not couched, certainly, in such strong language as might have been expected,in which they asserted, and even cited authorities to prove the fact, that the regulations of which the merchants complained were not of a new character, but had been in force as far back as 1769. In conclusion, this reply declared, that if the persons in question were not inclined to submit to the regulations of the country they had better not come to Canton to trade at all. In this emergency what was the conduct of the factory? Not satisfied with the insult they had given to the Chinese authorities, by the remonstrance, they proceeded further, and for the purpose as they said of procuring the removal of these regulations, an armed force of 150 men was sent to the factory of Canton. Were these men to assist the factory in resisting, if the Committee thought it necessary, the orders issued by the native authorities? Was not such conduct on the side of the British residents sufficient to inflame the Chinese government, yet its course had been marked by forbearance and temperance. An order was published immediately after the landing of the armed force warning the residents of the consequences likely to ensue from that measure; but instead of having the effect intended, this forbearance only seemed to urge the merchants to further insults. In a newspaper published at Canton, credit was actually taken for having, by the presence of this armed body, deterred the Chinese from carrying those regulations into effect. The only paper originally printed at Canton was the *Price Current;* but at no distant period a political paper was published, treating not only of European matters, but also alluding in the most disrespectful terms to the whole conduct of the Government of the Chinese empire, and calling on the British and other Governments to protect, by armed interference, the interest of the merchants at Canton. This publication was regularly translated and forwarded to the Court of Pekin. In December last year a petition was got up in Canton for the purpose of being presented to the British House of Commons. That petition was published at Canton, and it spoke of the Government of China as being most oppressive, corrupt, and venal. It then stated, that the present moment was particularly favourable to obtain advantages over China, because our Indian frontier had considerably approximated to that of China, from the successes we had obtained by the result of the Burmese War, thereby manifestly suggesting that this country should without delay invade China. The petitioners, too, in the event of their suggestions being rejected, proceeded to advocate the propriety of overawing the Chinese by other means, and conjured the British Government to take possession of some island in the neighbourhood of Canton, to convert it into a naval station, and by such effectual means protect the interests of the merchants. From these proceedings was it not to be expected that the Chinese Government, considering the factory as the servant of a powerful neighbouring State should calculate upon an immediate appeal to arms? Still, however, under all these repeated provocations, it continued to give proofs of forbearance, and evinced a disposition to make reasonable compliances. At length, however, finding all endeavours ineffectual, the local authorities seized upon the factory, and kept it in their possession for some time. With this exception he did not consider the British merchants had any reason whatever to complain. As to the story of the

Chinese having treated the picture of our King with indignity, he did not know whether there was any truth in the report, but if they had done so, their conduct, under other circumstances would certainly have required explanation, and this country might have demanded satisfaction. Such was the detail of the circumstances connected with these transactions. He thought that he need not attempt to impress upon their Lordships the importance of the trade which was now placed in great peril by such conduct; but he could scarcely conceive any thing calculated to produce greater mischief than the continuance of the existing differences. By their continuance the revenue would lose 3,500,000*l.* annually arising from the tax on tea; the East-India Company would be placed in a state of incapacity to pay the dividends of the proprietors, the interest of the bond debt, or provide any of those payments which it was necessary for them to make. There would also be a suspension of that great demand which at present existed in the Chinese market for British manufactures; and there would be almost an entire stoppage of trade in the eastern islands, because that and the Chinese trade were so intimately connected, that one could not exist without the other. The revenue derived from the trade in opium to our Indian Government, consisting of something more than a million, would be lost, and very extensive distress would, he had no doubt, be occasioned. A consciousness of the evils which must arise, even from a temporary suspension of the trade at Canton, had induced him to move for copies of all correspondence which had taken place on the subject, in order to learn the view which had been taken of the matter by the Government at home. The course which he thought the Government at home ought to pursue was, so far from complying with the request made for armed interference, to issue orders, directing the British merchants to obey the laws of the country in which they resided. He was quite satisfied that the Directors of the East-India Company would visit with their severe displeasure the persons at the head of the factory, who had been the cause of all the existing inconveniences; and would not only command them to disconnect themselves from any publication which attempted to excite the hostility of other Governments against the Chinese, but would use all their influence to prevent the promulgation of opinions which, if human nature was the same in China as in all other places, could not but provoke the enmity of the local authorities. In conclusion, he begged to move for copies of, or extracts from, all the correspondence between the factory at Canton, and the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, relating to the last differences between the factory and the authorities at Canton.

Earl *Grey* admitted the importance of the case which had been brought under the notice of the House by the noble Lord; but in proportion as it was important, and might produce consequences the most dangerous to the commercial and financial interests, both of the East-India Company and the empire at large, it was the more necessary to proceed with caution. There was no objection on the part of the Government, and none, he was persuaded, on the part of the East-India Company, at the proper time, to produce any information necessary to put their Lordships in full possession of all the circumstances of this important case; but the information was not yet in such a state as to make it expedient to lay it on the Table of that House. Their Lordships were aware, though the general concerns of the East-India Company were under the superintendence of the Board of Control, our intercourse with China was more especially under the direction of the East-India Company; and he was informed that the latest information received, with respect to this case, had only recently arrived, and had not yet been laid before the Court of Directors. He therefore trusted, that the noble Lord would not press for the papers which he had moved for. With respect to the conduct which the noble Lord thought ought to be pursued on the occasion, he trusted and believed, that there was no disposition on the part of the Directors of the East-India Company to interfere, more especially by an armed force, in any matter when they were not convinced of the necessity and justice of such interference. He was at least certain, that the Government would not consent to exert the power of the country to support any cause which was not founded in justice. Not being in possession of information on this subject, he could not say whether any statements could be made on the other side, contradictory of the representations of the noble Lord; but he was ready to admit, according to the noble Lord's statement, that it did appear, that the factory at Canton had displayed a great deal of improper conduct. He begged, however, to be understood as giving no opinion on this point, not being, as he before stated, in possession of the necessary information. Whether the course pointed out by the noble Lord would be the most proper to be pursued, was for the consideration of the Directors of the East-India Company, and his Majesty's Government; but the noble Lord might be assured, that any application for an armed force, if such application should ever be made, would be considered, not only with the greatest calmness, but with the greatest unwillingness to grant it, unless the justice and necessity of so doing should plainly appear.

Lord *Ellenborough* admitted it was quite true, as the noble Earl had stated, that the Board of Control possessed little influence over the commercial affairs of the East-India Company in reference to China. In point of fact, if the Board did possess any right to interfere, it was never exercised; and that was one great reason for his having troubled their Lordships with his present Motion, as it appeared to hold out the only means which he could command to direct attention to the recent events at Canton—events which he very strongly regretted. Having attained this object, he would not, under the circumstances alluded to by the noble Earl, press his Motion; and, therefore, with leave of their Lordships, he would withdraw it.

Motion withdrawn.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, December 14, 1831.

MINUTES.] New Member. THOMAS WALLACE Esq., for Drogheda.

Bill. Brought in, by Lord Viscount DUNCANNON, to authorize the application of part of the Land Revenues of the Crown, for the repair and improvement of Buckingham Palace.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. WEYLAND, the number of Brewers and Retail Beer-shops Licensed under the Beer Act:—On the Motion of Mr. D. W. HARVEY, the number of Persons admitted to the Freedom of those Boroughs which send Members to Parliament, since the year 1821, with the amount of the Fees paid on their admission:—On the Motion of Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE, the number of rated Householders in the Parishes included in the Metropolitan Police Bill:—On the Motion of Mr. HUME, the number of Sinecure Offices executed by Deputy in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all Fees and Emoluments attached to them, with Reversions, Joint Appointments, and Appointments for Lives, and those held during pleasure.

Petitions presented. By Mr. HENEAGE, from the city of Lincoln, in favour of a better system of Parliamentary Representation. By Mr. WARBURTON, from James Hitchens, Surgeon of Lincoln, for facilitating Anatomical Studies. By Mr. SHAW, from the Protestant Freemen of Galway, and from the Catholic Magistrates and Burgesses of that place, for the preservation of the peculiar Franchise attached to Galway; and from the Free Burgesses of Galway, for the Repeal of the Stamp-duty on the admission of Freemen to Corporations; and complaining of an addition made to the last Annual Indemnity Act. By Sir RICHARD MUSGRAVE, from the Inhabitants of Dungarvon Cappoquin, and other places, praying that the Ordnance Survey of certain parts of Ireland may be extended to Wexford. By Mr. PROTHEROE, from Thomas Howell, for the repeal of the Window Tax.

REFORM—EXPLANATIONS.] The Marquis of *Chandos* said, that he had observed in a morning paper some observations attributed to the hon. and gallant Member near him (Colonel Sibthorp) referring to him. Amongst other expressions was this —"He would not stop to characterize the noble Marquis's conduct." He wished to know whether the hon. and gallant Member had uttered that language, and whether these words were intended to apply personally to him?

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, that being thus called upon, he felt bound to give a clear explanation. He had no hesitation in saying, that the words of the newspaper were never used by him, although he considered that he had some right to complain that the noble Marquis had irregularly anticipated him in respect of a clause in the Reform Bill, and he had felt some regret in consequence. He was, however, happy to understand that there was no occasion to persevere in the motion, as the provision which they both had the same intention to propose was inserted in the present Bill.

The Marquis of *Chandos* felt, that the explanation of the hon. and gallant Member was completely satisfactory, as he had denied using the words ascribed to him.

REFORM.] Mr. Charles Dundas presented a Petition from Richmond, Yorkshire, in favour of a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament.

Lord *Morpeth* observed, that this petition which was signed by 5,000 persons proved, that the disposition in favour of Reform was not confined to the manufacturing classes in Yorkshire, but was equally strong amongst the agricultural community, and he therefore regretted that the right hon. Gentleman, the member for Aldeburgh was not present, that he might make him aware of the fact. He wished to take this opportunity of adverting to a statement which was reported to have been made in that House by the hon. member for Preston (Mr. Hunt). The hon. Member was reported to have said, that the Whig Government Paper in Leeds had excited the populace to shed his (Mr. Hunt's) blood. Nobody in that House had thought it necessary seriously to refute such a charge; but the Editors of the *Leeds Mercury,* which he presumed was the paper alluded to, had written to him (Lord Morpeth), requesting him distinctly to contradict this statement. The Journal in question was one of considerable circulation, and most respectably conducted. He had accordingly to satisfy himself whether the statement of the hon. Member were correct, looked through the copies of the paper published at the period alluded to by the hon. member for Preston, and he was perfectly satisfied that the Editors were quite innocent of the dark design attributed to them by the hon. Member. The Editors of the *Leeds Mercury* opposed the hon. member for Preston on public grounds, and they were incapable he believed, of resorting to any mode of warfare inconsistent with fair political discussion.

Mr. *Strickland* said, that knowing the severe and unjust imputations which the hon. member for Preston sometimes made, he had doubted the fact the moment the hon. member for Preston made the statement; and his impression was confirmed upon looking through the numbers of the newspaper which were published at the period referred to. He was acquainted with the editors, who were persons of strict honour—had always endeavoured by their writings to maintain peace and goodwill, and who could not, he was sure, on this or any other occasion, have been guilty of so foul a crime as had been imputed to them.

Mr. *Hunt* said, that the newspaper in question spoke of "cracking his skull," and he wished to ask the hon. members for Yorkshire whether that could have been done without shedding his blood. The article to which he referred had appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* the week before he had entered Leeds. He had been invited to visit that place by some gentlemen who were of the same opinion as himself, that the working classes were by no means unanimous in their approbation of the Reform Bill brought in by the Ministers. A meeting took place in consequence, and he was about putting the question, "that all those who were of opinion that the Reform Bill of his Majesty's Ministers was calculated to work general good do hold up their hands," when Mr. Baines interfered; the question was, however, put, and probably about a dozen hands were raised in its support. He had then said "Let all those who have no confidence in Ministers hold up their hands;" instantly there were 10,000 hands held up, that was the feeling among the working classes, and it was from his having proved this to be the case, that he had excited the enmity of the editor of the paper in question, and most assuredly he would not retract the expression he had used, as he believed it to be well deserved.

Lord *Morpeth* said, the words "cracking skulls" might have been mentioned in the paper in question; but that did not prove, that the editor recommended any one to make the attempt on the hon. member for Preston.

Mr. *Hunt:* Will you take upon you to say that no such words are used?

Lord *Morpeth:* I cannot say the words are not used, but I do venture to say, that no such words are used for the purpose of exciting the people against you.

Petition to be printed.

ESSEX PETITION.] Mr. *Western* rose to present a Petition in favour of the Ministerial Measure of Parliamentary Reform from the Nobility, Gentry, Freeholders, and other the inhabitants of the county of Essex. The petition was the result of a public meeting, composed, he acknowledged, exclusively of the friends of the Bill, and assembled under peculiar circumstances, the High Sheriff having thought proper to decline calling the meeting, although a requisition had been presented to him, signed by nearly 1,600 persons of respectability. He was not aware how or where the Sheriff's authority was defined, but the practice had usually been, for the Sheriffs to convene their respective counties when requested so to do by a number of influential persons resident within them. He begged it to be understood, that he made no complaint of the conduct of the High Sheriff, who assigned as his reasons for not calling the county together, that there had been already two county meetings during the year, besides a contested election, which had sufficiently manifested the sentiments of the freeholders, and there was, therefore, no occasion for a third meeting, which in times of excitement had better be avoided. This reasoning on the part of the Sheriff was not applicable to existing circumstances, for since the last meeting, important events had taken place. The Reform Bill had been rejected by the House of Lords, which rendered it necessary that the people should universally declare their sentiments with regard to that disastrous event. It was a period of hopes and fears, of conflicting opinions, and much excitement, and the requisitionists, therefore, thought they ought to assemble and declare their sentiments by an Address to the Throne, and petitions to the two Houses of Parliament. When that opportunity was denied them by the refusal of the High Sheriff to convene a county meeting, they had no other resource to prove that no change of opinions had taken place in their minds, as had been asserted, than to call such meeting under the sanction of a certain number of Magistrates. The meeting accordingly took place, and was respectably, although not very numerously attended for the Conservative Reform party, as they called themselves, having given out they did not mean to attend, many of the supporters of Reform, in the more distant parts of the country, consequently did not come to the meeting, which was therefore composed of part of the Reformers only. Of course the resolutions proposed were unanimously carried, and were embodied in the petition he held in his hands. The petitioners expressed themselves in strong language with regard to the decision of the House of Lords in rejecting the Reform Bill—language in which, however, he completely coincided, for he thought with the petitioners, that the conduct of their Lordships was extraordinary and calamitous. The majority of the Peers were decidedly opposed to public opinion, and such a position in one branch of the Legislature was fraught with dangerous consequences: the events that had occurred since their decision, would be remembered with pain, and their effects for a long time deplored. By their rejection of the Bill they had completely played into the hands of democrats and demagogues who had not failed to profit by the advantage given them. The meeting was decidedly of opinion, that no measure of Reform less efficient and comprehensive than the late Bill would be satisfactory to the people in general, or adequately restore their just and legitimate rights in electing the Members of the Commons House of Parliament. In that opinion he most fully concurred, and should not be satisfied with any measure less comprehensive than the Bill which had been lost. He believed the Bill which had been now introduced was of that character, and therefore he was determined to support it. He wished, however, not to pledge himself to all the details, some of which he did not consider as amendments upon the former Bill, except they were considered as the means of conciliation, and in that point of view they were highly desirable. The petition he had the honour of requesting might be brought up, was signed by the Chairman only, on behalf of the meeting, in consequence of the length of the discussion by the introduction of a variety of extraneous topics, so that at the conclusion of the meeting there was no time or opportunity to adopt the usual course.

The petition read; it was signed by Sir Thomas Barrett Lennard, on behalf of the county of Essex.

Mr. *Long Wellesley* supported the petition, and felt satisfied, that in giving his vote in favour of the new Reform Bill, he was in no degree departing from the pledge which he had given to his constituents.

Mr. *Hunt* said, he must call the attention of the House to a remark that had fallen from the hon. Member who had presented the petition, and who had said, that he regretted the conduct of the House of Lords, in throwing out the Reform Bill, because they had played into the hands of democrats and demagogues. The Bill, at least, had given no such handle to radical demagogues or radical democrats, though it would to Whig demagogues and Whig democrats.

Mr. *George Dawson* said, he had been requested by several gentlemen of the county of Essex, to state to the House, that this petition was not the petition of the county, but only that of the 600 or 700 individuals who had attended the meeting. He did not wish to depreciate the petition more than it deserved, for he was ready to acknowledge, that amongst the number who did attend, were many very respectable persons, and he was glad to observe the tone of moderation with which the petition had been introduced, arising, no doubt, from the consciousness of the hon. Members, that it was not a declaration of the sentiments of the county at large, and that the inhabitants had not responded to the call which had been made upon them. There had been great skill and industry employed in getting up the meeting, and even a public breakfast provided, but only 300 or at most 400 persons attended, to the mortification of those who had planned a trap baited with all the delicacies of the season, for the advocates of the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. Taking these circumstances into consideration, he did not think the petition entitled to the weight that was generally attached to county petitions. Moreover, as it had been declared to be the petition of the friends of the Bill, if the county of Essex, which contained 300,000 inhabitants, could muster only 600 friends of the Bill, it was not a very clear manifestation of the feelings of the county at large in favour of Reform. As to the High Sheriff, he thought that gentleman had exercised a very sound discretion in declining to convene the county, after a former meeting on the same question, and the thinness of the meeting showed, that his refusal had not disappointed the county. He thought, also, that the High Sheriff had much reason to congratulate himself on not being present at a meeting where the Established Church was held up to execration and obloquy. He alluded particularly to the language made use of by the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. Daniel W. Harvey); that hon. Gentleman was a Dissenter, and might not be greatly attached to the Church of England, but he understood the attack he had made upon it, was so gross as even to excite a feeling of abhorrence in the auditors. He trusted, that the detestation then manifested would be re-echoed throughout the kingdom. It was time, that Gentlemen should see, that under the colour of Reform, an attack was to be made upon all our established institutions, and more particularly on the Church. He trusted that those hon. Members who were attached to that venerable establishment, would be prepared to act as the advocates of its rights, and if no check was put to the propagation of similar sentiments to those uttered by the hon. Member, who, he believed spoke with sincerity, then an occasion would arrive for seriously defending the Church sooner than many hon. Members expected.

Mr. *Daniel W. Harvey* was convinced, that in making these statements, the right hon. member for Harwich (Mr. Dawson), was merely reporting facts that had been conveyed to him. But if the right hon. Gentleman meant to assert that his observations had been received with execration, by the persons present at the Essex Meeting, he would say, in return, that this statement was as erroneous as that which referred to the numbers present. The right hon. Member only did him justice in asserting, that he sincerely believed the opinions he uttered. It was the opinion of the best friends of the Established Church, in that House, and out of that House, and he would second it by voice and vote, that the religious and political institutions of the country ought to be disconnected. The prevailing sentiment at the Essex meeting was one of deep regret, that the conduct of the Bishops, in the decision of the House of Lords on the Reform Bill, had strengthened a feeling of hostility to the Church. The right hon. Gentleman had rated those who attended the meeting at between 600 and 700 persons; whereas there were at least 1,000 or 1,200; and one reason why the attendance was so limited was, that the county felt satisfied in the declaration of Ministers, that the Bill which they intended to bring forward, should be as efficient as the Bill of last session. Was it to be concluded, that all who did not attend the meeting were Anti-reformers? The truth was, that the county was unanimous for Reform, and he doubted whether an opponent of the measure could be found, beyond the Corporation of Harwich, which had such solid reasons for opposition. Those who were called Anti-reformers showed no want of tact upon this occasion, for they issued a counter address on the morning of the meeting, in which they set forth the necessity of Reform, arising out of the state of the public mind, in terms to which no reformer at that meeting would have refused to subscribe. His principal object in rising was, not to repel an attack, for he believed the right hon. Gentleman did not mean to make one, but simply to assure the House, he had not been heard with execration, but the same feeling was manifested there as was general throughout the country, and that was, a feeling of deep regret, that certain Members of the other House should have given the real enemies of the Church such a prodigious advantage.

Mr. *Lennard* was surprised at the statement made by the right hon. member for Harwich. He had hoped that the lesson the right hon. Gentleman had received at the Sussex meeting, would have prevented his future interference with counties with which he had no connexion. He regretted, however, as the right hon. Member would persist in interfering, that he had not been present at the Essex meeting, for he was sure the hon. member for Colchester had much underrated the Members present. In his opinion at least 2,000 persons attended the meeting in question. The weight to be attached to it was not, however, to be derived from the numbers present, but from the circumstances that called it together. The requisition had been signed by between 1,500 and 1,600 of the most respectable persons in Essex, and there would have been an overwhelming display of numerical force, had it not been expected that the Resolutions would pass without opposition. The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to remarks which had been uttered at that meeting, relating to the Established Church. The allusion could not apply to him, but he suspected that the right hon. Gentleman had received his information as to what had been said respecting the Established Church, from an incorrect source. Perhaps he had derived it from the reports in the London papers, which, on this occasion, were not distinguished by their usual accuracy. He said this, because he knew it to be the case with what he had said himself at that meeting, as well as the reports given of what other Gentlemen had said on the occasion. With respect to the Church, he must say, as a friend to that establishment, that there would be no safety for it, unless some of its own friends undertook a revision of its laws and condition. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman, what was the moral to be drawn from the feeling which had been exhibited towards the Church at the different Reform meetings which had lately taken place throughout the country? Was it not evident, that the Legislature must shortly turn its attention towards such methods as would allay the angry feelings which now prevailed towards the Church, and endeavour to conciliate the people? This was a measure which must be undertaken by Ministers, and he did hope, that so soon as they had leisure for so important a task, the opportunity would not be lost. With respect to the petition now before the House, he trusted he might be permitted to bear his testimony to the strong feeling in favour of Reform which pervaded the whole county of Essex. This petition was adopted in the full confidence that the measure of Reform to be brought forward would be found as efficient as the last. He was happy to say, the petitioners would not be disappointed. He was of the same opinion as his hon. friend, with regard to the new Bill, and while it was calculated to conciliate many opponents, it was, in all material points, quite as efficient as the last measure.

Mr. *Western* trusted the House would permit him to make a few observations, in reference to the remarks which had been made by the right hon. member for Harwich (Mr. Dawson), who, although not present, had confounded the sentiments of the meeting with those expressed by the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. D. W. Harvey). Such a mode of inference was unfair, and the meeting at large ought not to be considered responsible for individual opinions. The House, he trusted, would look to the petition as the index of the opinions of the meeting. Certainly many observations were made at the meeting not relevant to the question of Reform. The hon. member for Colchester had delivered opinions upon several most important questions, in none of which he agreed, and he was conscious the feelings of the meeting were not with the hon. Member. If he thought otherwise, if he believed the opinions of the freeholders of Essex were so different from his own on these subjects, he should no longer desire to represent that county.

Mr. *Wellesley* could assure the right hon. Gentleman, the member for Harwich, that the members for the county of Essex had no need of profuse expense to keep the reforming interest together. As a proof of the spirit that prevailed on the subject of Reform, he must adduce the fact, that his colleague and himself had been returned free of all expense at the last election; and a balance of the subscription still remained in hand. With respect to the public breakfast which the hon. Member had been so severe upon, it had been given chiefly to his tenants, as a mark of his attention. No exertions were made by Reformers to get up the meeting, but great exertions were made by their opponents to prevent it. It was no less singular than true, that though a variety of influential places in the county were held by persons who did all in their power to traverse the views of Ministers and their supporters, the feeling in favour of Reform was still general and strong.

Petition to be printed.

Post Office Tax on Newspapers.] On the Motion by Lord Althorp, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee on the Lottery Ticket Bill.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* begged to take that opportunity to ask the Secretary of the Treasury certain questions relative to the management of the Post-office. It appeared from certain statements which had recently got into circulation, that a tax was levied at the Post-office, by what authority he knew not, on all Newspapers sent from abroad, and on all British papers sent out of the country. The price of a Paris paper to any person residing in London was 10*l.* a-year. Now it was well known that the price of that paper in Paris was little more than 3*l.* He wished to know whether the extra 7*l.* charged to the English subscriber, went into the coffers of the Post-office, or into those of the Post-office Clerks, and if into those of the latter, by what authority, parliamentary or otherwise? There was also a tax imposed in the same quarter, by whose authority he knew not, on British papers imported into our colonies, This was a serious injury to the revenue at home, and also to our colonists abroad. He wished to know by what authority both the tax on foreign papers imported into this country, and the tax on British papers exported to our own colonies, was imposed?

Mr. *Spring Rice* was not prepared with an answer to these questions at present, but would be to-morrow. He admitted the subject was of much importance, and he would have it investigated.

Bill committed; Report to be received to-morrow.

TITHES (IRELAND).] Mr. *Hume* said, that in consequence of a Return having been ordered on a former evening on the motion of the hon. member for the University of Oxford (Sir Robert Inglis), respecting the Tithes which were the property of Laymen in Ireland, he wished, in order that the Returns might be complete, to obtain a similar Return respecting the Tithes which were in the hands of Churchmen in that country. He therefore begged leave to move, "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before this House, a Return, by the Registrar in each diocese in Ireland, of the number of parishes, the tithes of which, or a modus, are in whole or in part the property of, and paid to the use of any Bishop or person in Holy Orders, specifying the name of such Bishop or person in Holy Orders, and the amount of the income which he has derived from tithes, or from a modus, from each such parish or extra parochial place, on the average of the last three years on account of tithes and modus, stating, if under the Tithe Composition Act, or not; distinguishing whether the tithes be rectorial or vicarial, and the amount levied on arable and pasture land, respectively."

Mr. *Goulburn* said, this was a most tremendous Motion, and if it were agreed to he knew not how it could be executed.

Mr. *Hume* said, there was no other novelty in the Motion than that it distinguished the arable from the pasture land, a distinction he was ready to expunge, if there was any objection to it.

Mr. *Spring Rice* said, he did not understand the objections of the right hon. Gentleman to lie so much to the information called for, as to the means of obtaining it, and he was also of opinion, that there would be the utmost difficulty in procuring it, particularly with the nice distinctions required.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* declared himself equally hostile to the motion of his hon. friend the member for Oxford, and to the Motion of the hon. member for Middlesex. But as the motion of his hon. friend had been granted, he did not see how the other Motion could be resisted. Both attacked the rights of property. It was not, however, surprising that the hon. member for Middlesex should press for this Return, because he had always avowed, that he considered the property of the Church national property. He held different opinions. He looked upon Church property as the property either of individuals or of Corporations, and if the House demanded these Returns, it might with equal justice demand from every Gentleman in that House the amount of the rents which he received for his estate. Indeed many estates were held on the same tenure; if therefore the property of the Church of England belonged to the State, so also did that part of the Church property which had been purchased by individuals as well as that which had been granted to noble families in the time of Henry 8th; rather than see the principle acknowledged, that tithes were national property, he would prefer seeing his hon. friend's order cancelled, and the question now before them withdrawn.

Mr. *Hume* said, all he wanted was, to have both Motions put upon the same footing; if the hon. Member would give notice of his intention to withdraw his motion, he (Mr. Hume) would most likely follow his example.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* also objected to the Motion, but was not surprised, that the hon. member for Middlesex had made it, considering the doctrines which he had propagated so sedulously regarding Church property being national property. If the object of the hon. Member's Motion was to form a kind of schedule to facilitate the carrying of that point, he would at once say, the House could not concur with him.

Mr. *Hume* said, the hon. and learned Gentleman had put a construction upon his Motion which the words would not bear, but if the object of his Motion necessarily was, to despoil one class of persons, the motion of the hon. member for Oxford was open to the same objections. He was not in the House when that motion was made, but on seeing it he thought it quite right to have the whole view of the case before them.

Sir *Robert Inglis* said, he must protest against the insinuations that the motion he had made was unfairly carried, or that it could be attended with any danger to the Church establishment. He had moved for the same Return in April, 1830, and then had no idea there were objections to it; but on the re-assembling of Parliament, as he had found no Return had been made to his former motion, he had renewed it, when he understood there were difficulties which prevented such a Return being made out. No objection, however, had then been urged to its principles. On that occasion he had stated, that he had objections to the interference of the House with property of any kind, but as invidious attempts had been made to drag the clerical holders of tithes before the public, he wished to have the same measure of justice dealt out to the lay holders. His object had been limited to that point, and to ascertain if the lay-holders possessed any stipend which ought to belong to the clergy.

Mr. *Crampton* said, that it was impossible that any Return could be made either to the motion of the hon. member for Oxford, or to that of the hon. member for Middlesex. To whom was either order to be addressed?—by whom was it to be obeyed? They might as well ask every Gentleman in Ireland to tell them the amount of the rents of his estate, as every lay or Church impropriator to tell them the amount of his tithes. Besides, what authority had they to compel such a Return from either Church or lay impropriator? They might order every lawyer in Ireland to tell them the amount of his fees, but by what authority could they obtain an answer to such an order? He thought it advisable that the hon. member for Oxford should move, that his order be rescinded, and then he thought that the hon. member for Middlesex would not object to withdraw his Motion. At the same time, he wished for the information as much as the hon. Members themselves, for he was satisfied, the more the state of Church property was investigated, the less reason would there be found for the exaggerated accounts that had gone abroad respecting its property.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, he entirely acquiesced in the very sensible and judicious view of this question which had been taken by the Solicitor-General for Ireland. If the motion of his hon. friend, the member for the University of Oxford, was persevered in, for a Return from the lay impropriators, that furnished a sufficient precedent for a Return of tithes held by the clergy; but there were strong objections to publish the names of the clerical holders of tithes in the present excited state of the public mind. As the Secretary of State for Ireland had given notice of a motion relating to tithes, perhaps the whole question had better be left in his hands. At all events, he should recommend his hon. friend to give notice to have his order cancelled, and he had no doubt the hon. member for Middlesex would withdraw that before the House.

Mr. *Shaw* said, if these Motions were persevered in, he should make a similar motion with respect to England, for surely Church property in each ought to be placed upon an equal footing.

Mr. *Sheil* did not see what good ground of objection existed to the Motions. Returns had been already made from 1,191 clergymen who had made composition for their tithes, and the amount for which the composition was made; and he did not see why Returns should be refused from those parishes where no such composition had been made. Why such objections were made when they had obtained Returns from all the Irish Bishops, except three, he could not imagine. These Returns, too, be it recollected, gave the actual amount of these sees. When they had lately got so much insight into the temporal affairs of the Irish Church, he was surprised that such impediments were now started to their obtaining more complete ones, especially as the Irish Primate himself had allowed that it was advisable such Returns should be furnished, to convince the public that the revenues of the Church had been much exaggerated.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, there was a great difference between the Returns now sought for, and those made pursuant to Act of Parliament. Under the Tithe Composition

Act, the amount was registered, and there could be no difficulty in obtaining it in each case.

Sir *Robert Inglis* said, he did not see why the hon. member for Middlesex had coupled their Motions together; however, he was ready to give notice that his should be rescinded.

Mr. *Hume* said, the whole proceeding only shewed, that the hon. member for Oxford could meddle with the Church without any question, while the hon. member for Middlesex was forbidden to do so. He would therefore postpone his Motion, and when the hon. Member gave notice of the discharge of his, he (Mr. Hume) would be prepared to shew the necessity for the Return he required. At all events, three preceding Parliaments had sanctioned the principle of such a Return.

Motion withdrawn, and Sir Robert Inglis gave notice, that he would move to have his order rescinded.

COMMERCIAL TREATIES.] Mr. Robinson moved for Copies of all the Treaties relative to Trade and Navigation entered into between Great Britain and other States; also specifying those States with which no such Treaties were entered into.

Mr. *Spring Rice* said, that the Return would be very voluminous, and not necessary: almost all these treaties were already before the House, and nearly all of them published in a more commodious shape than they would be under the Order of the House. If the hon. Member only wished for one or two particular treaties, there would be no objection to grant them, but the Return to the Motion, as it now stood, would occasion a great deal of unnecessary expense.

Mr. *Hume* said, on a late occasion a treaty nearly two centuries old had been produced to them, and the House were told their proceedings must be founded upon such a document as that, of which the existence was not previously known. He had at that time declared it as his opinion, that it was advisable that a complete List of the Treaties in force should be made out, or that there should be some authorized means of reference to them which would obviate the inconvenience of an almost obsolete treaty being brought forward unexpectedly for the purpose of influencing their judgment.

Mr. *Robinson* said, he had no wish to create expense, or cause unnecessary trouble, but he was not aware where he could obtain the information he required His Motion did not refer to political treaties but to those merely connected with commerce and navigation, and he thought it of importance to know with what States we had such treaties, particularly as we seemed to be going on a system as if no treaties were necessary, or as if they intended everything to find its own level. However, he would not press his Motion.

Motion withdrawn.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, December 15, 1831.

MINUTES.] Bills read a first time. For amending the Law with respect to Contempt of Ecclesiastical Courts.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of the Earl of HARROWBY, an Abstract of the total number of Curates in each diocese in England and Wales, according to the Returns made by the Archbishops and Bishops to his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council for the year 1829, distinguishing the number resident in the Parsonage-house and the number resident in the Parish; likewise the number of those who are Licensed, and the amount of Stipends arranged in classes of 10*l.* and under 20*l.*, 20*l.* and under 30*l.*, 30*l.* and under 40*l.* Also, the number of Livings held by Non-resident Incumbents, which are of the gross annual value of 300*l.* and upward, and under 380*l.* And also, Abstract of the number and classes of Non-resident Incumbents, and of the number of Resident Incumbents, according to the Diocesan Returns for the year 1829.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.] The Earl of *Aberdeen*, before their Lordships proceeded to the Order of the Day, begged to state, that as he had reason to expect, from the improved health of a noble Duke, that he would be able in a short time to attend in his place in that House, and as he also expected that an early adjournment of the House would take place, he would for the present postpone the motion upon the foreign relations of the country, so far as Belgium and Holland were concerned, of which he had given notice, as much on the part of the noble Duke as of himself. He had the satisfaction of knowing that, with respect to the main subject of that motion, the affairs of the Netherlands, the opinion of his noble friend entirely concurred with his own; and he could not but be sensible that their Lordships would be much more desirous of hearing the noble Duke than himself upon a subject, in which he had so peculiar a claim to their attention. He saw that a paper had recently been laid upon the Table of the other House of Parliament, containing an account "of the Sums contributed by Great Britain for the erection of Fortifications in the Netherlands, or towards the defence and incorporation of the Belgic provinces with Holland, under the Convention of the 13th of August, 1814." He understood these fortifications were now to be demolished, therefore he supposed there could be no objection to lay a similar account before that House.

Earl *Grey* had no objection to the production of the Returns.

Ordered accordingly.

Tithes in Ireland.] On the Motion of Viscount Melbourne, the Clerk read the following passage from his Majesty's Speech:—"In parts of Ireland a systematic opposition has been made to the payment of Tithes, attended in some instances with afflicting results; and it will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be possible to effect improvements in the laws respecting this subject, which may afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and at the same time remove the present causes of complaint. But on this, and every other question affecting Ireland, it is above all things necessary to look to the best means of securing internal peace and order, which alone seems wanting to raise a country blessed by Providence with so many natural advantages to a state of the greatest prosperity."

Viscount *Melbourne* then spoke nearly as follows:—I rise to address your Lordships, in obedience to that part of his Majesty's most gracious Speech which has just been read, and to follow up the consequences to which it leads, by requesting your Lordships to authorize the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the system by which the collection and payment of Tithes is regulated in Ireland. This is a motion to which, recollecting the unanimity with which your Lordships agreed to the Address to his Majesty, in answer to his Speech, I anticipate little or no opposition, though I feel as much as any one can the difficulty and the importance of the subject to which I would, upon the present occasion, draw the attention of the House. I feel, that the question of tithes has created more animosity in private, and given occasion to more open violence than, perhaps, any other subject which has agitated the minds of the people of Ireland. In entering, then, upon this preliminary stage of the proceeding which I intend to lay before the House, I trust I shall do so with all the coolness, and caution, and circumspection, befitting such an occasion; and I earnestly hope that every noble Lord who engages in the discussion may be induced to preserve the same tone. It is unnecessary for me to state to your Lordships, for the circumstance must be well known to you, that the collection of tithes in Ireland has been the source of great violence—has been productive of much outrage, and has given rise to heats and animosities, which many years, and much judicious legislation, will be scarcely sufficient to allay. It must be well known to your Lordships, as, indeed, it is to almost every man in the country, that many of the disturbances which, under various denominations, have interfered with the well-being and the peace of Ireland, may be traced to a resistance to the payment of tithes. It is also scarcely necessary for me to observe, that, in the year 1822, the last important disturbances which took place there, gave occasion to the introduction, in the following year, and the adoption by the Legislature, of the well-known Tithe Composition Act. Your Lordships must be well aware that that Act was attended with success, produced considerable advantage to the country, and gave general satisfaction to a large proportion of the people. I remember that while I held office in that country, I had my attention drawn particularly to the subject, and I can certainly aver, that the result of my observations left no doubt on my mind that it was productive of the most beneficial effects. From what has recently occurred in Ireland, there can, I presume, be now very little question that there prevails in that country a systematic opposition to the payment of tithes, and that in the Queen's county, as well as in parts adjacent, it is in vain that any attempt is made on the part of the clergy to recover tithes—it is in vain that they distrain, for no goods seized under a distress can be sold. This state of things has, in too many instances, reduced the clergy to a state of the utmost possible distress. The consequence of these circumstances is, that his Majesty's Government have felt the propriety of instituting an inquiry into the causes of this unfortunate state of things. If this were owing to any spirit of lawless violence, a satisfactory answer might be at once given to all inquiries on the subject; but it must be obvious that no such spirit is sufficient to account for the regular, systematic, indomitable opposition to tithes which prevails in Ireland. We want, then, to ascertain whence it does arise, and that will be one great object for which I propose to ask your Lordships to appoint a Committee. The questions which will naturally come under the consideration of the Committee are, whether the evils arising from the tithe system are attributable solely to the mode of their collection, whether to the imperfect or partial operation of the Tithe Composition Act, or to other causes not comprehended in either of these. I may here observe, incidentally, that one of the reasons why the Tithe Composition Act was so limited in its operation is, that the tithe of agistment renders it partial. Again, another source of the obstructions which the Composition Act has had to encounter, is to be found in the fact, that though the parishioners and the incumbents have in many parishes agreed to avail themselves of the provisions of the Act, yet the Diocesan—doubtless in the exercise of a sound discretion—has refused his consent; many parishes are, therefore, left to all the evils of the ancient system, and the Proctor and his attendants are allowed to proceed with the license, which, in the worst times, marked the proceedings of this class of functionaries. The result has been, that the sound parts of Ireland have been infected by the unsound, and the odium that the old system of collection alone ought to occasion, has extended itself to tithes themselves. I shall, with the permission of the House, read a passage from a letter, which has been supplied to me by my right hon. friend, the Secretary for Ireland:—"I am confirmed in the views I have above offered to your consideration, from the fact that even in the disturbed districts of Clare and Galway, where composition was early and readily adopted throughout the extensive districts of the dioceses of Clonfert, Kilmacduagh, and Killaloe, as yet no opposition has been generally made to the payment of composition rent; but it has been invariably considered as a boon and a blessing to all parties. It is not so, however, in the county of Carlow, King's county, Queen's county, Kilkenny, and part of Tipperary; in fact, through the finest lands of the kingdom, where composition has slowly and reluctantly progressed." This, my Lords, I look on as a very excellent authority on this matter, and the fact of a different feeling on the subject of Tithes existing in different districts, undoubtedly makes out a strong case for inquiry. Another of the greatest evils attached to the condition and administration of Church property in Ireland, has its origin in the extreme subdivision of the ecclesiastical rights over it; the nature of which right it is impossible I can so well express as is expressed in another part of the same letter. The writer says, "The broken and irregular character of tithes, in the rust of its great antiquity, renders the variety and number of claims on the land both harassing and vexatious; the frequency of calls, and the uncertainty of receivers, are so varied and perplexing, as to occasion much annoyance to the poor. There are a vast number of instances in my own parish, where one poor man, whose whole tithes annually do not amount to more than 1*s.* 8*d.* per annum, and yet subject him to have his cow, sheep, pig, or horse, taken and driven to pound six times in the year for tithes, and liable, on each and every driving, to a charge of 2*s.* 6*d.* driver's fees, besides expense of impounding, and waste of time from his labour in seeking the person duly authorised to give him a receipt. He is liable to be summoned, moreover, and decreed for vestry cess, once in the year, making annually seven calls, on account of the Church, for his little plot of ground; besides, his little holding is liable to two calls in the year for Grand Jury public money, and frequently two calls more for Crown and quit-rent. Thus, eleven calls are made upon his small holding in the year, besides his landlord's rent, and for sums trifling in themselves, but perplexing and ruinous in the costs which attend them. Surely such are hardships that ought to be removed. Throughout the diocese of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, in which this parish is situated, the Bishop takes one-fourth of every titheable acre of land. The county is very much broken up amongst cottier tenantry, holding small plots of an acre each, with a cabin or cottage upon it; the whole diocese is compounded for at an average rate of about 1*s.* per acre." Your Lordships will now see, that if ever there was a case which called for legislative interference, the present is that case. Here we have a system which imperatively calls for the tithes due to the Bishop, to the Rector, the Vicar, the Prebend, and the Vicars Choral. It may be said, perhaps, that the case referred to is only a local evil, limited in its operation, and confined in its extent; but what is the fact? It spreads throughout the whole diocese of Clonfert, which includes a large portion of the large county of Galway. The Bishop, it appears, is entitled to one-quarter of the tithes, which amounts to 1*s*. an acre, and the consequence of this and other circumstances of a like nature is, that the greatest possible difficulty takes place in the collection of the tithes; that none but persons of low character, prepared to take every unworthy advantage, will engage in the collection of them. Such a state of things, I hesitate not to affirm, demands inquiry at our hands, with a view to the adoption of some measure calculated to remedy the evil, which has been so long and so loudly the subject of complaint. I think it is now unnecessary for me to trouble your Lordships with entering further into detail. I think I have stated quite enough to satisfy any impartial man that we ought to go into a Committee. If his Majesty's Ministers were in possession of the necessary information, and felt themselves prepared to lay before Parliament an adequate remedy for the evil which has been made the subject of complaint, I feel that it would be needless for me to trouble the House with a motion for the appointment of a Committee, but the Government does not find itself in that situation. A noble Lord has, on a former occasion, stated, that the Clergy were neither exorbitant nor extortionate in their demands, neither did there exist on the part of the people any very strong indisposition to pay to the Clergy that which was their undoubted and legal right. To meet the wishes of both parties, and secure their rights, it will be part of the business of the Committee to collect, arrange, and examine the evidence which can be adduced on this subject. The Committee will further have to consider how far it will be expedient to extend to all, or, if not to all, to what parts of Ireland, the Composition Act, enforcing it compulsorily, or whether it will not be wise to entitle the tenant to present a receipt for tithe to his landlord, as payment of his rent *pro tanto*, or whether we ought to look to a larger and more comprehensive measure, which will secure to the Clergy a broader basis on which to rest their incomes, and to the people that relief from the pressure of the impost which the necessity of the case demands. For instance, facilities may be created for the gradual redemption of the tithes, the sums to be procured by such redemption being applied to the formation of a fund for the maintenance of the Clergy of the Irish Church. I believe it will not, at the present moment, be contended that we have any time to lose—I believe it will be admitted that the emergency is pressing in the last degree—I believe that no noble Lord will say we ought to hesitate in applying instant means of protection and defence when the thunder threatens us over head, and the earthquake rocks the ground on which we stand. I hope, then, that the course which we have resolved to take—and that which I sincerely believe is the only course left to us—will have the effect of establishing that peace and tranquillity, of which Ireland stands so much in need—that some measure will be devised to reconcile animosities, diffuse contentment, clear up difficulties, give scope for enlightened benevolence, and for the maintenance of equal, impartial, and just laws. My Lords, I beg leave to move, "that a Select Committee be appointed, to inquire into the collection and payment of Tithes in Ireland, the state of the laws relating thereto, and to report their observations thereon to the House."

The question having been put,

The Earl of *Wicklow* said, in the few observations which he should think it his duty to offer to their Lordships upon the present occasion, he had no intention of opposing the Motion of the noble Viscount, or of saying any thing which could tend to defeat the object which he had in view. But he must confess, that in listening to the speech of the noble Viscount, he had been considerably disappointed. He did expect when he came down to the House, that he should have obtained some insight into the objects and intentions of his Majesty's Government with respect to Ireland. He would not conceal, that the reference to Ireland in his Majesty's Speech had given him great satisfaction — the greater satisfaction, inasmuch as he had previously entertained the apprehension that his Majesty's Ministers were not sufficiently alive to the present dangerous and unfortunate situation of that country. He had accordingly come to England at the commencement of the Session, with the fixed determination of calling the attention of that House to the subject, if this important duty should not be undertaken by any body else. He could confidently state, that the noble Viscount had not exaggerated the difficulty which existed in the collection of tithes, nor had his description nearly come up to the extent of the evil. He could state, that many clergymen of great respectability, men of talents and education, were at this moment in a state of utter destitution, and were compelled to subsist, with their families, like the common peasant, upon potatoes and milk. The resistance to the payment of tithes, however, was not so general as the noble Lord had described it. It extended only throughout one very populous district—the diocese of Dr. Doyle, the titular Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. He did not conceive, that the peasantry of Ireland had any rooted aversion to the payment of tithe. Formerly the tithe was yielded with more alacrity by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, than by the members of the Established Church or the Presbyterians. The imposition was, in point of extent, nothing like that of the tithe in this country. Many of the clergy of Ireland were content with the tithe of their tithes. But the resistance to the collection of tithes was to be ascribed principally, to the writings and speeches of persons disaffected to the Government of England, and when he mentioned the name of Dr. Doyle as the chief of these, he hoped he should not be accused of vilifying a person whom he had formerly defended, when he thought him unjustly attacked. The work of the gentleman to which he particularly alluded, contained the following paragraph :—“ The Irish people, since their first conversion to the Christian faith, always understood rightly the Gospel dispensation. They were always too rational and too acute to submit willingly to an unreasonable, I might add, an unjust imposition ; and the law of tithe, whether civil or ecclesiastical, has never had, either in Catholic or Protestant times —no, not to the present hour—the assent or consent of the Irish nation. They have always been at war with it, and I trust in God will never cheerfully submit to it.” There was also this other passage in Dr. Doyle's work—“ There are many noble traits in the Irish character mixed with failings, which have always raised obstacles to their own well-being ; but an innate love of justice, and an indomitable hatred of oppression, is like a gem upon the front of our nation, which no darkness can obscure. To this fine quality I trace their hatred of tithe. May it be as lasting as their love of justice!” Now this was part of an able and elaborate essay on another subject—the state of the poor. And why, he would ask, had the right rev. gentleman left the subject he had treated so ably, to throw this new ingredient into the cauldron of national calamity ? Whatever might have been his motives, the effect upon the people to whom the language was addressed, was such as might be expected from the learning, ability, high station, and great influence of its author. Another cause of the resistance to tithe, and of every other evil which afflicted Ireland, was the speeches of professed democrats and agitators in that country. In the course of the Session before the last, a noble Duke, now unfortunately absent from indisposition, had put a question to the noble Earl at the head of the Government. He had asked if it was the intention of the noble Earl to revive the law against Political Associations. The answer of the noble Earl was in the affirmative. But one Session and another had passed, and no such law had been introduced. He was utterly at a loss to know what had taken place in Ireland to account for the noble Earl's change of opinion, as to the necessity of suppressing agitation. But, in truth, he ascribed the omission to change of policy rather than to change of opinion: His Majesty's Government knew, that one individual was principally the cause of agitation, and that individual they hoped to gain over to the cause of the Government. By this time, probably, his Majesty's Ministers had discovered that the apple of discord might be thrown with as much effect from under a silk, as from under a stuff gown, and having found, that they had no sop which would appease that great Cerberus of agitation, he trusted they would now tear him, by the arms of law, from that hell of which he was the guardian and the ruler. But, whatever policy Government might pursue with respect to the agitation, he hoped, at least, the noble Earl would decisively contradict the insinuation of which the agitator was not sparing, that it had only rested with himself to accept or refuse a place under the Government, of great trust, value, and importance. The noble Earl might think this insinuation ought only to be treated with silent contempt. But it seemed to him, that it was due to the character of the Government—that it was due to the feelings of the country—that it was due to every man who filled or aspired to the station of a Statesman, that this injurious insinuation should be promptly and unequivocally repelled. For himself, he freely confessed, that he did not believe it. He never could believe, that any Government could so far dishonour and degrade itself, and so outrage the feelings of the community, as to offer high and honourable office to an individual who had just escaped from public justice, and who had not undergone the punishment of a criminal, only because he had much skill and dexterity in evading the law. In that part of the King's Speech which immediately followed the paragraph referred to by the noble Viscount, was a sentence to the following effect:—"But in this, as in every other question affecting Ireland, it is above all things necessary to look to the best means of securing internal peace and order; which alone seem wanting to raise a country blessed by Providence with so many natural advantages, to a state of the greatest prosperity." This was an assertion to which he most cordially assented, for a more undoubted truth had never been embodied in a similar document, and he was happy to perceive, that the conviction of Government seemed to be so very clear upon the subject. How was the peace of any country to be preserved, if agitators were to be rewarded and encouraged? The truth of the maxim was irresistible, and he rejoiced that the Government was sensible of it. He hoped that Ministers would labour, not only to counteract the evil which their Motion had in view, but to remove from Ireland the greatest evil and the source of every other, that influence of demagogues to which no country could ever patiently submit. It was known, that at this moment, a counteraction had taken place in Ireland. The loyal portion of the community—he did not say the Protestant portion, for he hoped all the loyalty of Ireland was not confined to the Protestants—had entered into an Association for the protection of their rights and the maintenance of the law. They felt that when bad men were allowed to combine, good men must associate. For himself, he could say, that he had never belonged to any Political Association. But if the demagogues and agitators were permitted to pursue their mischievous career, he should not shrink from doing what in that case would be his duty. The noble Viscount had suggested several propositions as fit to engage the attention of the Committee, but he did not say, that he would propose any one of them as a substantive measure to the Legislature. With respect to one of the most beneficial suggestions of the noble Viscount, he believed he was precluded from proposing it. He alluded to the incorporation of tithe with rent. Upon this very subject, upon a former occasion, when the topic was introduced elsewhere, the noble Lord's colleague, the right hon. Secretary for Ireland, had pronounced a decided opinion in opposition to any such attempt. His words were, that to make the landlords liable for the payment of tithe, would be a positive injustice. He did not mean to say, that the Government had not done its duty in one respect with regard to the collection of tithe. Military and police force they had always granted when necessary. But while they put down resistance by these means on the one hand, they excited it on the other. If, as he understood, two individuals who had attempted to excite a mob to resist the collection of tithes, on being convicted, were forthwith discharged, this might be called mercy, but it was mercy at the expense of justice and sound policy. Again, with respect to the author of the letter which he had introduced to their Lordships' notice, instead of prosecuting that individual for his seditious and mischievous libel, or calling upon him to counteract its tendency by some subsequent publication, they permitted him to be exhibited in the face of the country as the friend, the associate, and the councillor of the Lieutenant of the King. If the Government meant to prevent anarchy in Ireland, this was not the course it ought to pursue. A crisis was evidently at hand, if the agitators should be longer suffered to pursue their destructive career. He hoped such a crisis might yet be averted; but if it came, he had no fear of the result. He could have none when he saw the wealth, the intelligence, the loyalty of the country on one side, and ignorant multitudes, led on by factious demagogues on the other. But he did fear what must occur in the mean while—he did fear the suffering which such a struggle, as he foresaw, must inflict during its progress upon the country. He began by stating, that he did not mean to say any thing for the purpose of embarrassing or annoying his Majesty's Government. He never should make the tithe, or any other question relating to the internal welfare of Ireland, the means of opposition to any set of Ministers. The Government had difficulties enough to contend with. They had to struggle against the powerful and legitimate opposition in that and the other House of Parliament. But the opposition they had chiefly to fear was, the insidious opposition of persons pretending to be their friends, and who supported the Administration by doing every thing that was calculated to bring discredit upon its character and its measures, and who would struggle for nothing more ardently than to prevent every recommendation of the Committee the House was now about to appoint from producing its desired effect.

The Marquis of *Clanricarde* rose to vindicate the Irish Government from the charge that they had countenanced the sedition which the noble Earl had ascribed to the author of the pamphlet alluded to. In representing the pamphlet to be of the character described, he was assuming too much, for the law officers of Ireland, it appeared, had not borne him out in his opinion, or recommended Government to prosecute its author. He would put it to the noble Earl, whether he was acting fairly in bringing forward charges against the conduct of Ministers towards Ireland, just at the moment when the noble Viscount was taking the first step for securing the tranquillity of that country, and establishing its Church upon a solid basis in the affections of the people? He desired to see the Protestant Church prosper in Ireland, but it could never prosper by pressing on the labouring poor, and intercepting the hard-earned pittance which was essential to the subsistence of the industrious peasant. The noble Earl had made allusion to democrats as having derived encouragement from the countenance of Government. Now it so happened that Dr. Doyle and Mr. O'Connell, the two agitators mentioned, were, at the present moment, at daggers drawn. From an animosity between such parties, the public, he supposed, would not suffer much disadvantage; but the fact of the dissension made it, at least, unlikely that Government was on terms of friendly intercourse with both parties. If, however, Ministers were to be reproached with having consulted Dr. Doyle, he might ask, why had that distinguished prelate been summoned before both Houses of Parliament? Why should their reference to the man who had been consulted, as it were, by Parliament, on account of his abilities, thus be made matter of inculpation? Was it not on account of his brilliant talents, extensive experience, and profound erudition, that he was summoned to London? Surely the same reasons would form a sufficient justification for the head of the Irish government, even supposing the assertion of the noble Earl to be correct. It appeared, under all circumstances, that no ground had been made out either for attacking Government, or resisting the appointment of a Committee, sanctioned as the principle had already been by the great success which had attended the application of the Tithe Composition Act, introduced by the right hon. Gentleman, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lord *Ellenborough* said, he felt it impossible to give his silent consent to the appointment of a Committee. He could not consent to shift to the Committee that responsibility which, according to the principles and practice of our Constitution, was most advantageously confined solely to the advisers of the Crown. His Majesty's advisers recommended him to introduce the subject of Tithes in Ireland to the attention of their Lordships in the late Speech from the Throne. It had hitherto been considered usual, whenever similar advice was given to the Government, under similar circumstances of danger and difficulty, that the persons who advised such a step should be prepared to submit some specific motion—some positive plan for the adoption of their Lordships, in order to meet and obviate the difficulties or dangers to be apprehended. And even although the noble Lords opposite should be able to bring forward some case in which this was not done, still upon principle, and in accordance with reason, he should insist upon the advantage of adherence to the ordinary course, and that which was most consistent with the public interest. He considered it a great advantage of the Constitution, that those conducting the Government of the country had the fullest opportunity of obtaining information, and of maturing in their councils every project that was subsequently to be subjected to the analysis of Parliament, representing the various interests of every class of his Majesty's subjects. He also looked upon it as a great advantage that Government was responsible for the measures it might recommend; and, consequently, he entirely objected to any Minister placing himself in the situation of merely throwing out a few loose ideas—calling for a Committee, and imposing upon that Committee the responsibility of originating the plan proposed to Parliament. He would accordingly object to the Motion, as tending to deprive the country of one of the greatest practical advantages of the Constitution. The noble Viscount threw out a few general ideas upon the subject; but expressed no decided opinion, and then called for a Committee. Now, in his opinion, the only advantageous way of having a Committee would be upon a bill introduced by Government, and declaring the principles on which they proposed to proceed. With respect to the question itself, he would say, that he had no objection to a compulsory composition of tithes throughout the country, if the principles upon which it proceeded were just and reasonable. Neither had he, upon principle, any objection to a gradual purchase of the tithes, though he had not as yet heard any feasible plan for the attainment of this object suggested. He contended, too, that the Government proceeded upon mistaken views and false principles; and in proof of that he would beg leave to read the following extract from an harangue lately made by Mr. O'Connell in Dublin, and referring to his Majesty's Speech:—The Speech said, "It will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be possible to effect improvements in the laws respecting this subject, which may afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and, at the same time, remove the present causes of complaint." On this Mr. O'Connell remarked, "I tell Lord Cloncurry, it is impossible to remove the present causes of complaint. 'Necessary protection to the Established Church!' What! do they think it possible to continue the present tithe system in Ireland, where not one in twenty of the population belong to the Established Church, and where the Catholics in the South, and the Presbyterians in the North, are equally opposed to that system? I tell Lord Cloncurry, and I tell the King's Ministers, that that system cannot last in Ireland. It is idle in them to think of it—the time is fast coming when, as every man ought to pay his own lawyer, his own physician, and his own apothecary, so will every man be obliged to pay for his own clergyman." He submitted that this was in opposition to the principle of paying tithes, and not to the mode in which they were collected; therefore, the noble Viscount was not dealing with the evil that existed. In looking, too, over the newspaper in which he had that day seen the speech from which he had just read an extract, there was another thing which he much lamented—namely, the Resolution which had been agreed to. And he would beg to ask, what was the state of things in Ireland? The country was divided between two parties—the Catholics and Protestants—neither of whom had confidence in the Government. If the army were removed from Ireland to-morrow, Government would not have a single individual to support it, with the exception of the few who were attached to it by office. It was this dreadful state of things to which it was the noble Viscount's duty to look. It was trifling with the country, and not being faithful in the duty a Minister owed to his Sovereign, to continue dabbling with matters of minor importance, while the vital point—the principle of opposition to the payment of tithes—was left untouched. For these reasons he opposed the Motion, and likewise because the labours of the Committee must necessarily be addressed to such a variety of topics, that it was utterly impossible it could, within any reasonable period, arrive at any useful conclusion.

The Marquis of *Lansdown* said, that it was not new to him to learn, that the noble Lord had no great respect for Committees of that House, although he believed the opinions of the noble Lord upon this subject were shared by very few of their Lordships on either side of the House; but it was new to him to learn that it was a matter of dangerous innovation, upon the eve of introducing an important measure, that their Lordships should be advised to prepare themselves to judge of that measure by a careful investigation of the subject to which it was to relate. If the noble Lord meant to state, that it was the duty of the King's Government in every instance to weigh carefully the subjects they introduced to Parliament, he entirely agreed with him, although he thought he had seen instances in which Governments, having the support of the noble Lord, had proposed Committees without having sufficiently deliberated upon the subject to which the Committees were directed to inquire. And, unfortunately indeed, it happened with respect to this very subject, that a government with which the noble Lord was connected, had adverted in the King's Speech which introduced the Session of 1825; to the state of Ireland—that this part of the Speech was made the subject of inquiry by a Committee—that the matters referred to the Committee were the Catholic Question, the Tithe, the question of Poor-laws, every thing, in short, relating to Ireland; and that there was this peculiarity in the circumstance, that in this Committee the King's Government declared that they had no distinct views. Fortunately they were not placed in this situation upon the present occasion, since his noble friend had stated what were the views of his Majesty's Government—and he would now re-state what his noble friend had said. One object was, to inquire whether the Composition Act should be made universally compulsory. Another was, to ascertain the propriety of making the landlord an instrument for securing the tithe. Again, the Committee were to consider how far it was practicable and expedient to give the Church the best of all securities, that of land. Now he would ask, had the noble Lord stated, or had he not, what were the views of Government? Had the Government attempted to dictate, their Lordships would have heard, he firmly believed, worse exclamations on the disrespect offered to the Committee; and the noble Lord himself, notwithstanding all his contempt for Committees, would, he had no doubt, have loudly raised his voice in vindication of their wounded dignity. The course Ministers pursued was that which had been uniformly adopted upon all great occasions, which was most consonant to the dignity of the House, and best calculated to meet the exigencies of the public service. On the renewal of the Bank Charter, on the restriction of the Currency, on the question of the East-India Company's Charter, Committees had been appointed, and in the latter instance on the recommendation of the noble Lord himself, not for the purpose of learning the noble Lord's definite views and intentions, but for the much wiser purpose of collecting information which he intended afterwards to use. But now the appointment of a Committee was a work of supererogation, or, if not a work of supererogation, an attempt to elude that responsibility which Ministers ought always to feel and acknowledge. The object of Ministers really was, to meet the difficulties of the question in the spirit of conciliation, giving to those interests of property which were involved in the question, the guarantee of a Parliamentary Committee, and shewing that they were determined to treat the interests of property, as they ought always to be treated, with the utmost delicacy and caution. He thought it was unnecessary and injudicious in the noble Earl who spoke immediately after the noble Viscount, to have mixed up individual allusions with the important matter then under consideration; and he could assure the noble Earl, that the appointment to which he had referred had been made upon purely professional grounds, like all similar legal appointments, and upon principles which regulated other governments in making such appointments. It would have been better, and he thought it was most important, that such reflections should be separated from so delicate a discussion as that in which they were then engaged. Such a course would be most conducive to the attainment of peace and the security of property. It must be admitted that that subject, which involved the tranquillity of the country and the security and stability of the Church establishment, required the most calm and deliberate discussion; and it was for these reasons that he deprecated all party and personal reflections, which were wholly inappropriate to the debate.

Lord *Ellenborough*, in explanation, stated, that his objection to the Committee was, that it was preliminary to a bill in which Ministers should declare the principles on which they proposed to act. He thought that the Ministers ought first to bring in a bill. The noble Marquis also was mistaken when he observed, that he had supported the Government in 1825. At that period, he had the weakness to put a certain degree of faith in the noble Marquis and his associates—a weakness of which he had since had the good fortune to divest himself. As to the rest, the Committee on East-India affairs had never been proposed with a view of regulating the government of that country, but simply to procure information, of which there was great need, and he hoped, that when the India question was brought forward, the Ministry would honestly take the responsibility on themselves.

The Marquis of *Lansdown* said, he Committee on India affairs would most probably make a report with a recommendation to their Lordships, and therefore it was not wholly to procure information.

The Earl of *Carnarvon* did not mean to oppose the Committee, nor did he understand his noble friend to have done so, but he had hoped to hear some plan proposed by Ministers, which would be efficient, and equal to the danger which it was sought to avert. He certainly did not understand the noble Viscount who had proposed the Motion, to have stated any specific plan on the part of Government; but he was glad to hear from the noble Marquis, that Government had some such project in view. On this point, he perhaps did not distinctly understand what had fallen from the noble Viscount; but, at all events, he was pleased to hear that he was mistaken in supposing that the Government had no plan of their own to propose; and the time was certainly arrived, when it was necessary to secure to the Irish clergy something like an adequate remuneration for their services, for under present circumstances it was notorious, that what they collected of tithes was not sufficient for their support; but such a plan, to be efficient, should be speedy, which it could not be if the power which the Executive ought to exercise were transferred to a Committee, whose inquiries must be protracted, and lead to endless delay. What had been proposed, or rather suggested, was quite insufficient. What ought first to be done was, to put down agitation. Any measure having that object in view should have his support. He was surprised at the great care and circumspection which had been used on this subject, particularly when it was on the part of those who used such speed on subjects which tended to increase agitation, and who were so prompt in their movements when they attempted to make and unmake Constitutions. He wished more caution had been practised upon those great occasions, and that greater promptness and energy had been shown in dealing with agitation and agitators in Ireland. However, he would vote for the Committee, but, as he said before, should have more readily voted for a bill embracing the topics which he had adverted to.

Earl *Grey* had entertained a hope that a Motion brought forward with such moderation as that this evening submitted to their Lordships by his noble friend—one, too, so studiously divested of every appearance of mere party or political feeling, and which referred to a subject admitted on all hands to be surrounded with difficulties, and requiring the most delicate address for its satisfactory adjustment, would have been met with an equal spirit of moderation by noble Lords opposite, and that all would have united in a spirit of conciliation in the devising and forwarding a measure, at once calculated to preserve the rights and privileges of the Established Church, and to remove a cause of discontent, and thence an impediment to the tranquillity and prosperity of the sister country. He, therefore, was little prepared for the exhibition of angry party feeling indulged in by noble Lords opposite, and which answered no beneficial purpose whatever. The noble Earl who spoke last, said, that he was disposed to lend his support to the present Government, so far forth as their measures might seem to him based on a system of wise policy. He knew the noble Earl too well to doubt that he would act fully up to the spirit of his declaration, and therefore hoped, that the measures of Ministers would obtain his support; at the same time he must observe, that the tone of his observations that evening was not much calculated to encourage a very sanguine expectation that he would be found among the active allies of the present Government. The noble Earl seemed to approve of the accusation of the noble Baron (Ellenborough), that Ministers, in bringing forward the present Motion, shrunk from their official responsibility. He denied the assertion. Ministers shrunk not from their responsibility, either as Members of Parliament or as guiding the executive Government of the country. In proposing the present Committee of Inquiry into the machinery of the tithe system in Ireland, they were necessarily responsible, in common with every other Member of the Legislature who sanctioned the inquiry; and that inquiry, be it understood, by no means relieved Ministers from the responsibility of the measure which they might hereafter deem it their duty to bring forward, as the result of the Committee's labours. Ministers, therefore, were made doubly responsible by the present Motion—in the first place, as Members of Parliament, in sanctioning the Motion for the Committee; and, in the next place, in their official capacity, for any subsequent measure with which they might follow up the proposed inquiry. Ministers, then, did not shrink from the responsibility attached to their situation: and the assertions of the noble Baron (Ellenborough) were as uncalled for as they were incorrect. The noble Baron was in error in supposing that the circumstance of a preliminary inquiry by the Legislature at large relieved Ministers from the responsibility of any measure to which that inquiry might lead. The Committee of Inquiry, with respect to the last or preceding renewal of the Bank Charter, did not, for example, free the Government from the responsibility of the specific measure of renewal; as, in the same way, Ministers were responsible for the enactments in reference to the Currency, though these enactments were suggested by a Committee of Parliament. But, another noble Lord (Wicklow) thought, that the circumstance of there being in Ireland a systematic opposition to the payment of tithes, made it incumbent on Ministers to come at once forward with some legislative remedy, for which they alone should be responsible. As he had stated, the previous inquiry would not relieve the Government from the responsibility of the result. Besides that, the opposition to the payment of tithes in Ireland was not an opposition to the principle of tithe, but a practical impediment to the working of the machinery, calling upon Parliament to inquire whether it was possible to devise some improvement in that machinery, which would do away with the impediment in the way of its free operation. Such an inquiry could only, it was evident, be efficiently made by a Committee of Parliament, and hence the present Motion. It was fair to presume, that its labours would be speedily, as well as successfully, prosecuted: its being appointed now before the Christmas recess, would enable it to send for witnesses, documents, &c., so as to be able to enter vigorously upon its labours after the recess. Neither were Ministers, in fairness, chargeable with the necessity of appointing the present Committee. The tithe in Ireland was an old and oft-urged grievance, which had only arrived at that height which precluded longer delay, with respect to the possibility of a remedy in its machinery, on the accession of the present Ministry to office. Such a remedy was now essential to the very peace of Ireland, and could not be put off without danger to the stability of the empire. No man was more anxious than he was to promote the prosperity of that fine country—no man more deeply regretted that tardiness with which justice was meted out to her. He deeply regretted the delay of that healing measure, which their Lordships had sanctioned some two years back; for he saw in the delay *pro tanto* a diminution of its efficiency. But while he lamented that the germs of civil dissension were allowed to grow up into a rich harvest of unconstitutional excitement in that country, he felt that he, at least, and those who acted with him during his political life, with respect to the Catholic Question, were not to blame. These germs of civil dissension, however, be their parentage what it might, were in active existence on his accession to office; so that all he had to apply himself to was, if he might so speak, to mitigate their symptoms, while he endeavoured to remove their proximate causes. This Ministers had endeavoured to effect to the utmost of their ability. The noble Earl (Carnarvon) opposite, blamed them for not having wielded the powers with which the law armed them, with more vigour and resolution. Ministers, he hoped he might say, were not wanting in either—indeed, their Lordships had a guarantee in the high character of the present excellent chief governor of that country, that neither vigour nor resolution would be wanting, whenever either might be required to check sedition, and put down all proceedings dangerous to the peace and well-being of existing institutions. If new circumstances should ever require an extraordinary exertion of the executive powers of the Constitution, it was not to be doubted, that so long as the Marquis of Anglesey was the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that the Government would not shrink from having recourse to it; at the same time, he was not ashamed to declare, that he should much rather that tranquillity was preserved by means of conciliation than by force. It was a principle of his political creed—one that he had cherished for very many years, and would not then readily alter—that the best mode of checking sedition was, to remove all its causes or pretexts. This being done, all pretext for discontent removed, he would then employ with the utmost energy every constitutional force, which the preservation of public peace might require; but not, if possible, till then. On a recent occasion he had stated his unwillingness to apply to Parliament for new powers, to meet the contingencies of illegal associations, so long as the existing law was, in his mind, adequate to the preservation of social order. He felt the same reluctance with respect to illegal proceedings in Ireland. At the same time, he begged it to be distinctly understood, that if it should become necessary to have recourse to stronger laws than were at present in force, to the putting down all illegal proceedings and unconstitutional excitement in that country, he would at once apply to Parliament for them; and even, too, for severer laws than the enactment which had expired last session, and which he had permitted to drop to the ground, because, as he had stated to a noble Earl, he thought he saw the prospect of a return to tranquillity, which might be endangered by its renewal. The noble Earl (Wicklow) opposite, taunted Ministers by implication with sanctioning the Dublin Political Union and other irregular associations in Ireland, inasmuch as they were not prohibited by authority. In the same way, other noble Lords might charge them by implication, with sanctioning the proceedings of a counter-association which had lately held a public meeting. The House would see, that the Government was thus exposed to the attacks of two antagonist parties, and could only do its duty by firmly holding its course, without lending itself to or countenancing either. He had read the proceedings of the Dublin Political Union: there could be but one opinion of their violence, and of their mischievous tendency. He had also read the Resolutions of the antagonist Association, and was bound to say, that they were no less objectionable, and to be lamented by every well-wisher of good government. Thus, between the two violent and unconstitutional extremes, the Government had only a middle course of conciliation and firmness. In the eyes of some noble Lords, it might perhaps be a matter of regret that Ministers did not ally themselves with either; but their so doing would be a breach of duty. Their course was different: it was, as he had stated, one of firmness and desire to conciliate all, at the same time an inflexible determination to preserve peace and public tranquillity in Ireland; in doing which, he counted on the support of the sound part of the community. But while they were thus determined to assert the majesty of the law, he saw no reason why means might not be taken, as in the case of the present Motion, to inquire into the cause of public discontent, and to endeavour to restore peace and tranquillity to a country on which—to quote the King's Speech—Providence had bestowed so many blessings. Yes, he repeated, all that was wanting was social order, tranquillity, and good government, to raise a country so eminently distinguished by the fertility of its soil, and the intelligence and energies of its inhabitants, to a level with the most favoured nation of the earth. It was to be hoped, that the powers with which the constitutional authorities were armed, would be equal to the exigencies of the times; but if moderation and firmness should unfortunately fail, Ministers would not shrink from having recourse to the Legislature for extraordinary means, to meet extraordinary difficulties. He wished to observe, in reference to the charge made against Ministers by the noble Earl (Wicklow), that they had entered into negotiations with Mr. O'Connell, while they denounced his proceedings as contrary to law—that he did not deny, that he and his colleagues were desirous to enlist the energies and influence of that hon. and learned Gentleman on the side of the Government. It was true, that a patent of precedence was bestowed upon that Gentleman; but it was equally true, that it was a mark of preferment to which his professional reputation fully entitled him. When the energies, and public business abilities, and above all the great influence of that Gentleman in Ireland were considered, it would appear desirable, that those energies, and especially that influence, should be employed in the cause of good order; and hence it was the wish of Ministers to attach him to the Government. The preferment which was bestowed upon Mr. O'Connell, was only due to his professional station; indeed, were that Gentleman's energies as much devoted to the cause of good order as might be desired, there was no legal station in his country to which he might not fairly aspire. But no official situation was proffered to him, or, under the relations in which he stood to the Government, could be proffered to him. No offer was made to him of official appointment, which could enable him to say, that he rejected it; at least, if there was, he was wholly ignorant of it, and he was sure that none such could have been offered that he would have sanctioned. He knew not whether this explicit declaration satisfied the noble Earl (Wicklow), that he was in error as to negotiations with Mr. O'Connell, to induce that Gentleman to accept of office. No official appointment was offered to that Gentleman, with his (Earl Grey's) knowledge, or could have been offered by any one else which, under existing circumstances, he could sanction. He stated this with something like regret, because the recent conduct of Mr. O'Connell cut off all hope that his energies and influence would be directed in support of the efforts of Government, to contribute to the improvement and tranquillity of Ireland. In conclusion, he would only express a hope, that the Committee would exercise due diligence in its inquiries, and that when they should have been concluded, he hoped Ministers would be able to bring forward a measure which would, on the one side, secure the rights and privileges of the Church in Ireland, and, on the other, would remove a fruitful source of discontent from the minds of the people of that country.

Viscount *Melbourne* regretted, that his statements had not been sufficiently clear to enable their Lordships to understand them. He only wished to say, that though his experience did not authorise him to assume the decided tone of the noble Lords opposite, yet he thought he had entered into a full explanation of the views of Government. With reference to the case alluded to, of two individuals discharged after they had been convicted of conspiring illegally to oppose tithes, he wished to observe, that there were facts connected with the case which justified the remission of the punishment.

Motion agreed to, and Committee appointed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, December 15, 1831.

MINUTES.] Bills brought in. To authorize the exchange of Ecclesiastical Lands; to amend the Laws relating to Sewers; to amend the Bankrupt Laws.

Committee re-appointed. To inquire into the Commercial state of the West Indies.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. SPENCE, the Fees received by the Clerks of the Court of Chancery for three years past, distinguishing the sum each received for the taxation of Costs, and stating the largest amount ever received for the taxation of one Bill:—On the Motion of Mr. WILLIAM BROUGHAM, the amount of Fees received for the last three years for Office Copies of Ancient Records kept in the Tower, the Rolls Chapel, the Chapter House, &c.:—On the Motion of Mr. HUNT, the number of Persons confined in Prison for Smuggling in the United Kingdom; specifying the Offence for which each Prisoner was convicted, and the amount of each Fine in which he was condemned; stating, if Married, the amount or number of each Person's Family kept by the Parishes, and to what Parishes they belong:—On the Motion of Mr. BERTRAM EVANS, the Stamps used by the Newspapers and other Publications for the last ten years; all the Stamps issued to the London and Provincial Papers in the year 1830; the number of Newspapers received from, and sent to the Colonies; and the number and amount of those transmitted through the Clerks and Agents of the General Post Office.

Petitions presented. By Mr. L. HODGES, from Ramsgate, praying that the Inhabitant Householders of that Town might have Votes for the Borough of Sandwich; by Mr. SPENCE, from John Cartman, for an alteration of the Law relative to the Concealment of the Birth of Children; and from the Breeders of Horses, to render unnecessary all General Warranties.

COSTS IN CHANCERY.] Mr. *Spence* presented a Petition from Joseph Harrington, a Suitor in the Court of Chancery, complaining of the practice and proceedings in the Master's Office. The hon. Member stated, that the petitioner was interested in a will which was the subject of a dispute in the Court of Chancery. The result of the suit, was an Attorney's bill for costs to the amount of no less a sum than 7,000*l.* The petitioner had paid a part of this bill, which part he considered the whole amount fairly due: but he had been advised that, if he objected to the amount charged, his only remedy was to have the bill of costs taxed. Upon inquiry, however, the petitioner discovered that the costs of taxation would amount to no less a sum than 1,500*l.*; and the petition set forth the various items which went to make up that sum. Unfortunately this case was not altogether unparalleled in the annals of the Court of Chancery. Only a short time since, a case came before the Master of the Rolls, in which the Brewers' Company were parties. The bill was filed to recover 500*l.*, and the question afterwards arose, who was to pay the costs amounting to 900*l.* He (Mr. Spence) should consider himself called upon to dwell more on cases of so much enormity, but that he knew there was now the prospect of a speedy and effectual reform of those crying abuses. He was authorised to state, and indeed might state from his own knowledge, that one or more bills would be introduced shortly after the recess, either in that or the other House of Parliament, which he believed would effectually remedy the abuses in the Master's Office. Under these circumstances he did not consider himself called upon to dwell longer on the case detailed in the petition.

Mr. *Daniel W. Harvey* congratulated the House on the information just communicated, that a remedy was contemplated for the crying abuses of the Court of Chancery. He suggested that the taxation of costs in that Court should not be left to the Masters, who were Judges with salaries, amounting to 4,000*l.* or 5,000*l.* a-year, and ought to be better employed, but that an officer should be appointed, with a salary of 1,000*l.* whose exclusive duty it should be, to tax the Solicitors' costs. There was another point well worthy of consideration. At least forty per cent, or 3,000*l.* out of the bill of costs of 7,000*l.* referred to in the petition, he had no doubt, was expended by the Solicitor in fees to Counsel. Now, if a Solicitor was overpaid, upon the taxation he was compelled to return the amount so overpaid; but, according to the practice of the profession, the Counsel kept whatever they were paid, and were generally paid before they worked. In his opinion, the party ought to be enabled to demand and enforce restitution of all fees improperly paid to Counsel, upon the certificate of the taxing officer. He was happy, however, to believe that the subject was now in the hands of those who would remedy it, and no greater benefit could be conferred on the public, than to make the Courts of Equity equitable themselves.

Mr. *Spence* said, the remedy for the abuse of which the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. Harvey) complained, was, to a certain extent, in the hands of that branch of the profession to which the hon. Member belonged. He admitted, however, that the practice of disallowing the fees paid to Counsel on consultations was excessively ridiculous, and called for some remedy, which he had no doubt would now be applied to it.

Mr. *William Brougham* was happy to be able to corroborate the statement of his hon. and learned friend, that one or more bills would shortly be introduced, for the purpose of remedying the abuse of the Court of Chancery. The question of costs required, and had obtained, the most attentive consideration. He agreed with the hon. member for Colchester, that the Masters' time ought not to be wasted in taxing costs.

Mr. *Hunt* said, that the House had just heard a Counsel, a Solicitor, and a Master in Chancery, but he hoped none of these had any thing to do with drawing up the bills which were about to be introduced; for if they had, he (Mr. Hunt) feared the poor client would remain where he was.

The Petition to be printed.

GLOVE TRADE.] Colonel *Davies* presented a Petition from the Operatives engaged in the Glove Trade in the city of Worcester. The Petition stated, that the Glove Trade of Worcester was never in so distressed a state as at present. Upon the face of the Returns the importation of French gloves appeared to have been diminished since 1828; but he should be prepared to contend, that in reality the quantity imported had increased, but not in a legitimate way. In fact the mischief was occasioned by the operations of the smugglers. There was no less than 40,000 persons employed in this trade, and they comprehended a large number of industrious and honest people. It was his intention to move for a Select Committee to inquire into the whole of the subject. Some apprehended that nothing short of prohibition would protect the home manufacture, and should that be found to be the case, he would vote for prohibition rather than see the present melancholy distress. While the trade was permitted, any quantity of gloves could be disposed of, however obtained. The petitioners prayed for relief, and attributed their distress to the importation of French gloves.

Mr. *Sanford* said, he had a similar Petition to present from Yeovil. If, after the recess, his hon. and gallant friend moved for inquiry, that motion should have his cordial support.

Mr. *Robinson* assured the House, that the petitioners had not appealed to it for relief until they had tried every means within their reach to assist themselves. He was ready to declare, that if some means were not devised to sustain the glove trade, the country would have to support by charity a large proportion of the persons hitherto usefully engaged in that trade. When his hon. and gallant friend (Colonel Davies) brought forward the subject regularly, he should be prepared to prove, that the principles of free trade, as applied to the glove trade, had not been wisely applied, and ought to be reconsidered. The principles of free trade might have been wisely applied, if, when they were embraced by this country, they had been followed by other governments; but, as other countries had rejected these principles, he greatly doubted whether they could be persevered in by this country without great and increasing injury to the labouring classes. He had no wish to see prohibitions, but he was prepared to consent to that extreme measure, if nothing short of it could be devised, so as to give a just and fair protection to the home manufacturer.

Mr. *Gore Langton* thought it was too much the fashion to prefer the manufactures of other countries to our own.

Colonel *Torrens* observed, that measures of prohibition, would infallibly throw more people out of employment than the present system. Those who now exported goods would find no sale for their commodities, and ruin would ensue to them.

Mr. *Sadler* said, that the abstract principles of political economy would never satisfy the starving people. The situation of the working classes was gradually deteriorating since the introduction of the system of free trade. He gave his warmest support to the prayer of the petition.

Mr. *Poulett Thomson* should be prepared to state the views of his Majesty's Government on this subject when it was brought forward by the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Davies) after the recess. He should simply confine himself now to stating, that the petition just presented should receive the most anxious attention.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* thought it was impossible to make such extensive alterations as had been made in different branches of our trade, without producing great distress. He supported the prayer of the petition.

Mr. *John Weyland* felt it necessary to say a few words in favour of the petitioners. He must contend, that the arguments in favour of free trade in general, did not apply to particular trades in detail: there were exceptions to these doctrines, and the manufacture of gloves was one.

Mr. *Warburton* said, the arrangements which had been made were the best that circumstances permitted; except that the duties were rather too high, and this permitted smugglers to run contraband goods, while, under the old system, they had full opportunity to carry on an illicit trade with impunity.

Mr. *Hunt* said, there ought to be a free trade in corn, if there was to be one in silks. It was idle to talk of stopping smuggling with a duty of thirty per cent. He knew and the Secretary for the Treasury must know, that the smugglers could insure the delivery of French goods into any warehouse in London, at a charge of nine per cent above the market prices without duty. The distress of the poor must be relieved. In Huddersfield there were 13,000 persons who did not receive more than 1*s*. per week.

Mr. *Wynn Ellis* observed, that the distress was not confined to the glove trade. If the present system was to be persevered in, it was utterly impossible that the silk manufacturer could much longer exist in this country. He believed a similar statement would apply to the glove trade.

Petition to be printed.

LABOUR OF CHILDREN IN MILLS AND FACTORIES.] Mr. *Sadler* rose for leave to bring in a Bill, which should have for its object to regulate the labour of Children employed in Mills and Factories in this kingdom. Having consulted with that branch of the Government, to the peculiar province of which matters connected with trade belong, and finding that it would be more convenient to discuss the question when the particulars of the measure which he proposed were fully before the House, he should decline entering into the details until the second reading of the Bill, which he understood was not to be opposed. He did this the more readily, because he felt that no time would be wasted by that course. He was happy in anticipating that his proposition would meet with no opposition, but that its success would be triumphant, as it was grounded upon principles of humanity and policy. All that he should do at present, therefore, was, to move for leave to bring in the Bill; and, if he were allowed to do so, as he hoped he should, he begged to mention, that he should wish to take the discussion on Thursday, the 27th of January, when he would state at large the principles upon which he founded his proposition, and the reasons which justified him in originating it.

Mr. *Strickland* hoped, that the measure would meet with complete success, as there was no one subject in any point of view more important.

Mr. *Poulett Thomson* confirmed what the hon. Mover had said, as to the feelings of his Majesty's Government with respect to the proposed measure. There was no objection to the introduction of the Bill, although it would be necessary that it should receive the most mature consideration. But he begged it to be understood, that his Majesty's Ministers were by no means pledged either to support or not to oppose the Bill, as they should deem it expedient when its provisions should be known to them; there would be full opportunity for the discussion at a future period.

Mr. *Labouchere* expressed his hope, that if the Bill extended to the silk trade, the hon. Gentleman would have no objection to its being referred to a Select Committee, because there was a prevailing impression amongst the silk trade, that their case had not been fully heard by the last Committee, although the woollen and the cotton manufactures had been amply examined into. Therefore, if the Bill were intended to include the silk trade, he hoped there would be no objection to a Committee up-stairs.

Mr. *Sadler* had no hesitation in declaring, that the proposition was so founded in humanity and in policy, that no objection could justly be made to it in respect to any particular trade. He hoped the House would spare the operatives the expense of making good their case before Parliament. He was sure that what he proposed would be found unobjectionable, and not requiring an exception on account of any one trade. He embraced every branch of manufactures in it, because he was sure that the operatives, with their children, now gave up as much of their labour as the human constitution could afford.

Mr. *Labouchere* begged the hon. Gentleman would not suppose that he meant to give it as his opinion, or that of the silk trade in general, that that trade ought not to be included in the Bill; but the hon. Gentleman must be aware, that the silk trade was different from others, and he thought it would be hard upon the silk manufacturers, if they should be included without having been heard.

Reform Bill.] Mr. *Croker* begged to ask a noble Lord opposite, whom he saw at that moment in his place, a question relating to the Reform Bill. In bringing in that Bill, the noble Lord had stated, that it was formed upon a new principle, and that that principle was now found in a list of 150 boroughs, which had the lowest amount of houses, and paid the smallest share of assessed taxes. The noble Lord further said, that he was prepared to lay that list before the House, together with a letter from Lieutenant Drummond, explanatory of the grounds on which the list was formed. The noble Lord spoke of other information also, which he proposed to lay upon the Table, and which had not been, he believed, yet produced. But the question which he was desirous to put, did not so much relate to information respecting the details of the Bill, as respecting the principle which was said to be its basis. There could not possibly be any difficulty in giving that information immediately, as the noble Lord must have been in possession of it before the Bill was drawn up. He trusted, therefore, that the noble Lord did not mean to propose that the House should go to the second reading without having those documents produced upon the Table a sufficient time to enable the hon. Members to examine them. He begged to ask, therefore, whether they were presented, as had been promised, yesterday morning, for he had looked into the votes, and he found no mention of such a return?

Lord *Althorp* replied, that the documents respecting which the right hon. Gentleman inquired, did not arrive last night until the House was up. They would be in the hands of hon. Gentlemen in the morning.

Mr. *Croker* would use his best diligence, as soon as he could get the papers, to examine them, so as to be prepared for the debate. Indeed, he had given the new Bill his best attention, by looking into those papers which had been presented, and from all that he could understand about it, he had no hesitation in saying, that the Bill of this Session was liable to more suspicions even than that of last Session.

Sir *Robert Peel* asked, whether the debate was to be adjourned to the following week?

Lord *Althorp* wished to commence the debate on Friday, and to conclude it on Saturday.

Mr. *Croker* trusted, that the debate on the second reading would not be taken so early as Friday, as the papers to which he had alluded could not possibly be placed in the hands of hon. Members in sufficient time to enable them to become acquainted with the details. It was to be remembered, that the documents must have been a long time in the hands of the noble Lords who introduced the Bill. It must be so, for it was on the statements contained in those papers they formed the present Bill; unless, perhaps, they made it without the materials, as they made their former Bill. But, as he had understood, the noble Lord had stated, that the Bill was founded on the information contained in the list and the letter of Lieutenant Drummond, and the House, of course, must wish to have an opportunity, previous to the second reading, of making itself acquainted with the principles and details which had been received from that gentleman.

Lord *Althorp*: The right hon. Gentleman chooses to say, that the Bill was founded on those documents; no such thing. The schedule was founded on them. So far from saying, that they furnished the principle of the Bill, my noble friend actually stated, that the information came so late, that he was not certain but that one or two boroughs had been inserted incorrectly.

Mr. *Croker* thought, that he could confute the noble Lord, even by his own assertion. The House would please to observe that, contrary to the five other Reform Bills of his Majesty's Ministers, the new Bill had— instead of a blank to be afterwards filled up with the number of the boroughs to be disfranchised—the words "fifty-six" printed in the Bill. Now that proved, that the exact state of all the boroughs had been examined by the noble Lords, and that, in their judgments, there were fifty-six boroughs which fell exactly within the rule, whatever it should turn out to be, that they had adopted. The information upon which that rule and that number of fifty-six had been thus adopted, and made an integral and vital part of the Bill, must therefore have been, for some time, in possession of Ministers, and he (Mr. Croker) complained that the House was to be called upon to pledge itself to the most important provisions of the whole Bill, while the information on which they were founded was wilfully, as it seemed to him, kept from its knowledge.

Tithes in Ireland.] Mr. Stanley rose, and moved that the passage in the King's Speech which related to the Tithe-laws in Ireland should be read.

The Clerk of the House accordingly read the paragraph, as follows:—"In parts of Ireland a systematic opposition has been made to the payment of Tithes, attended in some instances with afflicting results; and it will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be possible to effect improvements in the laws respecting this subject, which may afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and at the same time remove the present causes of complaint."

Mr. *Stanley* then said:—In rising, in obedience to the recommendation in the most gracious Speech from the Throne, which has just been read, to move for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the law relating to Tithes in Ireland, and to ascertain whether such legislative enactments can be framed as shall combine security to the property of the Established Church, with the removal of those grievances which may be considered to exist under the present system, I am undertaking, I am well aware, a task of no ordinary responsibility. I know that I shall be told, on the one hand, by those who inflexibly adhere to the support of whatever exists, that we are introducing unnecessary innovations—that we are creating needless agitation upon subjects which would be better left in quiet—that we are lending the sanction of official authority to idle clamour and unfounded complaints—that we are originating measures which will invade the very foundations of the vested rights of property, and giving encouragement to unprofitable and dangerous divisions. I am also convinced that, on the other hand, some Gentlemen will tell us, that we see the existing evils clearly, but shrink from applying the remedy which alone can be efficient; that our judgment is warped by our prejudice; that we dare not look at the question as we ought, and that nothing less than what would amount to a sweeping demolition of existing institutions, and an extensive spoliation of property and subversion of right, is sufficient to remove the causes of those grievances which have spread to so wide an extent, and produce such ruinous consequences. But, Sir, as I should hold it to be unworthy of his Majesty's Government to shrink before the magnitude of the difficulty or delicacy of the task, so in the particular situation in which I find myself—honoured with a place in that Administration, and charged in particular with the superintendence of affairs which, at this moment, involve questions of not less deep interest and importance than at any former period of the history of this empire—I should deem myself unworthy of the trust which is confided to me, were I to refuse to offer myself, however inadequately, as the organ of his Majesty's Government, in bringing before the House our view as to the existing evils, and those points to which we conceive, most especially, legislative interference ought to be directed. But, Sir, I own that I feel more than a common responsibility on this account, that it is not alone as a Minister of the Crown, and, therefore, anxious for the security and tranquillity of Ireland, which, in my conscience, I believe cannot be effected by any other means than we propose—it is not only in that character that I present myself on this occasion, but it is, indeed, the higher responsibility of a Christian and a sincere Protestant—an ardent supporter of that Church to which I belong, anxious for its respectability, its security, and its very existence, but still more anxious for the support of the religion which that Church is calculated to maintain and to propagate—that I now call upon the House of Commons, a large proportion of whom belong to that Church, seriously and earnestly to consider what is the state in which that Church and our common religion are at present placed. A right hon. Baronet opposite, the member for Tamworth, in commenting upon some observations which I made the other day upon this passage of the King's Speech, expressed the greatest alarm at the notion of a Committee of Inquiry, and argued, with no inconsiderable plausibility, that so long as this question should be pending before the House of Commons, so long as it should be known, that the attention of Parliament was turned to the question, the foundation of the compact between the Clergy and their parishioners would be broken up, the payment of tithes would cease, and a complete anarchy would take place, as respected the Clergy and the people. But let the right hon. Gentleman recollect, that tithes are not a case in which payments from week to week, or from day to day, are going on. They are not one of the ordinary transactions of trade or commerce, in which, whenever any uncertainty arises, a stagnation of business necessarily takes place, and a consequent depression is felt. Tithes are paid half-yearly, for the most part; and let it be recollected, that one of those periods of payment has but recently elapsed, and no further demand can be made until after the Easter recess. Therefore I say, that, if there ever was a time when it was safe to enter upon the consideration of the subject, the present is the time, as we have a longer period for the discussion, without that difficulty arising, than we could have at any other time. But the right hon. Baronet objects to our proceeding by Committee, and says, that it would have been better to have taken upon ourselves the responsibility of placing before the House a bill for the remedy of the grievances which we consider to exist. Now let me put it to the right hon. Baronet himself, if we had pursued that course—if, without notice in the King's Speech, or even with notice, we had brought in a bill to make such alterations as we conceived necessary in the existing laws—would not the right hon. Baronet have been the first man to call upon us to act with great caution—well and deeply to consider what we were going to do not—to hurry ourselves or the House of Commons into a decision—but to lay before the House all the information which we might possess, but of which it was not in possession, and neither to act ourselves, nor to urge the House to act, without the fullest investigation and the most minute inquiry? The right hon. Baronet would have used all those arguments which he, as a political opponent, so well knows how to apply. [Sir *Robert Peel* said, across the Table, that the right hon. Secretary was mistaken as to his feelings on the occasion]. I am, surely, not mistaken in saying, that the right hon. Baronet objected to our not taking the responsibility upon ourselves, but asking for a Committee; and I am endeavouring to show, that we should have been liable, from the same quarter, to an opposite accusation. [Sir *Robert Peel* said, you should not assume, that I mean to oppose the Motion]. I am sorry if I annoy the right hon. Baronet by my observations; I had not an opportunity of answering the right hon. Baronet's remarks the other day, when they were made, and I had hopes, that he would not object to my taking notice of them now, when he will have an ample opportunity of replying. [Sir *Robert Peel* again objectedto the right hon. Gentleman's arguing upon the inference that he meant to oppose the Motion.] Then, if the right hon. Baronet will allow me, I will argue as if the opposition might come from some other quarter. I will suppose it might be possible, that an objection might be taken in some quarter to the mode we are pursuing, and that objection I am anxious to answer, before I proceed further with the subject. I will suppose it might be objected that we ought not upon a question of this importance, to have taken notice of the subject in the Speech from the Throne, unless we were prepared to follow it up immediately by a bill for the remedy of the existing evils. I will suppose it might be argued by some, that we are only unnecessarily protracting agitation, which ought to be kept still and quiet—that we ought not to have alluded to the subject which is now distracting one-half of Ireland, but that we should have postponed the matter till after Christmas, leaving the Recess to be a period of unanswered observations, the Government not having had an opportunity of stating their views, and taking no notice of the subject during that interval. I say, that if we had done so, we should have been trifling with the feelings of the people of Ireland, and disregarding the evils which prevail in that country; and I for one felt, that we best discharged our duty, by advising his Majesty to notice the subject in his Speech from the Throne, and by taking the earliest opportunity of calling the attention of the House to it. It may be said—and this the right hon. Baronet did not say—but it may be said, and it will be said, that the present tithe system is working well—that no complaint can be made—that nothing ever exceeded the harmony between the Protestant clergyman and his Catholic parishioners—that all we have to do is strictly and vigorously to enforce the rights of the Protestant Clergy, and to support the violated authority of the law. If that be the case, the Government certainly is without excuse, because, in that case, we should have introduced an unnecessary subject of agitation, and proceeded to make changes where none were called for. But if I can show, that the question is one which, whether it be discussed here or not, must be agitated elsewhere—if I can show, that the state of Ireland on this subject is such, that the law can hardly, if at all, be enforced, and, if enforced, that your very success will ruin your own cause, and produce redoubled mischief—that your triumph will only engender fresh discontent and increased discussion—if I can show, that the tithe laws, as they stand at present, place the clergy in the painful situation of being exposed, on the one hand, to the danger of absolute penury, beggary, and exile, or of being liable, on the other, to the charge of avarice, extortion, and oppression,—if I can show, that the system is injurious to those who ought to receive the tithes, and not less oppressive in its effect on those who are bound to pay them; if, I say, I can make out this case, I shall have a fair ground for calling on the House, without any further delay, to take into its serious consideration, the law which produces such disastrous consequences, and to apply a remedy to the evil, both as regards those who are to receive, and those who are to pay tithes. But we are told, in some quarters, that we are yielding to clamour—that we are giving way to an unjust call, which has been repeated over and over again, and over and over again put down by strong measures. I do not mean to deny, that if the question had been earlier taken up—if former Governments had not abstained from meeting it—we might now have entered upon it with a better prospect of success; or, rather, with a greater certainty of arriving at a satisfactory adjustment. But are we to be blamed for a delay which we did not occasion? or, because others have increased the magnitude of the danger by delay, will it be said, that we ought to delay in our times, and leave to our successors the remedy of an evil which will then have become all but insuperable? But if we do not yield to the clamour, as it is called—if we acknowledge that the cry has been raised over and over again, and over and over again suppressed—is that a proof that your strong laws and rigorous enactments, however effective—that the exercise of the power obtained from complaisant Parliaments—has remedied the evil? or is not rather a proof that the evil still remains and cannot be remedied, unless you remove the cause which has produced the excitement? It may be pardoned me, although I do not say, that his Majesty's Government is driven by clamour to this measure, although I repudiate such an assertion—I may be permitted to state, however painful the inquiry may be, what is at present the condition of that country, and what has been its condition for nearly twelve months, only differing in the increasing intensity of the evil, and the consequent difficulty of the remedy, what are the feelings and opinions of the people, resulting from the system which now exists with regard to tithes. The House will recollect, that in the course of last winter, when various attempts were made to excite tumult and discord, and to violate the laws and settled institutions of the country, amongst the different modes and descriptions of agitators, men went about the country under the pretext of playing at certain games. Parties calling themselves hurlers, assembled for the purpose, as they denominated it, of hurling against tithes. They denounced both the incumbents who presume to exact, and the people who presume to pay tithes. I do not charge them with having originally produced the spirit of discontent; but they succeeded in spreading it. Those bodies were put down. The ordinary operations of the law were found sufficient for that purpose. The hurlers ceased to go round; but the spirit which incited them did not cease when they ceased to assemble. The discontent began in the county of Kilkenny, and has proceeded through the counties of Carlow, the Queen's County, a considerable part of Wicklow, Wexford, Tipperary, the King's County, Longford, and Westmeath. Through the whole of these counties the system has been more or less in operation of tacitly, but determinedly, resisting the payment of tithes, and of intimidating those who claimed them. We are told, that we should have rigorously enforced the exercise of the law—that police and military were at our disposal—that we might have protected the persons of those who were engaged in enforcing the claim, and have secured the payment of all that was due, and put down this wide-spread conspiracy. My answer to this is, that if this House should think fit to appoint a Committee to inquire into the subject, I shall be ready to lay before it the fullest information as to the means which have been in the power of his Majesty's Government, the course which we have pursued, and the results which that course has produced. But let the House remember, that, in this case, there has been, in many instances, no disturbance — nothing that the law could take hold of—no resistance to established authority; but, at the same time, as I have said, a tacit and determined resolution to avail themselves of all means in their power, without rendering themselves liable to any risk. The right hon. Baronet told us, the other day, that we were in this dilemma—either, that the claims of the clergy are legal or they are not; that if they are legal they ought to be enforced; and all opposition to them is illegal, and ought to be put down. I fully acknowledge to the right hon. Baronet that the claims of the clergy are strictly legal. I never denied it—I always supported that opinion. But I will take the liberty of saying, that there may be, on the one hand, a strictly legal exercise of a right, and, on the other hand, an equally legal opposition to the enforcement of that right. With regard to tithes, I say, that the case stands precisely in that situation. The Clergy are entitled to tithe as their property, surrounded by certain restrictions, subject to certain outgoings and conditions; and the same law which enforces the exercise of that right, and acknowledges it to be legal, gives also to those who are subject to that claim a legal protection against exorbitant or oppressive demands. If any man is possessed of a landed estate producing a gross income of 1,000*l.* a-year, and if the expenses of management, or the risk or difficulty of collection, reduce its amount to 700*l.* a-year instead of 1,000*l.*, he has no right to call upon the Legislature to remove those restrictions to which he is liable, and cannot complain of the operation of the law, which leaves him but 700*l.* a-year, although the value of his land is reduced by 300*l.* This, then, I say, is precisely the case in the instance of tithes. The Clergy have a right to protection against any resistance to their claims, except such as is sanctioned and authorized by the law. But, amongst the various accusations which have been made against his Majesty's Government, there is one which I confess I heard with some surprise, because it came from a quarter from which more than any other, I did not expect such an attack. Whatever I might have expected from some other Members of this House, I certainly did not think that the right hon. member for Harwich would have charged us with neglecting the interests of the Clergy, or failing to protect their rights; because, at the moment when the right hon. Gentleman made that charge, he might have known, and I cannot but think he did know, that if there be a single clergyman who, in the strict and rigid enforcement of his rights, met with ampler support from the Government than others, that clergyman is the Dean of St. Patrick's the brother of the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *Dawson* said, that the right hon. Gentleman was under a misapprehension: he had made no such charge—on the contrary, he distinctly exculpated the Government on the occasion to which he alluded.

Mr. *Stanley:* I understood the hon. Gentleman to accuse the Government of not having used the power which they had in their hands. If the hon. Gentleman did not say so, then I shall abstain from stating the full and ample assistance which the Government gave in the case to which I was alluding. I will only say, that not only were those who went to collect tithes protected by the police and military, but in many instances the cattle seized under distraint for tithes were led, guarded by an escort of police and military, to the sea-side, in order to be transported to this country to be sold. I know that we are now exposed to the most opposite imputations, and that it is difficult to avoid the charge of negligence on the one hand, and, on the other, of acting with needless severity. In speaking of the state of those districts, especially of Kilkenny, Carlow, and the Queen's County, I do not mean to say, that in some instances there was not violence: but the general system of opposition was such that it was extremely difficult to deal with it. When a distraint was appointed, the cattle were kept shut up in the houses in the day, and only turned out to pasture at night, when a seizure could not legally be made; and, on the approach of the Proctor with the military and police, signals were sent round to have the cattle put out of the way. If the seizure was effected, there was usually no resistance. When the cattle were brought to sale in due time, no man would expose himself to the consequences of violating the silent compact that they were not to be purchased. The collector then bought them in himself. They were taken from the spot and carried to the sea-side. On the road no man would sell provender for their support, and at night no man would admit them to be sheltered in his stables. They were brought over to this country, and here a similar determination has been acted on, so that no man will buy cattle that is branded as having been seized for Irish tithes. In this state of affairs, I will only say, that there must be some alteration in the law. What the remedy may be is not the subject for discussion now, but may best be considered in the Committee. According to the present system (I fear that I am fatiguing the attention of the House with these details), according to the present system, the clergyman has three modes for enforcing payment of his tithes. When the sum is under 10*l.* he may issue a summons by process against the tythe-payer, returnable before two Magistrates, on whose order he is able to distrain for the amount due; but in this mode the litigation may not be so speedily at an end, for the tithe-payer has no difficulty in offering a sham plea before the Magistrates, without the smallest foundation in fact; but which at once takes the case out of the jurisdiction of the Magistrates, and transfers it to a higher tribunal. The second mode is by summons to the officer of the Ecclesiastical Court; but that court is one of extreme vexation, and when the clergyman has succeeded in it, he has obtained nothing more than a monition, which is only evidence of a sum being due, and then process issues, under which he may resort to the civil jurisdiction. But here again the defendant may put in a sham plea; and, if so, the superior Court will, upon that, although it may be, as in the other case, utterly without foundation, issue a prohibition. If the case itself should be removed into the Superior Court, which it may be, then both parties will be subject to a most inordinate expense. I believe I am correct in saying, that no costs are received or paid by either party to the other, so that if the clergyman, on each individual case, should be successful, and obtain the right he demands, he will subject himself to ten times the expense of the sum he is seeking to recover. There is a third mode, but it is one of a most harassing, vexatious, and oppressive kind; and, to the honour of the Clergy I may mention, that, I believe very few indeed among them have ever resorted to it. It is, to file a bill in Equity. In that case, the greatest part of the difficulty which in the other modes presents itself in the way of the clergyman, is removed; for, by thus proceeding in Equity, the clergyman may combine all the different parties in one suit; but even there, should he ultimately be successful, the result will be, that the clergyman, though a gainer on the suit, will be a loser in his pocket. I will not trespass on the time of the House by making general observations on the evils of the system of tithes, with which every man in England and Ireland must be practically conversant. There is no man who is not aware, that tithes act as a burthen on improvements, and on the skill of the farmer; they check *pro tanto*, successful industry; and above all, there is no clergyman, in this country particularly, who does not feel that they are a source of litigation and of ill-will between the parson and the tenant; that they place both in a situation, and on a footing towards each other, from which both must equally wish to be relieved; that they destroy that mutual kindness, and suspend that mutual exercise of spiritual duties, and those mutual acts of friendship, which it would be the happiness of the one to give, and of the other to receive, if clergymen and parishioners were as they ought to be—united and living in harmony together. But if that is the case in England, I ask how much more must it be the case in Ireland? I entreat English Members and Protestant Members to consider this—I do not ask Irish Members (for I know the terms they would use, in speaking on this subject); I say I do not ask Irish Members to state the feelings that are engendered in Ireland by this system, between the Clergy of the Irish Church and their Roman Catholic parishioners. I will not introduce here any remarks about that endless vexation—that system of harassing, petty grievances—by which extortion is practised by the tithe collectors unknown and unsanctioned by the clergyman, who, in the necessary execution of his duty, can know nothing of them, but in whose name they are perpetually practised by the Tithe-proctor. I will now leave this part of the subject, and go to a more pleasant part of my duty: and giving every credit to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (the member for the University of Cambridge) for the bill which he introduced, I am bound in honour and fairness to say, that that bill remedied a great portion of the real evils and abuses that had existed in the Irish tithe system. That bill removed in a great measure the bad effects of a tax proportioned in its pressure to the success of the individual in life, but it left the tithes, or an equivalent, assessed upon the whole parish as a burthen, which the landlord, when he took the land, and the tenant, when he took the lease, equally covenanted and understood he was bound to pay. So far, however, as removing particular local grievances goes the greatest possible benefit has resulted from the Tithe Composition Act wherever that measure has been, as in many instances, adopted. It has been I admit, of great advantage; but even under the bill of the right hon, Gentleman there are many grievances still subsisting which want redressing, and in which the evils of the old system are still felt, though the Protestant Clergy, instead of possessing only the remedies I have already described as belonging to the old system, are now in possession of the rights and remedies of landlords. Even, however, under this new system, there are evils to which I may be allowed to refer, and they are mentioned in a letter from Archdeacon Cotton, the Rector of Thirles, who states in language in which I can make no improvement, some of the prominent difficulties which the Clergy have still to contend with:—"I am not asking payment for any tithes of this last harvest, but am merely suing for arrears of former years, and suing in the only way which the law provides—namely, by civil bill process at the Quarter Sessions, for notes voluntarily passed by the tithe-payers, which notes ought to have been paid long ago, but which the parties uniformly decline paying, until compelled to it by course of law. More than 1,000*l.* is now due to me on such notes; and as these sums are owing by about 500 persons, the law requires that each person at his house, shall be served with a process before he is brought into Court: how great a difficulty, if resistance be made, presents itself even in this first stage! Yet this is far from the whole; for even if these processes be served by means of extraordinary military succour, the presence of the person who served them, and is oath to that effect will be required at the Sessions: should he be prevented by violence or deterred by threats (a very likely matter in the present state of things), the whole of these, accomplished with so much difficulty, becomes as mere waste paper. Again, if the person who witnessed the promissory notes be deterred in the same way from appearing, the notes become useless; and the clergyman is not only defrauded of his rights, long and painfully sought for, and acknowledged even by the parties themselves, but moreover is put to considerable expense in legal proceedings, all of which will then fall upon himself. Still further, if these obstructions are surmounted, and the assistant barrister is satisfied as to the justice of the claims, and grants all the decrees, is the end now gained? Far from it. Another stage of difficulty is yet to be passed, and the same brute force will be brought forward to resist execution of the Court's judgment; and who will dare, in the present state of that district, to execute a single decree? In the mean time, for every one of these I must have advanced 7*s.* 6*d.*, the whole 500 of which may possibly be entirely useless." That, Sir, is the statement of a Protestant clergyman of the circumstances attending his endeavour to enforce claims, not denied to him as a matter of right by any man, but denied to him in fact by the process to which, by the law, he was obliged to have recourse in order to enforce them. Of the state to which clergymen are reduced under this system—of the state in which they are placed, it is difficult to conceive that any man in this House, who has not been in Ireland, can have an adequate idea. Many are in a state bordering on destitution, if not in absolute want. They have been compelled to part, not only with the luxuries, but in many cases, with the comforts to obtain the necessaries of life, and, I may add, that sometimes even the necessaries of life have scarcely been obtained. If I wished to place their condition in a strong light before the House, I could not do better than give to the House, the statement made by a clergyman of the Established Church, a Mr. Butler, of the parish of Burnchurch, exhibiting the state in which he and his family are existing. With the permission of the House I will read his statement and I shall have nothing more to do than to repeat in his very words the description which he has given —"You are aware that a meeting of hurlers, persons unconnected with the parish, assembled at my house, and that I would not submit to their intimidation. Since that day one of my proctors was most cruelly murdered. The other has been obliged, privately, to leave the country. An unfortunate server of latitats was taken by force from twenty-five police, and by a miracle escaped death. The most foul and false calumnies have been published concerning me in the *Kilkenny Journal,* and myself and two of my sons have finally been obliged to fly the country: and after a residence of more than thirty-six years, during which time my sole endeavour was to benefit my parishioners, I have been banished from my home and my duty, a starving exile. The income of the parish is above 2,000*l.* a year: the sums payable out of that income amount to more than 600*l.* a year, to wit, interest on money borrowed for building the glebe-house; quit rent; Crown rent; instalment to the Board of First Fruits; rent of glebe; schoolmaster's salary; rent of school-house; four curates' proxies; and exhibits; insurance of house and offices which the law requires to be paid, and the charge for management. The money to pay these demands must be provided and paid. I have sold my horses, advertised my carriage, parted with all my labourers and servants, and broken up my entire establishment. I have now but one woman servant; and I believe that I am not the only clergyman in the same situation—reduced from comfort to absolute poverty. No remuneration could tempt any person to view the parish—no process-server appointed by the assistant-barrister will serve a tithe process—no bailiff dare make his appearance; and if legal decrees were obtained, they could not be executed. The farmers say, that they have completely abolished tithes; and that they never will pay, until they know what Parliament will do." Under these circumstances, if only for the sake of the Protestant Church of Ireland, I have felt it my duty to come before Parliament, and to call on Parliament to examine, what are the laws which leave the clergy in this destitute condition—for their sake alone, I say, I might ask this. But if, besides what I have already stated, I am able to show, that the same causes which have created this distress among the clergy, have been the occasion of vexation to the tithe-payers, I think I shall have made out a case, both on the one side and the other, to justify me in calling on you to relieve the Clergy, and by doing so, at the same time to remedy the evils under which the peasantry are suffering. You will thus dry up the sources of oppression, injurious alike to both parties, and place both in that situation which both ought to occupy, while you will destroy those causes of complaint which, not for years, but for centuries, have afflicted Ireland, arising out of the system of her tithes. I believe, that there are but few cases in which there are charges against the Clergy for extortion or oppression: that there are some, I am aware; but, for the honour of the Clergy, I believe they are but few, and I believe, too, that the Clergy would have a right to demand, that on going into this investigation, you should see what is the acreable rate of charges in Ireland, compared with that which is really charged upon the land, by the clergy of the Church of England. I have at this moment in my hand, a complaint of certain parishioners, in answer to which the clergyman states the rate of the acreable tax. The complaint is in the form of a petition. The right hon. Gentleman then read the following statement:—

"The Petition of the Landholders of the Union of Kells,

"Humbly showeth,—That your Petitioners, from the depression of the times, the exorbitant rents and taxations with which they are encumbered, and unable to discharge much longer, are under the necessity of applying to your Reverence for reduction in the amount of the tithes which are levied on them, and your Petitioners humbly hope that your Reverence will take their state of destitution into consideration, and comply with their earnest and reasonable request; and Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

In reply to this petition the clergyman made the following statement:

"The Union contains by the applotment book, 9,585 0 21 acres; is set for 1,075*l.* late currency, which amounts to 992*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* Of this sum a lay impropriator receives 200*l.* per annum. The average amount per acre is not quite 2*s.* 2*d.* It is almost all tillage, and produced before the composition was entered into 1,600*l.* per annum. It was reduced to what the Union paid fifty years ago when the composition was effected. The parishioners do not complain of the amount, but say they are forbid to pay. I have two curates to pay out of my income, and have been compelled to build a glebe out of my own pocket, which has cost upwards of 2,000*l.*"

I will not, Sir, make further extracts from this statement; I only mention this, for the sake of showing, that I believe in many cases, as in this, it is not the amount of the tithes that is felt as a grievance, but the mode of exacting them under the old system, by the conduct of the tithe-proctor. Under the new system, the process-server has taken the place of the tithe-proctor, and the peasantry are still harassed with the constant and vexing applications for petty sums; and, above all, they are irritated by the notion that the Catholic peasantry are paying a Church, the doctrines of which they are taught not to believe in. I have heard the case argued, but I have never heard it argued in a way to convince me, that the tithes, except in consequence of the uncertainty in the old forms, fall upon the occupying tenant; for, whatever may be the amount of that charge, I believe that that charge falls not on the tenant, but on the landlord. If I had any doubt whatever on the subject, that doubt would have been removed by the Tithe Composition Act, which enacts that all lessees, after the passing of that Act, shall set-off the payments they make of tithes as and for a certain portion of rent, and the tenant shall be entitled to this set-off on exhibiting the clergyman's receipt for tithes. Does it not follow from that, as the tithes are allowed as a deduction from the rent, that if they were not paid to the clergyman, they would be paid to the landlord, who would have the right to demand them? So that I believe, that if the right to demand these tithes were removed to-morrow from the clergyman, and were vested in the landlord, the peasantry would reap no benefit, for they would be exacted with more rigour by the Protestant landlord than they are now by the members of the Protestant Church. But, then comes the positive grievance, which is felt throughout the country—namely, that it is a direct payment made by a Catholic population to a Protestant Church, which is even more objected to than if made to an absentee landlord. But if it is argued, as it has been, that the competition among the farmers is such, that the landlord has only to take what sum he pleases, and put it on the land he lets, in order to induce the tenant, not to pay, but to promise to pay, it is right that that fact to which I have already alluded, should be known—and that it should be known where the pressure really does come from; and if the pressure is from the exorbitant demand of the landlord, it should not, as it cannot in justice, be charged on the moderate demand of the clergyman. I have confined myself almost exclusively to the vexation to which the tenant and the tithe-payer are liable, under certain circumstances. I will not tempt Irish eloquence to describe what the peasantry suffer under other circumstances—that eloquence which is the true Irish power, as it is founded upon Irish feeling and Irish experience of the injuries felt by the peasantry of Ireland, but which, I must say, cannot fairly be charged upon the Irish Church. I will quote from a letter I have received on this subject, the circumstances to which I allude. It is a letter from a clergyman, a most active Magistrate, residing in one of the disturbed districts of the country. He states circumstances of such a nature, that I believe every man of feeling will agree with me, are enough to rouse the indignation of the most torpid, so that it would be almost impossible for the peasantry, or for any human being, to submit to them in silence. He states his experience of what the circumstances of the peasantry were before the Tithe Composition Act was passed. "There are a vast number of instances in my own parish, where one poor man, whose whole tithes annually do not amount to more than 1*s.* 8*d.* per annum, and yet subject him to have his cow, sheep, pig, or horse, taken and driven to pound six times in the year for tithes, and liable upon each and every driving to a charge of 2*s.* 6*d.* driver's fees, besides the expense of impounding and waste of time from his labour in seeking the person duly authorised to give him a receipt. He is liable to be summoned, moreover, and decreed for vestry cess once in the year, making annually seven calls on account of the Church, to his little plot of one acre: besides, his little holding is liable to two calls in the year for Grand Jury public money, and frequently to two calls more for Crown and quit-rent. Thus eleven calls are made upon his small holding in the year, besides his landlord's rent, and for sums trifling in themselves, but perplexing and ruinous in the costs which attend them. Surely such are hardships that ought to be removed." On each of these occasions of a distress being levied, an exorbitant fee also is payable. Is it possible then, I say, for any peasantry under such circumstances, not to be roused into excitement by such a system; or is it possible to believe, that such a system can be for the benefit of the Protestant Church; or that it can receive anything but injury from these exactions? The clergyman, indeed, has nothing to do with them. In the first instance, he often pays 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound to a person to collect the tithes; that person pays something less to another to undertake that duty, and so the matter goes on till it gets into the hands of the very lowest class of men, who almost live in the whiskey shops, and who eke out the remuneration by means which the Protestant clergyman, if he knew how the payment of the tithes was enforced, would shudder with abhorrence at the instruments he unknowingly employs. What I conceive is the cause of the great grievances that the clergy suffer in the pursuit of their legal rights, and of the claims which the law gives them a right to demand, is, that they are compelled to obtain payment of their tithes from a number of occupants for small amounts, which subjects them to most vexatious expenses, and which, in the ordinary mode of levying the tithes, compels him to put the other parties to great expense. It seems to me that this is a grievance that renders it impossible for the clergy to substantiate their rights—it is a source of great vexation—it is most harassing equally to those who have to receive, and to those who have to pay. Then, again, the persons who are subject to pay this small tax are generally persons in the lowest situation of life. There is a difference, too, between the landlord and the clergy. The landlord may subdivide his property as much as he pleases—he knows, from the amount of his property, how much he expects to obtain from each of his tenants. He has certain modes of enforcing his claims, which are also definite and settled by mutual agreement. The clergyman has the same remedies, but he can exercise no power over the sort of persons who shall become liable to him—he can exercise no choice, whether they shall be a pauper tenantry or not, but must take them as the landlord chooses to make them. These persons, too, are often not able to pay, and even when they are most willing to pay, they are most liable to be intimidated. If in the parish there are a small number of persons who consent to defraud the clergyman of his rights, those persons who are willing to pay have no protection afforded them against midnight violence, against intimidation, and against threats; and I could show numerous instances in which the tenants have been perfectly willing to pay, but they dared not, for they would have been placed, if they had consented to pay, under the ban of an anonymous assailant, who generally is able to enforce his arbitrary decrees. The Tithe Composition Act having effected so much good, it becomes necessary to look to those causes which have prevented it from having a more general extension. There are two or three causes permanently acting, which prevent its coming into universal operation. The Composition Act divides over the whole of the parish those tithes that were originally raised from the tillage of the land alone. Those, therefore, who possess grazing land, have a strong inducement to resist the application of the Act, and their opposition has been one of the causes which have prevented the Act from coming into general operation. Another cause arises from the opposition which the Bishops have, in many cases not improperly, offered to the terms agreed on between the clergy and their parishioners. In many cases, the incumbents have been willing to agree to a reduction of what they had legally a right to demand; but as every agreement of this sort was necessarily submitted to the Bishop, for his approval, the Bishop, in many cases, refused his consent, as he thought that these agreements were sometimes of such a nature, that, if established, the permanent interests of the Church would be endangered by them. There is another cause, which, to a great extent, has interposed to prevent the adoption of the Tithe Composition Act—I mean where the tithes have been divided among several proprietors, and where some of these proprietors have been trustees for charities or hospitals. In such cases the resident incumbents have often been willing to compound for a smaller sum than they were legally entitled to demand, but the trustees have, from a sense of duty, refused to accept any composition that was one farthing below that which by law they were entitled to. They thought that by the nature of their trust, they were bound to demand the utmost farthing that the law guaranteed to them. Another, and the last cause of the evils of the existing system is, that in the collection of the tithes, in the ascertaining of their amount, in the driving and in the process-serving, the clergyman becomes the most prominent person with his parishioners. With regard to most of them, this is the only point of view in which he is brought into contact with them. I say, therefore, that it is not possible to conceive a system more hostile to the interests of the Church, than one in which the clergyman is seen chaffering with his parishioners on pecuniary matters. There are various modes in which the existing system might be altered. In the first place, it is said, that the Government ought to take into their own hands the whole revenues of the Church, and that out of these revenues the Clergy ought to be paid. I think there are strong objections in principle to that course, and that, if adopted, it would be found very inconvenient in practice. In the first place, it would afford no relief to the persons who pay the tithes; for it would be the duty of the Government to enforce the payment of them more strictly than the clergy do now. The clergy, too, would be put in a situation of less permanent security of their income, and from the circumstance of their having a fixed income, they would not have the interest they now have in the improvement and increasing value of the land. Another plan to remedy the evils of the present system has been, to adopt a perpetual corn-rent, but in that case the clergy, as it seems to me, would not have the same security, nor would obtain the same relief, as in a complete change of system. In bringing forward this Motion, I do not wish to pledge the House to adopt any particular system; but there is one mode in which, as it seems to me, all the grievances might be remedied, and all the necessary securities obtained, and all the evils to the parishioners and to the clergy avoided, so that hardly even the pretence of complaint would be left to either party, I look, as to the ulterior object of this Motion, to a commutation of tithes for landed property, That commutation does not seem to me impossible. It will be our duty to take those rules which will produce a mutual benefit to clergy and parishioners, that will increase the amount of good will between them, which alone will be productive of great advantage to the clergy, and these objects, I think, can be obtained by making a general and extensive, if not an entire, commutation of tithes for land. I am fatiguing the patience of the House in thus going at length into this subject, which, in some of its details, is necessarily very dry. When I have proved, as I think I have done, that the present system is vexatious—is prejudicial to all parties, and actually ruinous to the Church; that it is, and always has been, and will be, a ready handle to agitators—to those who wish to disturb the peace of the country—I think I have said enough to induce the House to grant a Committee to examine into the state of that law which produces such consequences. I call upon hon. Members, as they value the tranquillity of Ireland, the peace and prosperity of her people, the advantage of the Church, the happiness of her peasantry, and of the lower, aye, and of the higher orders of her ministers of religion—nay, as they value religion itself—I entreat them to consent to the inquiry; and, in the terms of his Majesty's Speech, to adopt such legislative "improvements in the laws respecting this subject as may afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and at the same time remove the present causes of complaint." I beg to move, that a Select Committee be appointed, to inquire into the collection and payment of tithes in Ireland, and the state of the law relating thereto, and to report their observations thereupon to the House.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that from the manner in which the right hon. Secretary had alluded to him, he (the right hon. Secretary) must have supposed that he had come down to the House to give his most strenuous opposition to the present Motion. Now there was nothing in the expressions used by him on the first night of the session, which could justify the right hon. Secretary in entertaining such a notion; and he never recollected an occasion on which the propriety of abiding by the rule of not referring to what had fallen from hon. Members in former debates, was more forcibly illustrated than it had been that evening. A great part of the speech the House had just heard, turned upon expressions which the right hon. Secretary had imputed to him, but which, in point of fact, he had never employed. Although he was not prepared to offer any opposition to the present Motion, he must be pardoned if he said a few words upon it. He was too deeply impressed with a sense of the melancholy condition to which Ireland was reduced by agitation, to lend himself to the views of any persons who thought that they could forward their party or personal objects, by opposing the Government on this question. He could not imagine any thing more wicked than an attempt on the part of individuals to obtain benefit for themselves from embroiling the politics of Ireland. Wherever else they fought the battles of party, let not Ireland be the arena selected for them. Entertaining these sentiments, he could not at the same time, help declaring it to be his opinion, that though the importance of the subject might require notice in the King's Speech, it was impolitic to make a reference to it there, if the Government were not prepared with a distinct plan for remedying the grievances of which they admitted the existence. The evil would be considerably aggravated, in case the interval were long between the mention of the subject in the Speech, and the introduction of the remedial measure contemplated by Government. He hoped, that when the Committee was appointed, it would not lose a day in inquiring whether the Government had properly enforced the existing laws relative to the payment of tithes. He had not heard any charge made against the Government, for having neglected its duty in this respect. He had not preferred, nor did he intend to prefer, any such charge himself; and if such a charge were preferred, he trusted, that not this, but another Committee would be appointed to examine into the truth of it. He had hoped, that the right hon. Secretary would have explained his plan more in detail than he had done on the present occasion. He fully admitted the existence of the evils of which the right hon. Secretary complained. He could not know what he did know of the Protestant Church of Ireland, without feeling the necessity of relieving its ministers from a condition the most deplorable that could be imagined. He believed, that the right hon. Secretary had not at all exaggerated the melancholy situation in which they were placed. If a plan for the alteration of the present system of Tithe-laws had been regularly laid before the House, he could suppose the necessity for appointing a Select Committee to examine its details. But the intimation of the existence of any such plan was very vague. The suggestion of the right hon. Secretary, that some mode might be devised of commuting tithes for land, even if it could be acted upon, would provide no immediate remedy. It might be proper to adopt such a measure, however remote its operation, but he thought the policy of it at least questionable, and that it would avail little, if it were the only measure in contemplation. They were now on the point of separating for the recess, and as nothing explicit had been stated that evening by the right hon. Secretary, all Ireland would be at a loss to know what was meant by the allusion to it in the King's Speech. He had before stated, that the declaration of the right hon. Secretary, that in any measure which he might introduce on this subject, he should pay respect to the property of the Church, gave him great satisfaction and encouragement. He lamented, however, the necessity for appointing a Committee to examine into the state of the Church of Ireland, apart from the Church of England. The two Churches were united Churches, with interests inseparably interwoven. At the same time, the melancholy picture which the right hon. Secretary had drawn of the condition of the clergy of the Church of Ireland, rendered it impossible for him to press any objection on that score to the present Motion. Every day increased his apprehension; and he cordially concurred with the right hon. Secretary, in hoping that the House would do nothing either to inflame the public mind, or to increase a peril which was now too palpable to be denied. It was with a view to the example which so humble an individual as himself might set, that he now refrained from entering into topics which might lead to an angry and acrimonious discussion. He should, therefore, offer no objection to the appointment of a Committee. He hoped, however, that the Committee would proceed at once to the examination of any plan to be submitted to it; for, whatever importance the House might attach to the question of Reform, he thought, that hon. Gentlemen would see, that the present was a vital question, affecting the peace and prosperity of the empire, and that the consideration of no other question should interfere with the settlement of one which, having been once agitated at the instance of the Crown, pressed with peculiar urgency for immediate, and, if possible, final adjustment.

Mr. *Leader* expressed his regret, that the right hon. Secretary, did not enlarge the ground to which the attention of the Committee was directed, or that he had thought it right to limit its inquiries to the question of tithes alone. He did not think that was an unimportant question in itself, but it formed only a part of the subject to which he should wish to see the attention of the Committee directed, which was nothing less than the consideration of the general condition of the Established Church in Ireland. He must, however, rejoice that even the question of tithes was to be submitted to the investigation of both Houses of Parliament, and the only regret which he had with respect to that question was, that it had not at a much earlier period excited a larger share of the attention of those who, from their official connexion with Ireland, must have been aware of the intolerable evils which that system had entailed on that country. He spoke chiefly with reference to the right hon. Gentleman, formerly Secretary for Ireland, and those with whom he was connected in the government of that country, who had the best opportunities of knowing how the system worked. It was also a matter of regret to him, that the subject had been brought forward in the absence of one who had paid the greatest attention to it, and who had collected a mass of the most important information respecting it; but his chief regret was, that the right hon. Secretary had not referred the whole question of the Established Church in Ireland to the Committee. When hon. Members considered the immense—he would say the extravagant—revenue drawn by the Established Church in Ireland from the resources of that country, they would be impressed with the necessity of extending the inquiry into the whole subject of that

Establishment. The amount of its revenues was now not a matter of uncertain calculation. They had it from official returns, which could not be denied. From these it appeared, that from tithes alone, the Church of Ireland derived an income of 780,384*l.* a-year. Besides this, several sees of Ireland were in possession of 550,280 acres; added to which, there belonged to Corporations and other ecclesiastical bodies, in glebe and other lands, property amounting in value to about 250,000*l.* a-year. So that in land and tithes it was now ascertained, by official returns, that the Established Church of Ireland derived a revenue from that country of 1,785,000*l.* a-year; and this, let it be remembered, was paid for the religious instruction of comparatively a very small portion of the inhabitants of that country. He was one of those who thought, and indeed no one of those who objected to the tithe system in Ireland disputed the proposition, that the clergy of the Established Church in Ireland should be well paid for the services they performed; but when it was known, that nearly 2,000,000*l.* a-year were drawn from the country by the religious instructors of about one-sixth or one-seventh of the population, it must be admitted, that the continuance of such a system could never give satisfaction to those of a different religion, by whom so large a portion of that revenue was paid, and who had, in addition, to support their own clergy, to whom they were devotedly attached. The case was very different in England, where the great body of the people belonged and were attached to the Church which they were called upon to maintain. The tithe system here, therefore, though in many instances it was found to be vexatious in its operation, was looked upon with different feelings from those which were entertained respecting it by the great mass of the population in Ireland. Those feelings were such, that no law which could be devised would be able to reconcile the people to the support of such an immense establishment, which seemed to be kept up, not for the instruction of the many, but for the aggrandizement of a few. In the answers of some of the Bishops of the Established Church in Ireland, to queries put to them, the House would find still stronger proof—if proof were necessary—of the enormous magnitude of the Church revenues compared with the Protestant population for whose religious instruction it was kept up. From these answers it appeared, that in the southern and western districts of Ireland the number of Protestants was very small, and in some extensive districts there was scarcely any. In the counties of Sligo, Roscommon, Leitrim, Mayo, and Galway, the proportion of Catholics to Protestants was as twenty to one; in Clare they were twenty-five to one; in Kerry fourteen to one; in Limerick nineteen to one; in Cork twenty to one, and in some others of the southern and western counties in nearly the same proportion. It farther appeared from the official sources to which he had alluded, that there were 6,000,000 of acres, with a population of nearly 3,000,000, which were almost exclusively Catholic, and yet that portion of the country paid to the Protestant establishment nearly 1,000,000*l.* a-year. Could peace or content be expected in a country where such a disproportion existed, or could it be expected that a system of this kind could continue? It was impossible, and therefore, some system of commutation, some other and some fairer mode of payment was absolutely necessary, not more for the peace of the country, than for the quiet and comfortable subsistence of the Protestant clergy themselves. He had not risen to enter into the whole question on this occasion, as a more fit opportunity would occur hereafter for that purpose. His chief object in rising was, to express the regret he felt, in common with many other Irish Members, that the Government had not thought proper to refer the whole subject of the Established Church in Ireland to the investigation of the Committee From one part of the right hon. Gentleman's statement he differed. He thought he had understated the means which the Protestant clergyman had of recovering his tithes by legal means. He might do so by a summons before two Magistrates, or by civil bill, or by application to the ecclesiastical courts; or, if he did not choose to avail himself of any of these, the courts of common-law were open to him; or a court of equity would attend to his claim. But it would be said, that all these had been tried, and in many instances had failed. He admitted the fact, and the cause of the failure had been, and would continue to be, the aversion of the Catholic population, to be taxed in that manner for the support of the Protestant Church. He lamented, as much as any man, the unfortunate disputes which had recently taken place in some parts of Ireland; but it was a mistake to suppose, that these were caused by the question of tithes alone. There were other and deep causes for the distress and consequent discontent which existed in so many parts of that country. Since the year 1800, the state of Ireland was becoming worse. He spoke not now with reference to the removal of the local legislature, for into that he would not then enter. For a time after the Union the loss of the local government was supplied in a great degree by a resident gentry, but of late years these had gradually disappeared from Ireland. Not only those who had large incomes from land had become absentees, but that system had extended to large numbers of men with incomes of from 1,000*l.* to 500*l.* a-year, who now resided either in this country or on the Continent, and there spent the whole of that which ought to be circulated amongst those by whom it was raised. Besides these, Ireland had to regret the removal from her of those army, naval, and ordnance establishments which had been the means of circulating millions of money in that country, but which had within a few years been transferred to England. Besides these, she had lost nearly the whole of her linen trade, and thus, with the loss of a local legislature—of her resident gentry,—of large naval and military establishments — of civil boards—of the bounties on her fisheries and coarse linens, she was now reduced to a state of almost hopeless misery. Let these facts be considered, and it would be seen, that the evils of Ireland lay, not in the tithe system, though that was bad enough, but in a variety of other causes, which an attempt to remedy that system only would leave untouched. If hon. Members would bear in mind the drains which were constantly made on Ireland, they would see that it was impossible she could go on as she was at present. She had to pay 4,000,000*l.* a-year to the Government, 3,000,000*l.* to absentees, nearly 2,000,000*l.* to the Church. If to these were added the extravagant amount of Grand Jury Assessments, it would be found, that the country was charged with about 14,000,000*l.* a-year on a produce that was some millions below that amount. It was evident, then, that some of the charges must go unpaid — either the landlord or the Grand Jury rate, or the tithe proctor, for she could not pay them all; she could not pay 14,000,000*l.* a-year out of a produce of 8,000,000*l.* If there had been an increase in the agricultural exports of Ireland, they were more than counterbalanced by the decay of her trade. Were not these all subjects which required investigation as well as the tithe system? He could tell hon. Gentlemen, that they much deceived themselves who thought that an inquiry into that system would remedy the other evils to which he had referred. An inquiry into the great incumbrance of the Church would do much, but the whole subject should be gone into. He knew that there were difficulties in the way of such an inquiry; but they must be met, for the evils of the system would not cease to press on them until they were met by some plan for commutating tithes altogether, and providing some other mode of paying the Clergy. He would not go into that at present, but would take an early opportunity of moving an instruction to the Committee to take the whole of the Church Establishment in Ireland into its consideration. He must express an earnest hope, that the subject would be considered dispassionately when brought forward, for he was convinced, that nothing but a commutation would place the Protestant Clergy on a comfortable footing. His only object in bringing these matters under the consideration of the House was that which alone had induced him to desire a seat in it—namely, a most anxious wish to improve the condition of Ireland, for by that means would the peace and prosperity of the United Kingdoms be most effectually secured and strengthened.

Mr. *Dominick Browne* had always been of opinion, that the payment of tithes was more vexatious than oppressive, because he thought that if the tithes were taken off by the Clergy, they would be put on in another way by the landlord; but the real point was, that the Roman Catholics felt most vexatiously their having to pay the pastors of another religion for the performance of services in the benefit of which they did not in any way participate. It was for this reason that he was afraid that the evils would not be got rid of by commutation. In his opinion the only proper way of settling the question would be, by causing a general valuation to take place, and when that was effected to have the tithes publicly sold, as in the case of the land-tax redeemed. For this purpose the Government ought to take the matter into its own hands, and when the sale was effected the money might be converted into a sort of Consolidated Fund, out of which the

Clergy of Ireland ought to be paid. He did not say this because he was friendly to the maintenance of the Established Church, in its present extensive ramifications; for he had always been of opinion, that if it was the wish of the Legislature to preserve Ireland as a part of the United Kingdom, it was absolutely necessary to reduce the Established Church of Ireland to a size that should be in proportion to the Protestant population of that country. He was a sincere Protestant himself, and no one could be a greater enemy than he was to reducing that Establishment below its proper level. That appeared to him to be the real footing on which the matter ought to be placed: they had now, for 300 years, been endeavouring to make the population of Ireland Protestant in their faith—but in vain. But though he should, for these reasons, be friendly to a great alteration in the present arrangement of Church property in Ireland, he was perfectly willing to look upon the claims of the actual incumbents of livings as intangible; but their right being respected, it was the duty, as well as within the power of Parliament, to sell all the tithe and Church lands, and to make a new modification altogether. He was not prepared to go the length of supporting the instruction to the Committee mentioned by the hon. Gentleman who spoke last; but if he (Mr. Leader) would propose a separate Committee for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the Church of Ireland, he should have his best support. Still he would rather that nothing should interfere to interrupt the great object in which they were engaged, for he was firmly convinced, that they only wanted a Reformed Parliament in order to have full justice done to Ireland.

Mr. *George Dawson* spoke nearly as follows:—As I have been accused of having an unfriendly feeling towards the present Government, I am the more anxious to pay my tribute of praise to the manner in which this subject has been introduced by the right hon. Secretary for Ireland; and I can assure him that I have great pleasure in doing justice where justice is due. I therefore beg leave to say, that in my opinion, there never was a more clear, or a more able statement in this House, or one better calculated to illustrate the subject which drew it forth. As the right hon. Gentleman, however, has thought proper to accuse me of stating what was unfriendly with respect to the present proposition of the Government, I hope that he will allow me to have the pleasure of undeceiving him, and I can assure him, that I am not able to recal to my recollection one single expression used by me, that could be construed into a reflection against the Government, for having been indifferent to the difficulties under which the clergy of Ireland have lately been labouring, or conniving in any way at the progress of those difficulties. I therefore was certainly surprised at the statement that fell this evening from the right hon. Gentleman; and got up to express that surprise on the spur of the moment. Since then I have referred to those records of the proceedings of Parliament which we fortunately possess in this country, and on looking into them, I am unable to find any allusion, even the slightest, to those expressions which the right hon. Gentleman attributed to me; and I think that if he will allow me to put the passage into his hands, he will perceive that it contains any thing rather than a charge against the Government for neglect towards the Church of Ireland in its present difficulties. The reason why I derived so much pleasure from the right hon. Gentleman's speech was, because I saw in it (and I trust that in this it will prove but an echo of the intention of the Government) a firm determination of upholding the property of the Church of Ireland—a determination which appeared to me to be in full accordance with the Speech of his Majesty on the opening of the present Session, where he declared—"In parts of Ireland a systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, attended in some instances with afflicting results; and it will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be possible to effect improvements in the laws respecting this subject, which may afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and at the same time remove the present causes of complaint. But in this and every other question affecting Ireland, it is above all things necessary to look to the best means of securing internal peace and order, which alone seem wanting to raise a country, blessed by Providence with so many natural advantages, to a state of the greatest prosperity." These words the speech of the right hon. Gentleman appears to me entirely to uphold and justify; and as I have ever been firmly and warmly attached to the interests of the Church of Ireland, it was with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction that I listened to his address. I can assure the right hon. Secretary, that I received with exceeding comfort and consolation his declaration, as announcing the resolution of the King's present Ministers to uphold against all its enemies—whether they be open or concealed—the property, the privileges, and the rights, of the Established Church of England and Ireland. For the same reasons that the right hon. Gentleman's speech gave me satisfaction, it was with regret that I listened to the address of the hon. member for Kilkenny, and with still more, that I heard him announce his intention of moving an instruction to the Committee, concerning the state of the Church of Ireland. As to my hon. friends' (Mr. Dominick Browne's) opinions, I have long been acquainted with them, and have often lamented his hostility to the Established Church of Ireland; but I must confess that my sorrow on that head is much mitigated when I recollect the authority with which those opinions have been opposed by the right hon. Secretary for Ireland. With such aid as that—with the aid of the good sense of the country, and its attachment to the Established Church — with the aid of the firmness and zealous support of the Protestants of Ireland—I think we may, after the declaration that we have heard this night, be prepared to meet the enemies of that Church, wherever they may appear whether among the Members of this House, or among those of the Political Unions, either in England or in Ireland. I am convinced that this report of the right hon. Gentleman's speech will be the source of as much pleasure and satisfaction to the Protestants of that latter country, as of dismay to those who have hitherto been in the habit of raising their voice, and of late, I am afraid, with increased violence, because they have imagined that they had more friends in this country than I trust they will be able to count, should a day for reckoning them arrive. In full confidence of the right hon. Gentleman's sincerity, I beg to say, that though I differ from him in many parts of the picture which he has given to the House, I am ready to afford him my most complete support for going into a Committee. At the same time I must observe, that many portions of his Representation appear to me to be highly exaggerated. He did not, however, in his description, refer to that part of the country with which I am connected; but though we may not agree altogether as to the degree, still it cannot be denied that a sufficient quantity of mischief exists to justify the Government in making the call for a Committee which has this evening been made. I do not, however, think that the appointment of this Committee can be made with any view to the finding of an ultimate remedy for the evil, or one that shall prove satisfactory to the people of Ireland. In the north of Ireland, as has already been observed, the same irritation on this subject does not exist; and the cause of this has been very properly stated by the hon. member for Kilkenny to be, because the inhabitants of the north have a more friendly feeling towards the clergy, when they are called upon to pay, owing to their being for the most part Protestants, though it is true that many of them are Protestant Dissenters. The real cause of the discontent of the Roman Catholic population to the payment of tithes is, because those to whom they are required to make the payment are of a different religion to themselves. We may beat about the bush as long as we please—we may look at this side of the picture or at that—we may endeavour to find a remedy in corn-rents or in the commutation of tithes, but the real solution of the discontent that exists is, that the Roman Catholics do not like to pay tithes to the Protestant clergy. I trust, however, that the right hon. Gentleman has said enough to convince the Roman Catholic tenants that the burthen of tithes is really a burthen on the land of the country, and not on them individually; and, at the same time, that it is a burthen from which they have no right to claim to be relieved, because they profess a different religion from those who have the claim upon the land. The Protestant religion is a portion of the law of Ireland, and whether the number of Protestants in any particular district be ten or 10,000, that religion must be maintained by virtue of that law—by virtue of the constitution of the Parliament—by virtue of the King's Oath itself. It is for these reasons that I apprehend that the right hon. Gentleman will never be able to relieve the Government from its dilemma, by proposing a commutation of tithes. I shall not, however, as I said before, oppose the appointment of the Committee, but I trust that one of its first results will be, the unquestionable acknowledgment of all the rights and all the privileges of the Established Church of Ireland.

Mr. *Dominick Browne* disclaimed having said anything which could warrant the right hon. Gentleman in asserting, that he was inimical to the Established Church. On the contrary he was a great friend to that Church, but he was sure, that a great change must be made in the law of tithes to save it from ruin.

Mr. *John Browne* rose to say a few words, being the Representative of one of the largest counties in Ireland. He thanked the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stanley) for having brought forward the subject of tithes, although he regretted some settled plan for the improvement of the system had not at once been proposed by his Majesty's Government. He sincerely admired the Protestant religion, as he believed it to be the work of God, but he must confess he was in no degree enamoured of its temporalities, which he equally believed to be the work of man. The Catholic people of Ireland were adverse to pay for the support of the Protestant clergy, and he could not attach any blame to them for entertaining such a feeling. However, as a sincere friend to the Protestant Church, he was disposed to support the motion for the appointment of the Select Committee.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, if he were not restrained by higher motives from entering into this discussion at any length, it was not because several observations which he had heard from many of the preceding speakers had not furnished him with sufficient materials. But as he fully appreciated what had fallen from his right hon. friend (Sir Robert Peel), he must say, that upon an occasion like the present, when they were called upon to go into a Committee of Inquiry, that was not the time to enter into any discussion which might lead to irritation. When he had the honour of filling the situation in Ireland now held by the right hon. Gentleman who brought forward the Motion, he had occasion to contend with some of the grievances which were complained of as growing out of the tithe system, and he then felt it his duty to pursue a different course from that now sought to be adopted by the right hon. Gentleman. He found great grievances to exist in Ireland, especially as to tithes, which were made the handle of every agitator, and in order to deprive them of that source of irritation he proposed the direct measure of the Composition Act. For a considerable period that Act appeared to him to have a most tranquillizing effect, without causing the violation of any right as to tithes or property of any other description. What fate had attended that Act since he left Ireland he could not take upon himself to say, and he would not have adverted to it if he did not think it necessary to shew, that as it had been stated not to have worked so well as he had expected, he was fully justified in supporting the motion of the right hon. Gentleman. Although he thus far supported the Motion, he owned he should have been much better pleased if the right hon. Gentleman had come down with some legislative measure, rather than leave the subject open to that acrimonious discussion which he feared would elsewhere take place while it was under the deliberation of the Committee of that House. And yet, so anxious was he upon all occasions to remedy any of the evils under which the Protestant clergy of Ireland laboured—so highly did he value their pious labours—so anxious was he to co-operate in any measures which would relieve them, and restore them to their rights, that he would certainly support the Motion now before the House.

Mr. *Sheil* said, that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goulburn) had offered incense to the Secretary for Ireland in return for that which had been wafted to him, and had then proceeded to expatiate on his own merits in the construction of the Tithe Composition Act. It had been always understood that it was the production of Lord Wellesley. This, however, had not been confirmed by the right hon. Gentleman; and it was to be taken for granted, that he would not dress himself in feathers borrowed from the splendid plumage of that illustrious person. It was, however, rather remarkable that the hon. Gentleman should take credit for this master-piece of legislation, when the Secretary for Ireland had announced that it had failed to produce the good results anticipated from it. The Secretary for Ireland had stated, that its provisions were inadequate to its objects, and that the most dreadful disturbances had taken place in the parts of the country to which it had been applied. He would not follow that topic any further, but advert with some distinctness to the malevolent encomiums pronounced upon Government by the right hon. member for Harwich (Mr. George Dawson). That right hon. Gentleman was in the habit of using a quotation, which was peculiarly apposite in this instance—

> ———"Ulla putetis.
> Dona carere dolis Danaum?"

To paraphrase the celebrated interrogatory he should say, can the praise of such a man be destitute of design? Is there not evil in his commendation, and poison in his honeyed sentences? The right hon. Gentleman affected to speak of the Established Church as the model of ecclesiastical perfection; yet that right hon. Gentleman had once allowed his moral sense (strange to say), to overcome his political predilections; and when an application was made for money to repair the Cathedral of Derry, he burst forth into an exclamation against the monstrous revenues of the Bishop, and presented to the House a very picturesque description of the episcopal territories. Now the right hon. Gentleman was not only contented with passing the most unqualified panegyric on the entire Church, but he insisted on involving the Government in a most inauspicious participation in his sentiments. But against his praises he would set up the acts of the Government, and the declaration of the Prime Minister. The Secretary for Ireland might entertain what opinions he thought proper; but what said Earl Grey? Had not Earl Grey denounced, since he was Minister, the enormous anomalies of the Irish establishment, drawn a distinct line of separation between it and the English Church, and stated that it must be adapted to the condition of the country, and to the feelings of the vast majority of the English people. He therefore would rescue the Government from the political embraces of the Gentlemen on the opposite side. But did the matter stop there? When the see of Derry (that prodigious see!) became vacant, the hon. member for Middlesex, whose absence was to be lamented on so many accounts, but especially for its cause, gave notice that he should move an Address to the Crown, praying the King not to fill up the see. The Chancellor of the Exchequer came down, after Dr. Ponsonby had been appointed, and announced on the part of the whole Cabinet, that Dr. Ponsonby had been promoted on the express condition that he should take the see, subject to such diminutions and regulations as should afterwards be introduced. He had not yet done. The hon. member for Waterford moved a Resolution respecting First Fruits, and was supported by the Government, which declared, that the clergy should, if possible, be taxed to the full amount. The House resolved, that the opinion of the Irish Law Officers should be taken. The Irish Attorney General—a friend of the Church—the Solicitor General who is not, at all events, its enemy—gave an opinion adverse to that of another lawyer who had been consulted by the Remembrancer of the Board, and said that no valuation could be made. But did the matter rest there? No: the Government was bound, in consistency and upon the principle of political integrity, to bring in an Act of Parliament to redress the gross abuse, by which, in place of 132,000*l.*, the Bishops pay about 1,200*l.*, and out of nearly a million of money, the clergy pay only about 3,000*l.* Still he had not done. Where was the Vestry Bill, which the Secretary for Ireland was to bring in, in its amended and more reasonable shape? Was not Government also pledged to put an end to that iniquitous and exasperating system, by which a few Protestants could assemble in a conclave of village ascendancy, and mulct the Catholics at their caprice? Thus, therefore, the imputations on the Government, conveyed in the damning praise of the member for Harwich, were utterly unfounded. He trusted, that the Government would take an early opportunity of disabusing the Irish people, and divest them of that fierce and determined resentment, which would be the result of even a suspicion that it was intended to betray the interests of the country. For his part, he must say, in reference to the power of the Government to remedy the evils of Ireland, that he utterly repudiated the idea that Church property was not under the control of the Legislature. What had the English Government done in Canada? The right hon. Secretary for Ireland had been there, and he saw, that while a Catholic was subject to tithes, a Protestant was exempt; and if the latter bought the property of the former, he held it discharged from tithes. Did principles depend on the latitude and longitude, and did the Secretary for Ireland consider that to be robbery on the banks of the Shannon, which was only simple justice on the banks of the St. Lawrence? But suppose, that the application of tithes could not be legitimately changed—what followed? The Church had plundered the poor—what had become of the poor man's *quarta pars?* It was not so obsolete a right. It was recognized by the 1st George 1st in Ireland. While the distressed clergy excited the sympathy of the Irish Secretary, had he no compassion for the hundreds of thousands of famished, houseless, and homeless peasants, to whom, even on the principles of Churchmen, restitution should be made? Let the Committee look to this, and let Government remember, that it was folly to think of pacifying Ireland without an utter change in the ecclesiastical system. The axe must be laid to the root. Take down the golden domes of the Establishment in time, or they would fall in under the shocks of the moral earthquake with which the country was threatened, and bury the whole edifice in ruin.

Mr. *Shaw*, feeling deeply interested in the welfare of the Established Church of Ireland, believing that with its fate were identified the best interests of that country, begged permission to offer a few observations on the question which the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary for Ireland, had introduced to the notice of the House. He was ready to acknowledge, with those hon. Gentlemen who had already spoken from this side of the House, that the right hon. Gentleman had brought it forward with much ability and good taste—in a spirit of kindness to the Protestant clergy, and with a desire to do justice to their exemplary conduct; but still, whatever might be the opinion of others, he could not conceal his own—that the right hon. Gentleman was now endeavouring to provide a remedy for a disease which had been produced by the weak and vacillating conduct of the Irish government. He could not but consider it a part of that system of yielding to clamour, and making concession to violence, which commenced by permitting that law to expire which had been found effectual in the suppression of unconstitutional associations, now revived with increased vigour—which was acted on by the Government in repudiating the scriptural education of the poor, and substituting a plan, in which, he believed, no conscientious Protestant, who ever evinced an interest in their instruction, would take a part. Again, in reference to the Yeomanry, the Arms Bill, and the appointment of Lord-lieutenants of counties, the same principle of intimidation was successful, the same deference was shewn to idle outcry, and thus arose that systematic opposition to the payment of tithes alluded to in his Majesty's Speech; those who had to pay them being beyond the control, and those who were entitled to receive them without the protection, of the laws, executed by a responsible and rigorous government. This clearly appeared from the documents referred to, and the admissions made by the right hon. Gentleman himself. In Archdeacon Cotton's letter, what was complained of but an obstruction of the law by brute force? So in Dr. Butler's—in that from Kells it appeared, that the people were forbidden to pay tithes; and the right hon. Gentleman seemed to countenance the objection to pay them to the Protestant Church, although his argument was, at the same time, quite conclusive, that the burthen rested not upon the tenant but the land, and that he would rather lose than gain by its transfer, either to his landlord or the State; and did not the right hon. Gentleman, by giving weight to such a prejudice, while he admitted there was no just ground to support it, hold out encouragement to those who had forbidden the poor deluded peasantry to satisfy the legal claim on them? and did not the right hon. Gentleman well know, that persons high in authority in the Roman Catholic Church, and equally high in the confidence of the Irish government, had issued their mandates, that tithes should be resisted by all the wit and talent of the Irish people, and hated with "a hatred as intense as was their love of justice?" Could the right hon. Gentleman then be surprised at the condition of the Irish clergy, which he had so feelingly and truly portrayed that night; and when he said the late Government should have proposed measures of the kind he then suggested, to meet the evil when first any symptoms of opposition appeared, did not his reasoning impose upon himself a similar duty with respect to rent and taxes, and all other legal dues?—for there was already an incipient opposition manifesting itself to every payment of the kind, and it was not by thus yielding to intimidation that such a spirit would be suppressed. He agreed with the right hon Gentleman in some of his observations on the nature of tithe in the abstract; while he held, that the title to it was as good in the Established Church, as that of any Member of that House to his estate, he thought the mode of payment of a certain proportion of the produce, operated as a tax upon industry in the same manner as rent would do, if reserved according to a proportion of the produce of the soil, instead of being a sum certain, and for that reason he approved of the principle of the

Tithe Composition Act, and would willingly support its extension. He would, however, refer those persons who made so light of the security of Church property, and maintained, that in England and Ireland it stood upon wholly different grounds, to the Act of Union; the fifth Article of which provided, that the Churches of England and Ireland, as then by law established, should be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, and that they should remain in full force for ever, and that the continuance and preservation of the said united Church should be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union. The right hon. Gentleman would perhaps feel, that, in touching any article of the legislative Union, he was on very tender ground, inasmuch as the Irish government had violated the feelings, sacrificed the interests, and feigned to despise the support of those, the whole tenor of whose lives and conduct had ever been to strengthen and consolidate that Union, and preserve and promote the connexion between the two countries; while those whom the Government were vainly endeavouring to conciliate, and who, by the evidence of the hon. and learned member for Louth, appeared very desirous of still holding them in their trammels, were becoming so impatient, that they would not even brook the delay of the certain means, which, in his conscience, he believed the Government were preparing, in the Irish Reform Bill, for carrying a Repeal of the Union; and the leaders of that party had already proclaimed their determination to pull down the standard of Reform and raise that of Repeal. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that he did not make these observations in any factious spirit, but in all the sincerity of truth, under a serious conviction, that Ireland was fast approaching some calamitous convulsion, and with as deep and ardent feelings of affection for that country, as were possessed by those of his countrymen who would fain monopolize all patriotism to themselves: his sentiments on the subject might be mistaken—he hoped they were, but, at least, he entertained them honestly, and he felt it his duty to express them openly. He should not oppose the appointment of the Committee, but should deal with the question in its progress through that House, without bias or prejudice, and give to it that full and calm consideration which its vast importance demanded.

Mr. *James Grattan* would not have said a word, but for an observation of the hon. and learned Member for Dublin. The systematic opposition which that hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken of, and attributed to the present Government, had existed long before they came into office, and even long before the Union. Did the hon. and learned Gentleman forget the Tithe Composition Act, brought in by the right hon. Gentleman sitting behind him, in 1823, and brought in under the pressure of the same necessity as that which now compelled the Government to touch the subject? The hon. and learned Gentleman had forgotten all history, or he must know that the same opposition to the collection of tithes existed long before the Union between the two kingdoms. He admitted, that the Protestant Clergy were at present in a very low condition, and he admitted the necessity which existed of providing for them; but he hoped that all compassion would not be thrown away upon them, and that, in any arrangement that might be made of the tithes, the poor would not be forgotten. He was sure that nothing good could be done for Ireland if they were overlooked. The question seemed of more importance to him than other Gentlemen apprehended, for he thought it was a question between the tithes and the Protestant religion. If the tithes were preserved, the Protestant religion must be sacrificed; they ought to take all possible care to attach the Catholic population to the Protestant Church, and without they did that, he should be afraid for Ireland. He could have wished that the right hon. Gentleman had unfolded his plans more, for he had not understood what the right hon. Gentleman proposed to do. He seemed to have given up every other plan, but that of commuting tithes for land; but that plan would be too slow in its operation, and it was a great evil that the Clergy of Ireland had already too much land. He apprehended that some other system must be proposed in the committee; the state of the Church property in Ireland was such, that it must be examined into freely. For his part, he wished much, being a Protestant himself, that the Protestant Clergy should be provided for; but the temper and disposition of the people in Ireland were such, that it would be quite impossible to provide for them by the existing system.

Motion agreed to, and the Committee appointed.

COURT OF EXCHEQUER (SCOTLAND).] The *Lord Advocate* rose to move for leave to bring in a Bill to regulate the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, with a view to its abolition. It was proposed ultimately to abolish that Court, because it had little or no business to perform. It was not necessary that he should enter into the subject, as it had been discussed last Session. The reason why the Court was not abolished at once was, that if that were done, each of the Barons would have a right to draw the whole of his salary, while by holding out inducements for them to retire, some part of that might be saved. To show the little use of the Court, he would just remark, that the number of defended causes in twenty years was 134, or about six and a half per year; during the last ten years, the average had been only four causes a year; and in the last two years there had been only one defended cause before the Court. To get through these duties, the Court consisted of a Chief Baron and three puisne Barons; the Chief Baron had a salary of 4,000*l.* a year, and the other Barons 2,000*l.* a year each. In one of the Returns, indeed, he found that there were brought into Court 5,700 causes, but four-fifths of these were admonitions to pay money, and never were prepared for trial at all. About 1,450 real causes were brought into Court, but a great many of them were compositions, and never brought to trial. These statements showed, that the Court had little or nothing to do. The Bill was in every respect the same as that which had proceeded through so many of its stages, and been so fully discussed during the last Session, and as the facts on which the alteration was founded were wholly untouched, he apprehended that all who regarded the maintenance of the dignity and respectability of a Court of Justice would be willing to put an end to a system so useless, discreditable, and extravagant. He would conclude, therefore, by moving merely for leave to bring in a Bill for the better disposal of the business in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland.—Leave given.

ALLEGED BREACH OF THE REVENUE LAWS.] Mr. Alderman *Venables* rose to move for Returns "of specification of the goods seized on the prosecution of Messrs. Leaf and Co., and their value; Copy of all reports and examinations of the officers of the Customs; Copy of all reports made to, or communications in writing with, the solicitor to the Customs; Copy of all examinations taken from informers in respect of the above prosecution." The hon. Alderman stated, that there were particular circumstances connected with this case which, in his opinion, rendered further inquiry necessary. That inquiry could not be properly prosecuted until after the production of the papers for which he then moved. Without imputing any blame to his Majesty's Government, he could not but observe, that much disappointment had been felt by those whose property was vested in the silk trade, that the parties supposed to have been guilty of so great a breach of the Revenue Laws had been allowed to shelter themselves from the exposure which they merited, by a compromise. It was felt that, in justice to the fair dealer, the prosecution should have proceeded.

Mr. *Hunt*, in seconding the Motion, complained that a compromise should have been allowed. When the seizure was first made, he mentioned the subject in the House, and obtained, as he supposed, a pledge from the Government that the parties guilty of the offence alluded to should not be suffered to compromise the matter. It was high time, that examples and exposures should be made, since it was almost an ascertained fact, that three times as much foreign silk was smuggled into this country as was subjected to the duty. He conceived that, instead of coast blockades or preventive guards, the best means of preventing this extensive and injurious system of smuggling would be, to place a watch upon three or four of the great houses in the city of London.

Mr. *Poulett Thomson* would not object to the production of the papers for which the hon. Alderman had moved. Indeed, if any other information upon the subject were necessary, he should be ready to produce it, solely excepting the brief of the Attorney General, which he thought every one would feel need not be produced. The Government had no other wish than that the whole of the circumstances connected with the case should be properly understood. From the observations which had been made by the hon. member for Preston, he feared that what he had stated on a former occasion had been misunderstood; he had never given a pledge on the part of the Government that no compromise should be allowed to take place. All he pledged himself to was, that the case should be carried into Court; when once there, it was, in fact, transferred from the hands of the Government to those of the Attorney General, whose duty it was to deal with it as, in his opinion, justice, and a regard to the interests of the State most demanded. The case was carried into Court, and settled as the Attorney General deemed best and wisest. He certainly felt some regret, in consequence of the impression which had been made upon the public mind, that the prosecution was not carried further, but in justice to his hon. and learned friend, the Attorney General, he was bound to say, that he believed the compromise which had been made was most advantageous to the Crown. There were many difficulties connected with the case which would have made it extremely difficult of proof in a Court of Law. The whole penalty that could be recovered amounted to 24,800*l.*, and composition had been agreed to for 20,000*l.*—that made a deficiency of 4,800*l.*, independent of the goods. The honest tradesman, however, might rest satisfied that the law officers of the Crown had come to the determination of agreeing to the compensations for reasons which they considered sufficient, and that it was their most anxious wish to do every thing in their power to put down smuggling.

Mr. *Goulburn* had no objection to make to the compromise, being well aware that such a sum was seldom recovered by taking the full course of the law in such cases. But it was said that, besides the parties against whom the proceedings were immediately taken, there were other large houses implicated, and that would have been exposed by a public trial, which he thought most desirable, as such an exposure would be a more effectual means of preventing smuggling than the exaction of a fine.

The *Attorney General* said, that the papers now moved for would, of course, implicate all parties concerned as much as the trial could have done; and if the other houses alluded to had done any thing which brought them within the reach of the law, they would gain no advantage from the compromise, but could still be proceeded against. He thought he had nothing to defend or vindicate in the manner in which he had discharged his duty.

Mr. Alderman *Thompson* hoped that the fullest explanations and inquiry would take place.

Mr. *Henry L. Bulwer* expressed his hope, that every thing would be done to protect the home manufacturer from the ruinous consequences of frauds of this description.

Mr. Alderman *Venables* was glad to hear that the amount of the penalties compromised was no greater, as it had been very generally believed to be much higher.

Mr. *Ellice* was confident it would appear from the papers, that the parties had been concerned, not only in this transaction, but in a systematic course of smuggling carried on to an enormous extent.

Motion agreed to.

SCHOOLS OF ANATOMY.] Mr. *Warburton*, in rising to move for leave to bring in a Bill to regulate the Schools of Anatomy, of which he had given notice, would take that opportunity of informing those Members who were not present in former Parliaments, that a Committee had been appointed in 1828 to make inquiry on the best mode of remedying the present defective system, and that, in 1829, he introduced a Bill, emanating from that Committee, which passed the Commons, and was thrown out by the Lords. The political changes which had taken place so frequently since that period, had prevented him from renewing the Bill, and would best explain the delay which had occurred. The Bill which he proposed to introduce on the present occasion, if permitted so to do, would differ, in some respects, from the measure he formerly brought forward. In the former Bill he proposed that all persons practising anatomy should take out licenses. That proposition was objected to by the profession generally; and after deliberately considering the subject, he was induced to believe, that it would be sufficient if inspectors were to be appointed by the Home Secretary, by whom reports should be made as to what passed in the different schools. He thought, if this were done, and if these officers were authorized, by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, to inspect the anatomical schools, it would be a sufficient precaution. With regard to the particular manner in which these schools were to be supplied, the present Bill would differ in many respects from the former one. It was urged as an objection to the former Bill, that it subjected the poor to considerable hardships, inasmuch as its operation was, in a great degreee, confined to them. He intended to introduce a clause into the measure which should be equally applicable to all classes of society; and he hoped, more particularly when he reflected upon the dreadful enormities which had recently been committed, the results of the law requiring one thing, and necessity demanding another —that this Bill would have the effect of supplying the different schools of anatomy with the subjects necessary for their purposes, and of reducing the price which they were now obliged to give for them. He knew, that human beings were always, more or less, governed by their feelings or their prejudices; and he was also aware, that any Legislator who could disregard the feelings and sympathies of mankind, would have no claim to the satisfaction of the people or to their ready concurrence and approbation. However deeply impressed he might be with that feeling, yet he must not lose sight of the necessity of affording proper facilities for the study of anatomy. He would put it to the House, whether it was not also impressed with the importance of the subject. He would venture to say, that there was not one individual in that House who, if it were necessary that he himself should undergo a severe surgical operation, would not be anxious to have, as his attendant, a thorough anatomist. They must recollect, too, that there were cases, in which the feelings and wishes of mankind were made to succumb to the service of the state. What could be more savage than war? And yet when the service of the State, the preservation of the nation, and the welfare of the people were at stake, we set aside private feelings, and scenes of bloodshed and suffering were the consequence. Again, in Courts of Justice, stern necessity required to doom fellow creatures to banishment and death. In such cases, in such instances, the wishes and feelings of individuals were held as nothing, when compared with the interests of the nation at large. Why, then, should they hesitate to make some sacrifice when a question was at issue which so materially affected the welfare of every human being? Having said thus much, and having reminded the House, that on a former occasion it passed a Bill which he had the honour of introducing—admitting that, but for the necessity of the case it would be most desirable that there should be no further legislation on the subject—he would not trouble the House with any further observations, but begging the House to consider the urgency and necessity of the case, he would move for leave to bring in a Bill for regulating Schools of Anatomy.

Mr. *Hunt* regretted to hear the hon. Gentleman say, that the present Bill was, in some respects, similar to the measure which he introduced before on the same subject. [Mr. *Warburton* said, it differed from that Bill.] He was glad of it, for if it resembled the former Bill, he should evince his hostility towards it, to the utmost extent of the powers given him as a Member of that House. The last Bill enacted that men and women, males and females, who died in workhouses, or who had the misfortune to die in hospitals without being claimed within a certain time after death, should be sold to the anatomist for the purpose of being placed under the dissecting-knife. He had said before, that when that Bill was brought in he should move an amendment, at all events, to the effect, in the first instance, that the anatomical schools should be licensed; and, in the next place, that no young surgeon should enter a school of anatomy, or be allowed to touch a dissecting-knife, unless he chose to register his name as an individual willing to give up his body for dissection. This would be the best way of getting rid of that vulgar prejudice of which they heard so much. Other hon. Members might oppose the Bill on different grounds;—some might do so on the score of Christian burial; but he should leave that to the hon. Baronet, the member for the University of Oxford, and some others. He trusted that the hon. member for Bridport (Mr. Warburton) would introduce a clause into his Bill, empowering any person to sell his body before he died. He understood that, as the law at present existed, a person could not dispose of his body, because it belonged to his executors. He thought that if this practice were legalized, and if dissecting-rooms were placed under the inspection of the Secretary of State, subjects might be procured with much greater facility, and without outraging the natural feelings of mankind. Yes, he said natural. Look at the case of Dr. Hunter; it was wished to dissect him; but he who had dissected so many himself, up to the very last moment of his life declared that he objected to the operation being performed on him. He had heard the anecdote from one of Dr. Hunter's best pupils, Mr. Brown, a surgeon, who lived in Stamford-street, Blackfriars. He was sorry to mention private names, but the hon. Gentleman obliged him to do so. Something must be done to put an end to the dreadful practices which had recently occurred. Could any thing be more horrible than the exposure of dead bodies which took place? The cutting up and mangling of the bodies of human beings was done with as little concern in those human shambles, as the bodies of beasts were cut up in Newgate, Smithfield, or any other market. He hoped and trusted the hon. Member would be very cautious what clauses he introduced into his Bill.

Mr. *Sadler* said, the natural objection to the exposure and dissection of the remains of one who was dear to the survivor, might be denominated a prejudice; but it was a feeling which had existed in every age of the world and in every country. It was one which had survived every form of religion, and so far from being a prejudice, it was a principle of such a nature, and one which was so deeply planted in the human mind, that it could not be uprooted without tearing from the heart some of the best feelings of human nature. The assertion made by the hon. member, with respect to Dr. Hunter, might be equally well applied to some of the most eminent individuals in the medical profession at the present moment. He knew an instance of an individual of high rank and great eminence in his profession, who had invariably affected to despise the feelings to which he had just adverted—who considered them as prejudices—but, when it came to his turn to have the test applied to himself, when a beloved member of his family circle died, under circumstances of considerable distress — when great doubts were entertained as to the nature of her disease, and when it was proposed to him, that that individual should be subjected to surgical examination, he shrunk with horror from the proposal. He recollected the moment himself, and he remembered well the shudder which crept over that man at the bare idea of submitting a being whom he had so fondly loved—who had been to him a source of so much solicitude—to such an exposure. That sentiment would survive while there was feeling or virtue extant in society. If it be called a prejudice, let those deal with it who were above it—let the Bill which was to be brought forward, merely refer to that class of society who were superior to so gross and degrading a prejudice. It was well known, that the lower classes had the greatest possible objection to this mutilation of the remains of their friends—and to pass a law to claim the bodies of the unprotected poor, would be to close the doors of all hospitals and houses of mercy, and to drive the man, whose crime was poverty and whose fault was prejudice, to perish in the streets. He agreed so far with the hon. Member below him, as to think that the French schools of anatomy were better conducted: let such be the case here; but let them not be carried on at the expense of those feelings which he had endeavoured to describe—feelings which might lie dormant in a man's breast, but which one breath of affection for the memory of a departed friend or affectionate relative would fan into a flame. If our neighbours were so entirely free from these prejudices, he would beg to ask, why might not the principles of free trade, which were so liberally applied to other matters, be applied to this? By adopting this mode, they might have subjects supplied from abroad. As long as a traffic at a high price for human bodies after death was carried on, such atrocities as had been committed on the living subject must be expected. The poor of England would not bear any proposition which would fix upon them the supplying of the anatomical schools. How stood the law on the subject at present? It was objectionable in some points of view, certainly, but still, in one, it answered a valuable purpose. The man who violated the sanctuary of the grave, was not placed in a very perilous position, but the law of common decency compelled him to proceed on his illicit career in secret: the body of the dead could not suffer, and the feelings of the survivors were spared by the necessity of secresy. He repeated once more, that the Bill which the hon. Gentleman formerly introduced, was one which the poor of the country would never bear. If there were any mode of subjecting the different classes of society equally to the operation of such a law, for the benefit of the living, well and good; but justice and common feeling alike prohibited the adoption of any measure which weighed peculiarly heavily on the poor, while it spared the better classes of society.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* observed, he was sorry that the hon. member for Bridport had not thought it prudent to postpone the consideration of the measure before the House, to a more convenient period; and although it was not his intention to make any remarks on it at that moment, yet, after what had fallen from the hon. member for Preston, and from other hon. Members, as to the cruelty exercised by the surgeons in their schools, he could not refrain from making a few observations. To begin; there was wanting in the last bill a clause which made it so objectionable, that he was compelled to oppose it, and he hoped the omission would be supplied in any bill which the hon. member for Bridport might then introduce. By law, those who were convicted of murder were delivered over for dissection, and a clause repealing that Act would be absolutely necessary, before the people would feel indifferent about being treated after death in the same manner as murderers. It was evident, that an advantage could not be derived from those feelings on both sides of the question. If it was intended to deter men from crime by adding to capital punishment the dissection of the body, the feeling of abhorrence which was entertained against that operation would be cherished; but if, on the contrary, to further the ends of science, the prejudices that exist against dissection are to be allayed, that feeling of degradation which was now associated with it in the public mind must be removed. He quite agreed with what had fallen from his hon. friend, the member for Aldborough, as to the feelings which were experienced by the relations of the dead on the subject of dissection, and he also agreed with the hon. member for Preston, that it would be well if those who spoke so strongly against the prejudices of others, and more especially those of the poor, would set the example of self-devotion to the cause of science, and would shew to the public, that they were ready to abjure their prejudices, and to give up their bodies for the general good. Was there any man of philosophy or of religion, who believed, that anything could affect the body after death, whether it were deposited in the silent tomb, or cast into the sea, or were made the subject of scientific investigation? To persons who entertained such feelings, it would matter very little in what way their bodies were disposed of when life was extinct. Although he deprecated the discussion of the question at the present moment, and blamed the hon. member for Bridport for bringing it forward, calculated as he conceived it to be to inflict considerable pain on the minds of the people, yet he wholly exonerated the hon. Member from entertaining any such intention, and he (Sir R. Vyvyan) was convinced, that in his conduct he was actuated by the best and purest motives. He differed altogether from what had been said by the hon. member for Preston, upon the inutility of the science of anatomy, and of the discoveries which were made in early times by the anatomists. What had been the discoveries made by the aid of that science during the last two centuries? Even that grand discovery, the circulation of the blood, would not have been known had it not been for dissection. He believed, that if any hon. Member would take the trouble to look over the evidence which was given to the House last Session on that subject, he would find, that in consequence of not allowing bodies to be dissected, or by making it half criminal to do so (for such was in reality the situation of every anatomist), in consequence of these penal laws, a set of men in this metropolis and in other parts of the kingdom, had sprung up, dead to all those feelings which human nature would seem most dearly to cherish. A melancholy proof of this had been afforded by the trials which had lately taken place. He hoped, therefore, whatever might be the fate of this Bill, that the hon. Gentleman would insert nothing in it to hurt the feelings of the poor. Those who died in the poor-house, or in the hospital, were as much entitled to the protection of the law as those who died in palaces. He did not, however, mean to say, that he would repeal all the laws that existed against violating the church-yards. He was of opinion that some law must and ought to exist against taking bodies in general; but he would have the law so altered as to render it less penal to dissect bodies, though, at the same time, he would not remove that barrier which the laws now threw around the receptacles for the dead. At the same time, he would do all he could to remove the prejudice that existed in the minds of the people on the subject. He knew they had to deal with a paradox; and it was hard to plead at one and the same time the cause of feeling and of philosophy. Yet, if it had not been for the discoveries made by the anatomist, what would have been our progress in the science of physiology? The poor had, indeed, been the greatest gainers by those discoveries; for were it not for dissection, those able and experienced surgeons who were now to be met with in all walks of society could not have existed, and whose numbers, before anatomy was generally studied, were so few that it was with the greatest difficulty even the rich were able to obtain the advantage of their skill.

Mr. *Warburton* thought he had distinctly stated, that there would be a clause in his Bill which would make it clearly unobjectionable, and that that clause would provide, that the measure should equally apply to rich and poor. The clause was to this effect, that neither against the consent of the party himself while living, nor against the consent of the relations when dead, should the body be given up for dissection. He had hoped, and still did hope, that that clause would be satisfactory to the hon. Gentleman. Something had been said about the subject of religion. He knew that the fathers of the Church were not in such repute as they were in former ages; yet there were many passages to be found in their works which went to the full extent of the doctrines which the hon. Member had laid down. He did not think, that it mattered at all to the person who was dead what was done with his body; and as to the burial service of the Church, he considered that to be said rather for the benefit of the living than the dead. He would read a passage from one of the fathers of the Church, which was applicable to that part of the subject. It was from St. Augustin, in his work on Genesis.

> "Quasi vero quidquam intersit ad nostram utilitatem, istar caro jam examinis in naturæ profunda secreta per quos transitus eat!"

St. Augustin called the anxiety that men evinced for the manner in which their bodies should be treated after death, "inanes curas examinatorum corporum suorum." In many other passages that author alluded to the same subject, and taught us not to care what became of our bodies after death, for that could have nothing to do with our spiritual well-being. He trusted that, with this explanation of the nature of the Bill, and of its impartial application both to the rich and poor, the hon. Member would give it his support.

Mr. *Sadler* only wished to state, that what he was anxious to see was, an equal course taken by the hon. Gentleman in this measure with regard to the poor and the rich. It would be most unfair if that and the other House of Parliament should make a law of such a nature apply to that class of society who regarded dissection as a great punishment, and at the same time exempt those from its operation who had so largely benefitted by it. He was in a great degree reconciled to the principles of the Bill since the explanation that had been given.

Leave given.

CHOLERA MORBUS.] Mr. *Warburton* had been long desirous of moving for certain papers relating to the Cholera Morbus, and would take that opportunity of doing it. He did not know, that he should move specifically for all the papers on the subject, because a right hon. Gentleman had told him they could not be produced without inconvenience. The papers he intended to move for were these:—first, he understood that the Government were in possession of an important document, namely, the Report of the Deputy Adjutant-general to the emperor of Russia, stating the progress of the disease. If they really were in possession of that document he should like to see it. There was another document, containing all the cases of cholera which had occurred on board all the vessels sailing from Hamburgh to England, taking an account of all the accidents (the technical phrase) under which death had occurred, and stating how many of these deaths had occurred from cholera on board the said ships. That document would enable him to place before the House the knowledge Government had obtained of the various instances of infection. He should like to know also what became of all such vessels after they were released from quarantine. He must also express a wish to know when Government were first in possession of the knowledge of danger arising from these vessels, and how many days they were under quarantine, together with the report respecting each ship. This information would throw light on what he considered highly important: he alluded to the expression in his Majesty's Speech which had been treated with contempt by medical men. He was sure the College of Physicians would have a curious discussion on that expression. His object was, to ascertain distinctly from what source the infection had reached this country. He wished future historians to be able to report correctly whether this disease was indigenous or not. They had traced it from Astracan to Hamburgh, and to persons who came from Hamburgh to this kingdom. Although it was surrounded with so much mystery in the Speech from the Throne, he believed it had been introduced to this country in the same manner it was carried to Astracan and Hamburgh. He should have thought, after the knowledge which Government possessed of the means to prevent the spreading of contagion, by cutting off any connection with the diseased, they must have seen that the cholera was communicated from person to person, and that measures might have been taken to prevent communication. He would have surrounded the house or houses where it was first discovered with a cordon. The unfortunate persons might have been treated with kindness and humanity, and if that had been done he believed the cholera would not have extended. It was the duty of his Majesty's Government not to sit quiet with Turkish indolence. They ought to stop communication as the only means of preventing the spread of the disease. He called on his Majesty's Government to adopt that mode of arresting it. The expense was nothing compared with the good effect such a system would have produced. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving for further papers on the subject of the cholera.

Mr. *Poulett Thomson* could assure the hon. member for Bridport, that there was every inclination to grant all the papers that were in the possession of his Majesty's Government, relating to the subject of the Cholera Morbus; and that the only reason why it was proposed to the hon. Gentleman, that he should select those papers which he might consider most desirable to have produced, was one connected with a consideration of the expense. As there were a great many papers in all, there would necessarily be considerable expense incurred if they were to be all produced. It was, therefore, very expedient that the hon. Gentleman should make a selection; and if his hon. friend would come to his office, every document should be produced, with one or two exceptions—for copies of which he might wish to call. Those exceptions were with regard to some documents which might have been communicated by foreign governments, confidentially; and which therefore, it would not be advisable to produce. He should be very glad, that the other papers should be submitted to the public, and that they should be informed of the steps adopted by the Government in respect to the progress of this disease. Although he was satisfied that the public would not join in the censure of the hon. Member, yet he was most anxious, that the whole of the documents should be well understood, and all the steps that had been taken be thoroughly inquired into, because he felt assured that the whole would be approved of when all that had been done by the Government was sufficiently known. The charges brought by his hon. friend against the Government were, principally, having made a mystery of the existence and nature of the disease; and not taken sufficient precautions to oppose its introduction or to check its progress. His hon. friend had characterized that part of his Majesty's Speech which referred to this disease, as "mysterious;" and had stated, that the different members of the College of Physicians to whom he had spoken on the subject had treated that passage with contempt. He did not know whom his hon. friend alluded to; but he was quite certain that those with whom the Government had had any communication, had not been able to agree either as to the specific nature of the disease, or as to the way in which it came into this country. It was not possible to state in the Speech, whether the disease was one which had come into this country from abroad, or whether it had sprung up in Sunderland. Indeed, it was, for some time doubted among the physicians, whether the Sunderland distemper was the Cholera. One day it was declared to be so; another day it was said that it was not; and for five or six days after the disease had appeared there, the physicians of Sunderland declared it was not the Cholera; and even when two physicians went down thither, one of the medical gentlemen of that place was still of opinion that it was not the Cholera. But supposing it was the Cholera, still they had strong evidence as to the great difficulty of determining whether or no it was brought into this country, or, at least, of ascertaining by what means, or through what channel, it had been imported. It was, however, at all events, a question of great difficulty to determine whether this disease was the true Cholera or not. There were two ships which came to Sunderland from Hamburgh; and the question entirely turned upon the point of, whether these ships brought with them the disease. It was difficult to ascertain whether any communication had been had with these ships. But there was one point which admitted of easy solution—and that was, whether any person on board these ships had been affected by the Cholera? From the information which they had received, it appeared that of the crew of these two ships (for there were no passengers), every one seemed, at the time of leaving Hamburgh, and had been ever since, in a state of perfect health, and had never been affected at all. Certainly this created great difficulty in supposing that the disease was communicated by these vessels, unless it was believed (which was the opinion, it seemed, of some gentlemen), that the "*miasma*," or infected atmosphere, favourable to its propagation, might continue to pervade the cabins or other confined part of a vessel, and may thus communicate the disease upon being entered or opened. He only mentioned this theory, without giving an opinion upon it one way or the other, not being himself in possession of the necessary knowledge to do so. He only meant to state, that there was a degree of doubt upon the subject which was the cause of, and, he apprehended, fully justified the caution observed in his Majesty's Speech, in respect of any statement as to whether the Cholera was introduced from abroad, or rose up in Sunderland. He now came to the only other charge which had been made—namely, that the Government did not take the necessary steps, after those cases had appeared, to prevent the spreading of the disease. He had already stated, that the physicians disagreed entirely among themselves on the subject; it would have been, therefore, very difficult for the Government to justify themselves in having recourse to the measure which the hon. Gentleman had suggested—the attempting to surround Sunderland with a *cordon sanitaire*. But, admitting that Government had been even justified in doing so, still he was prepared to contend, that such an attempt could have been made only with the most injurious and vexatious consequences to the town and neighbourhood; and would have proved utterly ineffectual, at the same time, for the purpose required. His hon. friend must know, that in towns on the Continent where military cordons were at the disposal of the government, such practices had been adopted; and that they had been invariably found to fail. In Russia, for example, with the exception of the Emperor's palace in the vicinity of St. Petersburg (where the cordon was in a degree successful), these military cordons had uniformly resulted in disappointment. Around Vienna, Berlin, Riga, and at other places, large military cordons had been established, and at all those positions such means had completely failed of their end; and this, moreover, to such a degree, that he had not read of one single town or district, in which they had been planted, where they had not dissatisfied the inhabitants. He could refer his hon. friend to many publications in which the authorities had expressed their regret at having resorted to such means. In Germany, the people had declared, that, instead of good, these precautionary measures had been attended with the most disastrous consequences to the trade and commerce of the countries where they had been introduced. But to carry them into effect in such a country as this was impossible. He would put it to any Gentleman, whether he thought, that considering the habits of the British people, they would submit to such a system for one week? But the hon. Gentleman said, that if a cordon had been attempted around the town of Sunderland, it would have checked the disease. He begged to inform that hon. Gentleman, that such a cordon would have required 25,000 or 30,000 men to enforce it; and where, he asked, could such a force have been obtained? But what had been said by the physicians on the subject appeared to him perfectly just. In placing a cordon around the town, they were not building a wall of stone, but surrounding the place with thousands of human beings, who were all liable to the very infection which they would hedge in. Instead, therefore, of decreasing the disease, they were ensuring its extended communication to all parts of the kingdom. He came now to the other subject of charge, namely, as to the Government's not having taken other measures for preventing the spread of the disease. "Why," asked his hon. friend, "has Government not adopted a forced separation of the sick from the healthy?' To this he must give to his hon. friend the same answer which he had already done to his other charge; which was, that they acted from experience, and only from experience, and on that principle those measures were taken. His hon. friend said, that the physicians complained that their regulations had not been enforced; and he went further, and demanded, "Why, when your physicians, who were sent to St. Petersburg and Riga, say that the physicians at Petersburg adopted, with effect, the principle of forced separation—why do you not follow their counsel?" If the hon. Gentleman had attended to the opinions of Dr. Barry and Dr. Russell (the persons who were sent abroad by Government to inquire into the nature of the disease, and of its mode of treatment), he would have found, that no such effect as he imagines was produced by the enforced regulations at Petersburg. It was their decided opinion, supported by observation, that wherever these regulations had been in•

troduced, they had never done any good, but had invariably been productive of evil. These Gentlemen said, in their Report published by the Board of Health after their return, and which Report was written by the Board's direction, and published under their authority—that "With regard to precautions as to intercourse with suspected or really infected persons or places, the Board are confident, that good sense and good feeling will not only point out, but morally establish, as far as may be practicable, the necessity of avoiding such communication as may endanger the lives of thousands. But they strongly deprecate all measures of coercion for this purpose, which, when tried upon the Continent, invariably have been productive of evil. The best inducements to a prompt acknowledgment of the disease having entered a family, as well as to an early and voluntary separation of the sick from the healthy, will always be found in the readiness and efficiency with which public charitable institutions attend to the objects noticed in S. 3. It is with much satisfaction that the Board feel themselves authorized to declare, and it will no doubt be highly consolatory to the public to learn, that under proper observances of cleanliness and ventilation, this disease seldom spreads in families, and rarely passes to those about the sick, under such favourable circumstances, unless they happen to be particularly predisposed." It had been tried in many of the towns in Europe, to separate the sick from the healthy, by taking measures such as those recommended by his hon. friend, that of cutting off all communication; and invariably the same consequences had followed. In the first place, families disliked to be separated from their sick relative, and the consequence was, that every attempt was made to conceal the disease. These were the feelings existing among the poor, as well as among the wealthy classes; nay, even more so in the former, because they were more ignorant. Did not his hon. friend remember what took place in Hungary and at Petersburg, where the town was for three days in possession of the people, and all in consequence of the attempt made to force the sick from the healthy, and convey them to the hospitals? The noble conduct of the Emperor on that occasion would be long remembered. He suspended the regulation, and directed the people to be left to act voluntarily. It was explained to them how much better it was to be taken to the hospitals, where every attention would be paid to their sickness; and it was then left at their option whether they would go to the hospitals or remain at home. From that moment all dislike to be removed ceased, and the people were content to be separated from their friends, and to be treated in the public hospitals according to the system pursued there. That was a case which the Government of this country had thought it its duty to follow. Every kindness was shown towards the people affected by the disease, as well as every consideration paid to the feelings of the relatives. Every care was taken to preserve cleanliness in those parts of the town of Sunderland where the poor were congregated, and more especially where the disease prevailed; and hospitals had been established, in which patients had been already received. Physicians of the greatest eminence had been appointed to attend on the spot, and administer to the necessities of the sick, while other individuals equally disinterested and public-spirited had gone about recommending to the poor to be attended at the hospitals rather than at home, and taking every means in their power to adopt those measures of separation and cleanliness which were found most efficient. These were the steps which the Government had taken to arrest the disease; and he was of opinion that such a course was much more likely to be attended with beneficial consequences, than any enforcement which either this House or the Government could resort to. If persons would exert themselves in reasoning with the lower classes, and endeavoured to persuade them to take advantage, voluntarily, of the facilities afforded at the hospitals, it would be more effectual in overcoming their prejudices than any mode of coercion that could be adopted. He assured the hon. Gentleman that there had been no Turkish indolence on the part of Government, and he was quite sure, that when the public came to learn what had been done by Ministers in regard to this disease, they would be of opinion that their conduct had been most consistent with their duty, and most conducive to the end desired; namely, to check the disease and prevent the spread of the contagion to any other part of the kingdom. Whilst the whole faculty were uncertain both as to the nature and the treatment of the disease, it was very difficult for a Government to take so harsh a step on such doubtful information. They had interfered in every possible way to effect that which might prove the most beneficial in its results; and, therefore, they hoped what had been done would be satisfactory to the country.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* said, that he was aware of the impossibility of surrounding Sunderland with troops. He had traced the progress of the cholera through the various countries which it had ravaged, and he was sure, that the quarantine regulations ought to have been more strictly enforced. There had been too much laxity, he regretted to say, respecting these regulations, but he trusted, now that the disease had made its appearance, that by cleanliness and attention, we might be spared the frightful ravages which had occurred in other parts of the world. Before the disease had made its appearance in Sunderland and Newcastle, he had called upon Ministers to use every precaution in their power, by strictly enforcing quarantine regulations. He must confess, that he thought Ministers, even after the disease had manifested itself, might have done more than they had towards preventing its spreading. They ought to have attempted to prevent its progress, by having the houses in which the cholera had broken out guarded. It had been shown, by the instance of the palace near St. Petersburg being surrounded by a cordon, and in which there were between 6,000 and 7,000 individuals, that the disease might be kept out; and Ministers were bound, in the first instance, to endeavour to stop the progress of the disease by precautionary measures, and by strictly enforcing the quarantine laws.

Mr. *Hunt* said, it might not be palatable to hon. Members to hear what he was about to say, but of this he was fully assured, that should the cholera make its appearance in the metropolis, it would certainly visit St. Stephen's, for the air which they breathed was unwholesome, and there was a great want of ventilation in the House.

Mr. *Warburton* insisted that cordons had been successful in foreign countries, and he believed they would prove equally efficacious in this. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken about the expense of having a cordon of soldiers round Sunderland, but surely it would have been no great expense to have had the houses guarded in which those afflicted with the cholera lived? There were not now above a hundred houses so circumstanced, and these might most easily be guarded by soldiers. If Government acted with Turkish resignation as to the disease, it would spread all over the county. He had done his duty in calling the attention of Ministers to the subject, and he could not compel them to act if they were not inclined. He had, before the cholera broke out at Sunderland, complained of the laxity in the observance of the quarantine laws. He would not detain the House longer, but he would call upon Ministers to act, and if they did not, in his opinion they would be responsible for the consequences.

Motion agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, December 16, 1831.

MINUTES.] Returns ordered. On the Motion of the Marquis of LANSDOWN, Copies and Extracts of Communications received by the Irish Government within the last year, relative to the collection and payment of Tithes in Ireland, and the resistance offered thereto, distinguishing Tithes held by Ecclesiastical Persons, or Lay Impropriators, and the amount of Composition in each case; also, the names of every Parish in which an agreement had been made under the Composition Act; also, of the number of applications made by Parishes to be placed under the provisions of the Composition Act, from November, 1829, to November, 1831, with the number of cases in which Composition had actually been effected; and the number of Acres in each Parish, distinguishing their qualities.

EXPEDITION AGAINST PORTUGAL.] The Earl of *Aberdeen* said, he should be glad, before the adjournment of the House, to be informed of the intentions of Government with respect to a matter which he conceived to be well worthy of their Lordships consideration: he alluded to the reports which had lately gone abroad of the violation of the Act of the 59th of George 3rd commonly called the Foreign Enlistment Act. His attention had been more particularly called to this subject in consequence of a paragraph which appeared in a newspaper, printed in the early part of this week. Among a variety of statements relative to this matter, the following paragraph was inserted, under the head of "Ship News:" — "Liverpool, Dec. 10.—Sailed, His Majesty's War-office steam-packet, Lord Blaney, for Belleisle, having on board upwards of 300 volunteers, who have gone to assist in the expedition under Don Pedro against Portugal." In an adjoining column, he found the following statement, under the head "Thames Police:"—"Yesterday, upwards of forty sailors, who had just landed from a Gravesend sailing-boat, near the office, applied for summonses against a gentleman named Phillips, residing in Leadenhall-street, an agent to the expedition now fitting out at Brest, against Don Miguel, for wages due to them under the following circumstances." An account was then given of the manner in which these persons were detained in the river, from which it appeared that a steam-vessel took 200 seamen to Brest, leaving behind the forty persons who appeared at the police-office, and applied to the Magistrate for relief. After a considerable discussion, the Magistrate, Mr. Broderip, told the applicants that "their case was one of great hardship, and that they certainly deserved to be paid for their loss of time: but he regretted, that it was out of his power to interfere, or to grant them a summons under the statute for work and labour done, as, upon their own showing, they had done no work, but had merely waited in the river expecting to be called upon to accompany Don Pedro's expedition. They might bring an action against Mr. Phillips for breach of contract, or summon him for some remuneration for their loss of time at the Court of Requests." He had not intended, on seeing this paragraph, to make any further, observations than simply to request an explanation of this statement, but he had since been informed, that very recently, and, indeed, since the delivery of his Majesty's Speech on opening of the present session of Parliament, that this recruiting had gone on much more busily than before, and the question, therefore, naturally arose, whether the Foreign Enlistment Act was in force or not; for he could not conceive how it could be said that such a law was in existence while practices of this kind were carried on. Here was a Magistrate declaring that the case of these applicants was a hard one, and lamenting that he could not, in consequence of some technicality in the construction of a statute afford them relief; but it seemed never to have occurred to him to suggest to the parties that they were engaged in an illegal transaction, for he apparently considered the contract which they had entered into perfectly legal, and still less did it occur to him to put the law into execution against those who had violated it. He could not say, that he was much surprised at the conduct of the Magistrate, who could not have failed to observe the course pursued by his Majesty's Government with respect to this matter, but he was at least entitled to know by what authority a Magistrate took on himself to stay or restrain the execution of the law. It was not his intention to discuss at the present moment the merits or demerits of the Foreign Enlistment Act. He perfectly remembered, however, that the bill was opposed on its introduction by several noble Lords opposite, while, on the other hand, it was strenuously supported by many other noble Lords on the same side of the House. Perhaps now they might be all of opinion that the Act was objectionable, and that it ought to be repealed. On that point he would make no remark, but he thought, that the Act, if it was to be repealed, ought to be repealed by Parliament; and that his Majesty's Government ought not virtually to exercise a dispensing power with respect to that law. He should like to know in what character it was, that Don Pedro and his agents took upon themselves to violate the laws of this country, in so open and barefaced a manner? He looked on that prince and his agents in no other light than as private individuals, bound to respect the laws of the country in which they sojourned. It certainly did strike him that there was something obscure, mysterious, and meant as oracular, in the mention of Don Pedro in his Majesty's Speech on opening the session. The words were, "The return to Europe of the elder branch of the illustrious House of Braganza, and the dangers of a disputed succession," though, as he had formerly stated to their Lordships, "the return to Europe" took place before the beginning of last session. The mention, therefore, of "the return," in the King's Speech, and the mysterious allusion to its consequences, certainly gave rise in his mind to some suspicion. His Majesty's Ministers might just as well have talked of the visit to this country of the elder branch of the illustrious House of Bourbon! Under what circumstances did Don Pedro return to Europe? He had been dethroned, and expelled from his dominions; he had abdicated his crown, and come as a fugitive to Europe. He was in Europe only as a private individual. This prince, he believed, returned to Europe, with no hostile disposition towards his brother, and with no intention to make war on Portugal; but being speedily surrounded by adventurers and speculators—for there were speculators in revolution as well as in every thing else—he was furnished with the means of carrying on a war which he had never before contemplated. So much he had a right to say, for the last official act, he believed, of Don Pedro's government, was a proposition to enter into conciliatory negotiations with his brother, on the basis of a marriage being contracted between his daughter and Don Miguel. His Majesty's Government, however, having declined to be a party to that proposition, the negotiation was broken off; but unquestionably the last sentiments expressed by the government of Don Pedro were those of conciliation to his brother. Under these circumstances, therefore, he thought it was difficult to say upon what principle it was, that the Foreign Enlistment Act, if it was in force, was not put into fair and impartial execution with regard to Portugal, as well as every other Power. There seemed something so unjust in dispensing with the law, to the prejudice of that power, that he was quite at a loss to account for the conduct which his Majesty's Government appeared disposed to pursue on this subject. It could not, he thought, be maintained, that because the government of Don Miguel had not been acknowledged as a legitimate authority, but was looked on as a usurpation, this country was not bound to enforce the observance of existing laws in its favour; for unacknowledged as that government was, this country had not failed to exact from it every tittle of those privileges to which she was entitled with as much strictness as if she was dealing with the most legitimate government which could by possibility be established. This country had insisted on the fulfilment to the utmost extent, of all her rights and privileges on the part of this usurping government; and it would, therefore, be too monstrous for this country to acknowledge practically the validity of the Portuguese government for every purpose of profit, advantage, and utility to ourselves, and deny that government the advantage which it had a right to expect from the impartial administration of our own laws. But it was quite impossible, that the government of Don Miguel not being acknowledged could form a reason for not carrying into effect the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, because their Lordships would recollect, that at the particular time when that Act passed the Legislature, it was principally aimed at the enlistments which were then going on in behalf of the South American colonies, which colonies were not at that time acknowledged by this country as independent States. He was therefore utterly at a loss to conceive on what ground the dispensing with the law on the present occasion could be justified; and if it was not justified, it appeared to him that his Majesty's Government had been guilty of the most culpable neglect of that duty which every State owed to another. He certainly could not help thinking, that it was through our connivance, to a certain extent, that a wanton outrage was committed by the French, in forcing an entrance up the Tagus, and taking possession of the Portuguese fleet; but that circumstance did not, in his opinion, release his Majesty's Government from those duties which the due and impartial administration of existing laws imposed on them. He purposely abstained, on the present occasion, from entering into any inquiry as to the general course of policy which the noble Earl opposite was disposed to pursue with regard to Portugal. He would not debate the question of the legality or illegality of Don Miguel's government, or discuss what steps had better be taken to put an end to the unhappy state of things existing between the two countries; but would simply confine himself to this point—that if the Foreign Enlistment Act was in existence, it was the duty of Government to apply it impartially in favour of every existing Power. If such was not the opinion of the noble Earl opposite, he should be glad to know the fact; and whether any distinction was to be made in the application of that Act in the case of Portugal?

Earl *Grey* said, that it was only within an hour of his arrival in the House, that he received a notice from the noble Earl opposite, signifying his intention of calling the attention of the House to a subject connected with Portugal. Not knowing, therefore, to what particular object the noble Earl's observations would be directed, it was impossible for him to come prepared with the necessary information to answer them. The noble Earl had stated, that it was not his intention to go into a discussion of the general course of policy which it was the intention of Government to pursue with respect to Portugal; but, notwithstanding that declaration, a considerable part of the statement which the noble Earl had thought it necessary to make, had undoubtedly been directed to a passage in the King's Speech, to the situation of Don Pedro, to the condition in which that prince now stood, (and certainly by implication) in a great measure, to the general course of policy pursued by Government with regard to Portugal. Whether it was the noble Earl's intention or not to raise such a discussion, all he could say was, that he would be no party to it. With respect to the subject to which the noble Earl had particularly called the attention of the House, he thought that a short explanation on his part would suffice to show the noble Earl that he was labouring under some misapprehension of the circumstances. He certainly agreed with the noble Earl, that whether he approved or disapproved of the Foreign Enlistment Act, while it was the law of the country, it ought to be fairly and impartially observed and administered. The noble Earl had stated, that violations of that Act had been committed; but he must take the liberty of saying, that that statement was a mere assumption of the fact, to which he was not at all disposed to agree. He did not know, until he had heard it from the noble Earl, of the proceeding which took place before Mr. Broderip, the Magistrate; and whether the account was true or false he could not say, as he had not had an opportunity of informing himself on the subject. With respect to the recruits which had been carried away in the War-office packet, called the Lord Blaney, all he could say was, that as far as he was informed, no such vessel existed as a War-office packet. Their Lordships had undoubtedly heard, that some vessels had been detained in the river under the Foreign Enlistment Act. They were detained for some time by the Custom-house authorities, in the execution of their duty, on a representation being made, that the purposes for which they were supposed to be fitted out brought them within the provisions of that Act; but a claim having been made on behalf of the owners of the vessels to have them released, the Custom-house authorities, doubting whether they were authorized to detain them, made a reference to the Treasury on the subject. The Treasury submitted the matter to the Law Officers of the Crown, who reported, that Government had no right or authority to detain these vessels. Under these circumstances, they were accordingly released. A representation had also at this time been made to Government with respect to Englishmen being enlisted for a foreign service, and that subject was likewise referred to the King's Advocate, and all the Law Officers of the Crown; and their answer was, that under the circumstances stated, there was no ground for Government to interfere. This was the state of the case as far as he and his colleagues were concerned. They had not suspended the operation of the law, nor acted with partiality one way or another. This was all he would say on the present occasion; but if the noble Earl was of opinion that it would be necessary, at some future period, to make the matter a subject of more ample discussion, he should think it his duty to prepare himself with all the information he could obtain respecting it.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* said, that his purpose was answered by the reply which the noble Earl had given to his statement. He assured the noble Earl that he had conceived a doubt, whether the noble Earl did not intend to make some distinction in the application of the law with regard to the present case. Having, however, learned that so long as the law existed, it was the intention of Government to execute it impartially and fairly, his object was attained.

Lord *Ellenborough* wished to take that opportunity of observing, that he had reason to believe, that an order had been issued from the Court of Lisbon to the Governor of Macao, and growing out of the unfortunate state of the relations between the two countries, to prohibit private British merchants from residing on that Island, without the previous sanction of the Portuguese government. The execution of this order had been suspended he understood, by the Governor on the representations of the Chief of the Factory. He believed that such an order was contrary to treaties, and most certainly if it was enforced, particularly at the present moment, when we were not on good terms with the Chinese; it would produce much embarrassment, he therefore trusted the noble Earl would consider the subject.

Adjourned till Tuesday, the 17th of January.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, December 16, 1831.

Minutes.] New Member sworn. Charles Philip Yorke, Esq., for Reigate.

Bills brought in. By the Attorney General, to enable his Majesty's Attorney General to proceed upon Reports of Commissioners of Charities. By Sir John Cam Hobhouse, to alter and amend the Vestry Act of last Session. Read a second time. Juries (Ireland); Land Revenue. Read a third time: Lottery Tickets.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Colonel Evans, the names of the Prize Agents, and others, employed in the distribution of the Deccan Prize Money, the Emoluments paid to them, and the Law Expenses incurred. On the Motion of Mr. Warburton, a Copy of the Memorial of the College of Surgeons to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the Schools of Anatomy. On the Motion of Sir Henry Willoughby, the number of Vessels and their tonnage employed at Dartmouth, and of the Excise and Custom duties paid at the same port from January, 1821, to January, 1831. On the Motion of Mr. D. W. Harvey, the number of Persons admitted as Freemen in the various Cities and Boroughs which send Members to Parliament, in each year, since 1800, with an account of the Fees paid, and how the same were appropriated.

Petitions presented. By Mr. SANDFORD, from the Glove Makers of Yeovil, against the Importation of French Gloves; and from the Mayor and Inhabitants of Axbridge, for the abolition of the punishment of Death for offences against Property; by Colonel EVANS, from Farmers and Inhabitants of Ampthill, (Bedfordshire) for the Repeal of the Insurance duty; by Mr. CHARLES DUNDAS, from Newbury, and other places in the county of Berkshire, in favour of Reform of Parliament; by Mr. WILBRAHAM, from Macclesfield complaining of distress.

REFORM PETITIONS.] Lord *Eastnor* rose to present a petition, signed by nearly 400 of the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, and other inhabitants of Worcestershire, upon the subject of Reform. He thought it fair to presume, looking at the names of the petitioners, that in them was comprised a large portion of the property in that county. The petitioners stated their entire approval of the conscientious rejection of the late Reform Bill by the House of Peers, and they also expressed their regret that such a measure of Reform had not been introduced as would have preserved the institutions of the country, and have prevented that great excitement which prevailed on the subject, which, if not allayed in time by wise and temperate measures, must prove ruinous to the empire generally. The petitioners said, they were not insensible to the altered circumstances of the times, and to the reasonable demands for a temperate Reform, but they thought that under the name of Reform, measures had been introduced which were calculated to destroy a part of the Constitution, by affecting the independence of the two branches of the Legislature. The petitioners concluded by praying, that the Government would maintain the laws with firmness and dignity, that it would execute them with impartiality, and put down all political associations which were incompatible with the safety of the best institutions of the country, for in their opinions, by these means alone could the lives and properties of the King's subjects be efficiently protected. He most fully concurred in the sentiments expressed by the petitioners. It was impossible to read the signatures which were attached to the petition, without being sensible that a large proportion of the county of Worcester was not in favour of the Reform Bill which had lately passed that House, and he feared there were many who entertained similar opinions, but were deterred from expressing them from an apprehension of suffering from a system of intimidation and incendiarism which he regretted to say now prevailed. Many more had been misled by the delusive notions which some advocates for the Bill entertained and propagated with great industry. He therefore for one did hope, that such ameliorations would now be made as would conciliate all classes who were anxious for the welfare of the people, and would give satisfaction to the country at large.

Sir *John Sebright* begged to ask the noble Lord if the petition had been agreed to at a public meeting?

Lord *Eastnor* answered in the negative.

Sir *John Sebright* had no doubt, that many very respectable persons might be found in Worcestershire to put their names to an Anti-reform petition; but from all the communications he had received from that county (and he was much connected with it), he denied that the petition spoke the opinions of the majority of the inhabitants. He would instance in favour of his assertion the fact that an hon. friend of his, entirely unconnected with the county, was returned at the last election, solely because he was a Reformer. He begged to protest most strongly against the petition being supposed to contain the sentiments of the inhabitants of Worcestershire.

Colonel *Davies* confidently asserted, there was not a better or more peaceably disposed population in England, than that of Worcestershire. As an allusion had been made to the fear of incendiarism being entertained by those who dared to express an opinion unfavourable to Reform, he begged to state, that during last year only one fire took place in Worcestershire, and in that case punishment overtook the offender. He resided in that county, and his noble friend did not, and therefore he was better able to state the opinions of the inhabitants than his noble friend. He had attended the public meeting in Worcestershire, and could state, that the strongest feeling was manifested to have a full and effectual Reform carried. If there was a Tory county in Great Britain, Worcestershire was that county. Many ancient families of large possessions were Anti-reformers, but not one of them ventured to come to the public meeting and avow his opinions. The petition had laid for signature some weeks, and after all about 400 only had signed it, whereas, from what he knew of the county, he should have expected to see at least 1,000. In point of numbers the petition was, certainly, very insignificant, whatever it might be in point of respectability.

Mr. *Robinson* as Representative for the city of Worcester, could state, that there was a very inconsiderable number of persons either in the city or county opposed to all Reform. At the same time he was ready to admit there were many persons some of whom were men of the highest respectability, who objected to the specific measure which had lately passed that House; but both these classes were a small minority compared with the number of inhabitants who were in favour of it. The principles of Reform were so deeply rooted in that county, that a very amiable and gallant candidate was beaten at the last election by a Reformer, who was a stranger to the county. That fact alone was a complete answer to the charge of there being many Anti-reformers in Worcestershire. As to the statement made by the noble Lord, that persons were afraid to declare their sentiments from a system of terror which shewed itself in the destruction of property —he had no knowledge of the fact, and he doubted its existence. And with regard to the effects likely to be produced by the proposed Bill, he believed that its principles embodied the opinions of by far the greatest portion of the enlightened public. As it was evident some Reform must be conceded, that undoubtedly was the safest which had for its support the majority of the thinking people of the country. In his opinion the minority would do well to come into the views of the majority, and together support a measure which by their combined efforts to uphold it, would effectually check the desire for further innovation, and most materially tend to pacify the country.

Mr. *John T. Hope* said, he rejoiced to hear, that the advocates for the late measure had at length discovered that there were many respectable persons opposed to their plan. He would assert, that the results of the last election were not a fair proof of the present feelings of the inhabitants of Worcester, or any other county, on the Reform question, as, subsequent to the last general election, a great change had taken place in the minds of many persons.

Lord *Eastnor* begged leave to say, as from several remarks made by hon. Members, he feared that he had not made himself understood, that he had never asserted that the petition expressed the sentiments of the majority of the people of Worcestershire. What he had said was, that although it was signed by but 400 persons, yet it nevertheless represented the opinions of a considerable proportion of the property of that county, and that it proved what was the prevailing opinion among a certain class of persons. He had avoided alluding to the proposed measure except by the general observation that many persons were not favourable to the main principles of that Bill. The hon. member for the city of Worcester had thought proper to taunt him and his friends with not venturing to shew their faces at public meetings convened for the consideration of the subject of Reform. In reply to this he would simply say, that several persons had agreed to assemble at Worcester, for the purpose of expressing their approbation of the conduct of Colonel Lygon, the late Member, but previous to the intended meeting they were informed, that the public peace might be endangered by the excitement which such a meeting would create, and the consequence was, that the intention was abandoned. Some other parties had then called a Reform meeting, which those who had endeavoured to get up the former feared in return would be infinitely more dangerous to the public peace, and their anticipations were correct, for nothing but the excellent arrangements of the Magistrates, and the timely arrival of the military, prevented the same tragedy at Worcester, which was subsequently acted at Bristol. The hon. Member vaunted of the peaceable inhabitants of Worcester, he did not deny, that they generally deserved that character, but he affirmed, the serious disturbances which afterwards prevailed grew out of the county meeting. He had made these remarks to justify his own conduct and that of the petitioners, and he hoped his object was obtained.

Colonel *Davies* must deny, that the disturbances of the 5th of November at Worcester grew out of the county meeting. He believed they took their rise from a fire which broke out in the night between that day and the following. With respect to another of the noble Lord's observations, he must still declare, that the petition did not even represent the opinions of the majority of the property of the county.

Petition to be printed.

Mr. *Warburton* presented a petition from a body of persons calling themselves members of the National Political Union in Council assembled against any clause of the Reform Bill which should require the payment of rent or taxes as qualifications to vote for Members to serve in Parliament. He had always declined to become a member of these Unions, because he found attending his duties in that House quite sufficient, therefore he could say no more of the parties who had signed this petition, than that, as members of such a Union, he believed they had conducted themselves with propriety. The petitioners stated, that from their own knowledge, being most of them electors for Westminster, the making of the payment of rates a criterion for voting had, from their own experience, and upon general principles, led to bribery and corruption. They inferred this from what had taken place in Westminster in the case of certain candidates whom they were prepared to name. There was the famous case that was argued before the King's Bench, in which it was proved that the rate collector, at the expense of about *5l. 5s.* a day had attended on the hustings, on the part of one of the candidates, an undertaking having been given, that the rates due by those who voted for him should be paid. The candidate went first, and the rate collector followed to threaten the poor electors with distraint if they did not vote for that candidate. He entirely concurred in the prayer of the petition, and he implored the noble Lord opposite to take the reasoning of this petition into his consideration. The petitioners did not object to property, or the occupancy of a house of 10*l.* being made the criterion for a vote, but only to the payment of rates and taxes, as leading to bribery and corruption.

Mr. *John Wood* cordially supported the prayer of the petition. It was his opinion, that if the suggestion of the petitioners was adopted it would very much improve the Bill. As far as the right of voting went, it ought to be of no consequence whatever, whether the elector had paid his rates or not. As to the rent, that was an obligation existing between landlord and tenant. Rates were also a contract between the Government and the voters, and neither of these obligations had, strictly speaking, any connexion with the right of voting.

Colonel *Davies* said, he did not understand how the prayer of the petition could be supported, without upsetting the whole intent of the Bill.

Mr. *Sheil* said, the occupancy of a house was a sufficient guarantee for the competency of the voters. He certainly agreed with the petitioners in thinking that if electors were required to pay up their rates and rent, it would open the door to many abuses.

Mr. *Hunt* said, he understood the payment of rent was not a necessary qualification, and so far the hon. member for Louth was at fault: but with regard to the payment of King's taxes, Westminster was not the only place where this qualification had been made the means of bribery and corruption. This provision of the Bill he very much objected to on that account.

The question being put, that the petition be brought up,

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that before the petition was brought up, he must beg leave to call the attention of the House more particularly to it. The petition professed to be the petition of the members of the Council of a Society called the National Political Union, in Council assembled, and it appeared to him impossible for the House to recognise such a body. He therefore felt it his duty, as many other petitions of the same nature might be presented, to call the attention of the House to the point, which appeared to him to be of considerable importance, particularly when he referred to his Majesty's proclamation, for although he was not prepared to say whether or not this particular body came within the scope of that proclamation, yet, as such a proclamation had been issued from the highest authority in the State, mentioning that Societies under the denomination of Political Unions had been found contrary to the letter and the spirit of the law, he thought the House ought to be careful how it contravened that law by recognising the acts of any such Societies. He was of opinion that the House could not receive a petition from those parties, except as the petition of the individuals. When they addressed the House as members of the Council of a Political Union, in Council assembled, the House ought to be cautious how it gave a sanction to the petition of persons assuming such a title.

Mr. *Warburton* said, that although on many occasions petitions were presented from persons claiming to sign them as members of certain Societies, the House had never objected to receive them on that account. It was as the petition of the individuals that he presented the present petition. He was not aware that any illegal act had been committed by the members of the Union; on the contrary, he believed that they had not infringed on any Act of Parliament.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, he had disclaimed saying that they had been guilty of any illegal act; but the petition expressly set forth that it was the petition of members of the Council of a Political Union, in

Council assembled. His Majesty's proclamation which he had sent for immediately on seeing the title of the petition, described the illegal Unions as consisting of members subject to the control and direction of a superior Committee or Council. He therefore thought that the House ought to be cautious not to give a body which might fall under that designation the power of approaching it.

Lord *Althorp* said, he entirely concurred with the right hon. Baronet, that the House ought to be very cautious, not to do any thing, in receiving petitions, which might encourage or recognise the existence of any of the Societies to which his Majesty's proclamation referred. The proclamation referred to societies composed of regular gradations, and different classes of members, under the supreme guidance of a Council. He was not aware exactly what the constitution of this society was, but he did not believe that it was one of those societies which contravened the proclamation. The present was not the time at which it would be convenient to discuss the question whether such societies were advantageous or not. The question before the House was, whether there was any thing in the form of this petition which would make it necessary for the House to reject it; and he did not think that it would be expedient to adopt that course unless they were imperatively called upon by the forms of the House to do so. The petition stated, that it was the petition of the undersigned members of the Council of the Political Union, in Council assembled. Now it did not profess to be the petition of the Council itself; and if it were not the petition of a body which the House ought not to recognise, he thought it would not be expedient to reject it. He admitted, that the case was one which was liable to some degree of doubt; but he was not disposed at any time to be captious as to petitions presented to the House, and he thought that the present might be received as the petition of the individuals.

Mr. *James E. Gordon* said, that the distinction which the noble Lord had attempted to draw between the members of a Political Council and the Council itself was a mere evasion, and an insult to common sense and to the House.

Sir *Robert Inglis* said, according to the dictum of the noble Lord, if a petition were presented from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of any city, in Common Council assembled, such a petition would not be that of the Corporation. He trusted the House would not tolerate such evasions, and he regretted that the noble Lord had endeavoured to make them.

Mr. *Warburton* would, with the leave of the House, withdraw the petition for the present, but not with the intention of withdrawing it wholly, for he would present it on a future day.

Sir *Robert Peel* would meet the proposition of the hon. Gentleman in the spirit in which he made it, and would not oppose the withdrawing the Motion, although he might do so.

Petition withdrawn.

Adjournment for Christmas Holidays.] Lord *Althorp* before moving the Order of the Day for the Second Reading of the Reform Bill, wished to give notice, that it was his intention, immediately after the Debate on the second reading was disposed of, whenever that might be, to move, that the House, at its rising, should adjourn to Tuesday, 17th January next. It had been the wish of his Majesty's Ministers, that the Parliament should meet after the holidays a week earlier than that day. But it had been represented to them, that it would be extremely inconvenient to the Members connected with Ireland to attend so soon; and as it was their desire to give the Members from all parts of the kingdom an opportunity of attending in the Committee, Ministers thought it better to depart from the original intention, and to move an adjournment to the day which he had mentioned.

Mr. *Croker* thought it probable that it might be necessary to defer the assembling of Parliament to a later day than the noble Lord proposed. He would suggest to both the noble Lords, that possibly they were not allowing themselves sufficient time to prepare the information which it was necessary to have laid upon the Table before the Bill ought to go into the Committee. The noble Lords themselves best knew whether the proposed time would be sufficient; but the House would perceive, that, without having all the information that was promised, it would be impossible to go one step further after the second reading. The documents which were to be produced were, he understood, voluminous, and if they could not be prepared by the 17th of January, it was unnecessary and useless to appoint so early a day for the re-assembling of Parliament.

Lord *Althorp* had no doubt that he should be ready before that day, but the right hon. Gentleman would perceive that it was not necessary to go into the Committee on the first day. It would be more convenient that the Irish and Scotch Bills should be read a first time before the English Bill should have been committed. He should suggest, therefore, that the Committee might be taken on the Thursday or Friday after the re-assembling of the House; and he had no doubt that the House would then be in possession of all the necessary information.

Mr. *Croker* hoped that the noble Lord would find the time sufficient for the necessary preparation. But he must remind the House, that the noble Lord promised last night, that there should be laid before the House the List of boroughs on which the Bill was founded. When he had repeated the assertion that the Bill was founded on that List, he was told that his assertion was incorrect. However, he had received that morning one of the official papers connected with the List, and he insisted that the first line justified what he said. The paper to which he alluded was a letter from Lord Melbourne to one of the gentlemen who was instructed to prepare the information required for the new Bill; and it began thus:—" Sir;—The Government having determined to found the Reform Bill upon a new basis, I request your assistance, to enable them to ascertain the relative importance of the smaller boroughs in England and Wales. It is proposed to take the number of houses, and the amount of assessed taxes for the year ending April, 1831, together, as the test of disfranchisement." It had been promised, that that letter should be laid on the Table this morning, and this morning it certainly was delivered. But the document which ought to have been delivered with it, namely, the List which itself constituted the basis on which the Bill was founded, he had not then obtained. He had received it, however, since he came into the House, it having been put into his hands by an hon. friend of his, who was connected with his Majesty's Government. Whether his hon. friend had acted officially or officiously, he could not say; but the fact was, he had only just received the information. Whether it was to be laid on the Table or not, he did not know, but this he knew, that it was not put into his hands until just upon the verge of the debate. It could not be obtained before, for he had inquired for it from the officers of the House the moment he entered. However, as he had got it at last, he should not comment, as he might well do, upon the great irregularity, and the still greater delays, that had taken place respecting the production of these papers, but he must complain, that, at the moment when the debate was about to commence, the List, which was the basis of the Bill, according to the letter of the noble Secretary of State for the Home Department, was not in the hands of more than six or seven Members. He should make no comment on the absurd and ridiculous calculations (such, at least, they appeared, from the cursory look he had had of them) which accompanied that List, and was signed " Thomas Drummond." The schoolmaster was said to be abroad, and Mr. Drummond seemed to be one of his most promising pupils; for, as appears by his own letter, he had puzzled himself and the House with a long series of decimal fractions, to produce a result which could just as completely be effected by the simple addition of the numbers. He hoped that the future information would be more distinct, even though it were less learned, than the fractional scale of Mr. Drummond.

Lord *John Russell* thought that he had some reason to complain of the observations made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He had been informed, on coming into the House, that the papers were not yet in the hands of the Members, but that they would be ready in a very short time, and be delivered as soon as possible. At that time there were about fifty copies in the Vote Office. With that information he (Lord J. Russell) might have been satisfied. But, as a matter of civility, rather than otherwise, he undertook to convey some of those papers to the right hon. Member, rather than to give him the trouble to obtain them for himself, or wait until he should receive them according to the forms and usage of the House. He did not know in what way the right hon. Gentleman might wish those things to be done, but it was not very encouraging to others to take the trouble of giving information as soon as it came into their hands. The right hon. Gentleman was displeased that Mr. Drummond had not confined his calculation to the mere addition of the numbers. But it was not the fact, that the mere addition would have given the result which it was the object of the calculation to obtain. The addition could not possibly give the relative proportion of the towns in respect to the population and the assessed taxes together. If the hon. Gentleman supposed that it would, he must not have visited the schoolmaster very lately.

Mr. *Croker* would not detain the House from the debate on the Reform Bill by protracting the present conversation. But he would take an opportunity of proving, that the mere addition would have given the result ssought, quite as satisfactorily as Mr. Drummond had expressed himself in his fractional formulæ; and then he trusted the noble Lord would be satisfied that his schoolmaster was more skilful than the noble Lord's. He felt fully justified in complaining that the papers had come down so late, for he had himself inquired at the Vote Office without obtaining them, and the irregular thrusting them into his hands just as the debate was about to begin, he could not consider as any thing like private civility or public decorum.

Russian Dutch Loan.] Sir *Robert Peel* said, he was sorry to interpose a moment's delay before the Debate on the Reform Bill commenced; but with the consent of the noble Lord opposite, he was going to put a question upon a matter totally unconnected with Reform. He should not put this question now, if it did not involve a point (as it appeared to him) of considerable constitutional importance, the elucidation of which ought not to be postponed. However, in order to avoid, as far as he could, the possibility of a discussion, he should abstain from making any observations except such as were necessary to render the matter intelligible. He referred to that loan, which was called the Russian Loan. The original circumstances under which that loan was entered into, it was unnecessary for him to detail; but it would be remembered by the House, that, in the year 1815, we contracted with the king of the Netherlands, and the emperor of Russia, to pay the interest upon a proportion of that loan, which amounted in the whole to upwards of two millions. An Act of Parliament was accordingly passed, which authorised the Treasury to continue the payment of the interest, conformably to our engagement. In order to ascertain whether we were bound, consistently with law, to continue that payment, it was necessary to understand precisely what was the nature of our engagement. The original amount of the loan was 25,600,000 Dutch guilders, which was rather more than 2,000,000*l.* sterling; and we had consented to pay the interest of one-third of that sum. But an express engagement was entered into, that we should not be called upon to pay the interest after the possession and sovereignty of the Belgian provinces should be severed from the kingdom of Holland. He apprehended that the possession and sovereignty of those territories had been for a considerable time past so severed. On the 21st of June, in the present year, in the Speech delivered to Parliament, his Majesty recognised the right of the people of Belgium to make their own internal regulations, and to settle the government of their country according to their own views. Therefore, on the 21st of June, his Majesty admitted the *de facto* separation of the two kingdoms. Now, what he wished to ask the noble Lord was, whether directions had been given for the payment of the interest upon the Dutch loan up to the present day, or to the next time when it would become payable; and, if not, whether he did not consider it important to obtain the sanction of Parliament to the payment, if it was to be continued? On the policy of continuing the payment he said nothing; but, in conformity with the letter and spirit of the law, he conceived that there was no authority in the Treasury to continue it.

Lord *Althorp* said, that he did not mean, at the present moment, to enter into the discussion of the subject of the loan, but it was necessary for him, in answering the question of the right hon. Gentleman, to say a very few words with respect to the treaty. The treaty, as the right hon. Gentleman had truly stated, stipulated that the money was to be paid by England for Russia, so long as the Netherlands should be united to Holland. But the House would recollect, that it was necessary to refer to other parts of the negotiation, in order to understand the meaning and spirit and the clear object of the treaty. By it the king of the Netherlands and the king of Great Britain were to pay a certain proportion of the interest and principal of the Russian loan to the emperor of Russia, so long as the Netherlands should continue united with Holland. This agreement was made with the emperor to prevent any attempt at the separation of those countries. The whole of the correspondence and negotiations proved, that this was the principle. The question which came before his Majesty's Government for consideration was, whether the circumstances under which the separation had taken place, absolved this country, in honour and justice, and in conformity to the spirit and etter of the treaty, in holding back from Russia the payment of the interest? And what were the circumstances under which the separation took place? Was it our desire to call upon Russia to take steps to prevent the separation? The contrary was quite notorious. And would it, then, be consistent with the honour of this country to have taken advantage of the separation to refuse to Russia the payment of the interest on the loan, when it was clearly in accordance with the wishes of this country that the separation took place, and when we could not impute any blame to Russia on account of that separation? This appeared to his Majesty's Ministers to be the fair view of the question; but, not content with their own judgment, they had referred the matter to the law officers of the Crown, and they were of opinion that we were bound to continue the payment. These were the simple facts of the case. This was the view which his Majesty's Ministers took of it, and they felt that the Treasury should be empowered, as usual, to continue the payment.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, the noble Lord had entirely misunderstood him. He was not considering whether it was consistent with the honour and good faith of the country to continue the payment, but whether it was consistent with the law. He wished to know whether the Exchequer was warranted by the Act of Parliament in issuing the public money; and he entreated the attention of the noble Lord and of the House to the subject, and begged them to consider whether Parliament ought to separate without giving an express sanction to the proceedings of his Majesty's Government.

Lord *Althorp* said, that although what he had stated as to the views of his Majesty's Government referred to equity, and not to strict law, yet, when he stated that the law officers of the Crown had been required to give their opinions, and that, as the Act of Parliament which had been referred to them quoted the words of the treaty, he considered, therefore, that the law officers of the Crown had declared, that we were still bound by the treaty, and consequently he was of opinion that he had fully answered the question of the right hon. Gentleman. He had also stated the grounds upon which it appeared to his Majesty's Government that it was bound by law, and consequently justified in making the payment.

Sir *Robert Peel* did not wish to appear captious; but really the matter seemed to him so clear, and at the same time so important, that he thought it better to state fully his views at once, than afterwards to turn round upon his Majesty's Ministers, and make an accusation against them:—The Convention said "It is understood and agreed between the high contracting parties, that the said payments on the part of their Majesties the king of the Netherlands, and the king of Great Britain, shall cease and determine, should the possession and sovereignty of the Belgic provinces at any time pass or be severed from the dominions of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, previous to the complete liquidation of the same." The Act of Parliament said, that the payments should continue only so long as the engagements entered into in the Convention were continued. Now, the sovereignty of the Belgian provinces had passed away from the king of Holland more than six months ago, and the debt had not been liquidated. Whatever honour or policy, therefore, might dictate, he doubted that the Exchequer had authority to continue those payments.

The *Attorney General* supposed, that many Gentlemen in the House conceived, as the right hon. Gentleman did, that as soon as the possession and sovereignty of Belgium passed from the king of Holland, the payments were to be at an end; and he had no hesitation in avowing, that he had entertained the same impression originally, and had mentioned it to an hon. Gentleman, a Member of that House, and to the King's Advocate, who was also consulted. The House would feel, that it would be extremely inconvenient to enter into a legal argument at that time; but he would say, that not only was his first impression removed by more mature deliberation, but though he had entered into the consideration personally desirous of finding the Crown relieved from the liability, yet, after looking at the course which the negotiations had taken, in order to ascertain the due construction of the treaty, and after giving the subject the most attentive consideration, he and his hon. and learned friends had formed the unanimous opinion, that neither in law nor equity, nor still less in honour, was there the slightest doubt that both parties meant the passing away of the possession and sovereignty of Belgium from Holland by some external force; that a separation by any internal cause or mutual agreement was never contemplated; and that, consequently, the obligations of the treaty continued in full force. The obligations of the treaty continuing in force, so, he thought, did the Act of Parliament, which was founded on, and recited it, as the right hon. Baronet had stated. He should be able to defend his view of the subject when an opportunity regularly offered.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* conceived, from the wording of the Convention, and of the Act of Parliament, as they had been read to the House by his right hon. friend, and in which it was expressly stated, that in the event of any separation between Belgium and Holland, this country was no longer liable to the interest of the loan; he was most fully of opinion, that the Treasury was not authorized to continue the payment after the separation.

Sir *Edward Sugden* said, it appeared that the first impression of the Attorney General was that which any man, with ears to hear, and understanding to comprehend, must at once see to be the true construction of the Act; but that at last he came to an opinion founded solely upon the equity of the case and the honour of the Crown—[*"No, no," from the Attorney General.*] He certainly understood the result of the hon. and learned Gentleman's observations to be, that his new impression was formed as well with a view to the equity of the case, as to the honour of the Crown. It was not equity or honour that was now the proper subject for the consideration of the House. If it had been intended that the Convention should continue, it would have been so expressed. If the honour of the Crown was pledged beyond the Convention, he was sure the House and the country would wish, that the honour of the Crown should become the bond of law. But any man who heard the Convention read, must see that it admitted of no two conclusions; and, which made the case still stronger, it had been found necessary to frame an Act of Parliament for the purpose, which embodied the words of the Convention. How was it possible that a Minister of the Crown should issue the money of the public to perform an engagement to which the country was in no degree liable? It was said, that a separation from internal causes was not meant—but why, if that were the case, did not the Convention state it?

The *Attorney General* said, that the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite, must surely either not have heard what he said, or he must have misunderstood him altogether; because he had declared, in the most distinct and positive manner, that the law officers of the Crown, had no doubt whatever as to the legal responsibilities which the treaty in question imposed upon the Government; and when it should become necessary to explain the grounds upon which this opinion was formed, he had not the smallest doubt whatever, that the House would give their approbation to the course which the Ministers had pursued.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, that he did not wish to prolong the discussion; but he could not help remarking, that there were two points on which the Attorney General had not satisfied him in the answer which he had given to the observations of the right hon. Baronet. The hon. and learned Member had certainly reverted to the opinions which he and the other law officers of the Crown had come to on the subject of this treaty. Now, what he wished to know was, whether that opinion was formed as to the obligation which was imposed on the Crown to continue to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty, and to issue the necessary sums for payment out of the Treasury, or whether the law officers of the Crown were of opinion that the Exchequer had the power to issue money without an order for that particular purpose from Parliament? With the first the House had nothing to do; but, in the second case, they had every thing to do with the payment—for if the Exchequer possessed that right, then there was no use whatever in passing Acts of Parliament for the application of the public money. The next point upon which he felt altogether unsatisfied by the reply of the hon. and learned Member was, the remark which was made that two parties to the treaty had agreed that the engagement continued to be binding. Now, it happened that the treaty was tripartite—between England, Holland, and Russia; and each of those States bore an equal proportion of the debt; and he should, therefore, like very much to know from the hon. and learned Member, if the third party was equally consenting to the course which had been adopted by the other two parties with those parties themselves.

The *Attorney General* did not see how it was possible to explain the circumstances, without entering into a discussion of the whole subject; a proceeding altogether irrelevant and out of order at the present moment. All he could do at that time was merely to repeat his first observation, that there had been no notice whatever given of the intention of the right hon. Baronet on the other side to make any inquiries upon the subject of this loan; and having been called upon to give an opinion upon the construction of a treaty of considerable importance, he must say, that he was not, at that moment, prepared to say whether it was, or whether it was not, obligatory upon all these parties. But whenever the right hon. Gentleman opposite felt disposed to bring the question regularly before the House, he should be ready to meet it; till then he could not say whether his Majesty had ordered the issue of the money out of the Exchequer, or whether the Government had taken it upon themselves to pay it, for he could not, at that time, discuss the particular views which were entertained by Ministers on this head, and which had led them to act as they had done—a course of conduct which the right hon. Gentleman opposite would ever find them ready to defend.

Mr. *Goulburn* merely rose to apologise to the hon. and learned Attorney General for having asked him a question upon a subject on which he certainly seemed to be considerably well informed, without, having given him notice. He certainly did think that he was entitled to ask the hon. and learned Member for an explanation of some parts of the speech which he had made in defence of the conduct of Ministers, and particularly on the two points which he had selected for explanation. He was sorry to have taken the hon. and learned Member unawares, but certainly, if that hon. Member was so taken, there were, or ought to be, other Gentlemen on the opposite bench who were well able to answer the questions on which he sought to be informed. The hon. and learned Attorney General had said, that two of the contracting parties in the treaty considered it as binding under the present circumstances—now, what he again would ask, as he really wished to be informed on the subject, was, what was the opinion of the third subscribing party? He thought also some explanation was due from the Gentlemen on the opposite side who were more immediately connected with the Exchequer.

Lord *Althorp* said, that the Act stated in precise terms the power which the Treasury had with respect to the payment of the money, and it also clearly granted a power to his Majesty to comply with the engagements entered into with the subscribing parties to the treaty. If, therefore, the engagement continued to be legally binding, the money was consequently still payable, and the same Act which empowered the King to form this binding engagement also empowered the Treasury to pay the money. Both these provisions formed part of the stipulations of the existing treaty. As to the inquiry which the right hon. Gentleman had made, with respect to the consent of all the three parties to the treaty to view it as binding, all he had to say was, that undoubtedly, if two of those parties were willing to look upon it in that light, they were not to consider the other party as refusing if no such intimation was afforded them.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* hoped, he should not be told, that the House of Commons was not the fit guardian of the public purse, or that, because it was unreformed, it was not a fit judge of the necessity for expenditure, and of the propriety of meeting that necessity. It was right, that the public should know—or if they did not know, it was his duty to inform them—that an unreformed House of Commons had exercised as much vigilance over the expenditure of the public money as their successors, the reformed House of Commons, could ever do; and he thought the public owed no small debt of obligation to the right hon. Baronet for having introduced the subject of the present discussion, because it was his opinion that the Government had committed a flagrant breach of the law; and he could find no other expression in which to clothe his thoughts upon the subject. It might be very right in an equitable point of view, looking at the question as an abstract matter of honour and equity, that the Government should pay the money; but even if the honour of the country be implicated in its payment, was it not for the House of Commons to judge of that question of honour? and if it were found to be binding, was it not the peculiar province of the House of Commons to make that honour good, and to sanction the payment of the money? This was a matter of the very highest importance, and one which every Member of that House was deeply interested in. He did not consider the hon. and learned Member opposite to have gone the length of stating it to be his opinion, that the payments which the Government had taken upon itself to make, were due by the letter of the treaty. He, however, did not rightly understand whether the hon. Member meant to say, that the honour of the country was so involved as to render it binding on the Government to continue to fulfil the treaty, or whether he meant to say, that the treaty itself continued to be legally binding, and that the payment was made in conformity to the letter of the treaty: but this he would say, that no one who had read that treaty would venture to make the assertion, that the Government was still bound legally to continue to make the payments. He asserted, that by the letter of that treaty the Government was not bound. When his hon. and learned friend introduced the honour and equity of the country into this discussion, he took into his hands a province not belonging to the law officers of the Crown, and which any law officer of the Crown, who knew his duty would have rejected. If the Law Officers of the Crown had given an opinion upon what affected the honour and equity of the country, then their opinion was not worth the paper on which it was written. He must, therefore, say, that the hon. and learned Member had arrogated to himself the right of forming and delivering an opinion upon a case which, when it was sent to him, he ought to have returned to the place whence it came, unanswered; the more particularly if the opinion which he had formed was, that the country was not legally bound, but bound only in honour, to continue to act under the stipulations of the treaty, as if they had never been infringed upon. The noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would, he hoped, suffer him to request his Lordship to suspend all future issues of money from the Treasury in payment of any further sums under this treaty. He did not know whether the noble Lord would consent to suspend those issues, for he seemed to say, that the payments were in strict conformity to the Act of Parliament; but looking at the treaty as it stood at present, he was of opinion, that every one of the payments which had been made since the treaty was infringed were direct breaches of the law; and he said this, not knowing if the propriety of making those payments had or had not been submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's law officers: but the Government had been so eager to press on the Question of Reform, to the entire exclusion of all other business, that he was very much inclined to believe that the payments were made as a matter of course, without any inquiry or consultation whatever. The hon. and learned Member had said, that his original opinion was the same as that of the right hon. Baronet, and that, on looking at the equity of the case, he had been induced to change that opinion. Now he (Sir Charles Wetherell) was inclined to think, that the original opinion was the best, and that the course which the hon. and learned Member ought to have adopted, when the correspondence which passed between the contracting Powers, previous to the settlement of the treaty, was sent to him to peruse, in order that his judgment might be clearer and his information more correct, was to have returned the correspondence, and to have said to the Ministers, "I am not the proper person to consider what is meant by the protocols, nor to decipher the equity of the case by perusing a correspondence on the subject of this treaty." He ought to have looked over the treaty itself, and that alone; and upon that document ought his legal opinion to have been formed. The hon. and learned Member, in looking over the correspondence, probably found an argument here, and an explanation there, which he was pleased to apply to the treaty, and by which he, probably, explained its meaning to himself. If so, he made the treaty out to be a treaty of omissions; and in doing so, he changed from his character of Attorney General into that of a diplomatist, who is endeavouring to read in a treaty what is not contained there. It might, perhaps, turn out that the honour of the country was involved in the strict observance of this treaty, even under the altered state of the parties concerned; and if so, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would lay on the Table of the House the correspondence which passed, and by which a case could be made out, authorising Parliament to add to the treaty, and continue the payments, such a course would not be objectionable; but, in the mean time, he must beg to ask, if it was in the power of the law officers of the Crown to introduce stipulations into a treaty which had no existence there, merely for the purpose of obviating the necessity for applying to Parliament to grant the Government the means of altering the treaty, and of acting up to the intention as well as the strict letter of legal obligation which was imposed upon the country when it was contracted? The law officers of the Crown seemed, however, in this instance to have clothed themselves in a panoply of chivalry, and to have volunteered an opinion as to the honour and equity of making payments, whilst they ought to have stuck to the mere question of law. He could not help again expressing it to be his firm opinion, that in making the payments under this treaty, after the stipulations had been altogether infringed upon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had acted as illegally as the law officers of the Crown had advised inconsiderately.

The *Attorney General* said, that he could only repeat what he had said from the first, that he was not called upon for any opinion upon the equity of the case; and he thought he had stated this so clearly, that no distortion of imagination could have misrepresented or misunderstood him. When he said that the treaty was binding on the contracting parties, he meant to say, that such was the legal construction which the subscribing parties themselves came to.

Mr. *Goulburn* observed, that the hon. and learned Member had described such to be the construction of the treaty by two of the subscribing parties, but he had not given any reply to the question which he had put to him, with respect to the construction which was put on the treaty by the third subscribing party.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—BILL FOR ENGLAND—SECOND READING.] On the Motion of Lord Althorp, the Order of the Day for the Second Reading of the Reform of Parliament (England) Bill, was read; and the noble Lord moved that the Bill be then read a second time.

Lord *Porchester* rose, and said, that he should occupy the time of the House for a very short period, whilst he called their attention to the few observations which he felt it to be his duty to offer on the momentous subject now before them. He was the advocate of a temperate measure of Reform, feeling that, under the circumstances in which the country was placed, all party-feeling ought to subside, mutual recrimination be forgotten, and the harshness of extreme opinions mitigated, by a spirit of compromise and conciliation. But, he must ask, had his Majesty's Ministers rendered this an easy matter of accomplishment? Had they rendered it easy for their opponents to return the sword to the scabbard? They had not; and the hopes which were entertained, that some measure would have been proposed which all the branches of the Legislature could accede to, were completely disappointed. In no material points did the present measure differ from the last, except in the adoption of the census of 1831, and the extension of the franchise to freemen in perpetuity; and in all stages of its progress he should be compelled to meet it with the objections which he had urged against the former Bill, and to oppose the present measure with all his power. The unnecessary extension of the franchise to so many great towns, and the increased number of Members which were given to the metropolis, were still as objectionable to him as when they were first proposed. The theory, too, upon which the changes were based, was as objectionable as ever, if not more so; and when he saw that twenty-two additional Members were to be given to the Representation of towns, and only one solitary Member in addition was bestowed upon the county Representation, he was tempted to ask the supporters of the Bill, where the admirably-adjusted balance of Representation between the towns and the counties was to be found, which was so much boasted of as a feature of the Bill? He must say, it was his opinion that the landed interests would suffer greatly by the change now proposed, and the result of the improved Representation would be to render each succeeding Parliament more democratic than the preceding one. It was said by the supporters of this Bill, that in assenting to pass it, the Ministers were only reverting to the ancient principle of Representation, according to the Constitution. He could by no means agree to that assertion. On referring to the past history of our political system, he saw a series of variable changes adapted to varying circumstances—sometimes restricting, and at other times extending, the exercise of the elective rights. Under Henry 6th the county constituency was diminished; under George 3rd it was increased by the addition of Catholic voters. These changes had not been introduced on any one acknowledged principle; but each specific measure was justified on the grounds of its being wise, just, and proper. He saw the great county of Lancaster, and the small county of Rutland, with an equal number of Members. He found the borough qualification had never depended upon any one principle, but was obviously different in different places. In a word, the irregularities and anomalies which pervade all nature, pervade also the English Constitution. In those times to which the Ministers referred, as the periods when the ancient Constitution was in its fullest vigour, there was no such thing as civil liberty. The House of Commons was called, by high authority, "brute folk, and inexpert." But now, at the very moment when they were seeking to restore that ancient Constitution, civil liberty flourished to a degree heretofore unknown in the annals of the world. The early times, then, in which they were told to look for the ancient principles of the Constitution, were times in which civil and personal liberty were disregarded, and in which the power of the sword too frequently overcame the power of the law. The later times, in which the representative system, now so much calumniated, was moulded into its present form, were times in which liberty had flourished unassailed, and in which it had realized for the community a constant succession of blessings, which had rendered this country the envy and admiration of the world. In the fulness of these discussions he was inclined to think, that hon. Gentlemen had generally overlooked the real cause of all stable government. In his opinion, the secret lay in preserving harmony between the state of property and political power. Whilst the present institutions of England endured, he had little fear for the stability of property; and while property and those institutions were in harmony, as at present, he believed the government would continue safe. The endeavour which was making to separate power from property, was the leading principle of those convulsions which had worked such changes in so many of the European States. Let him call the attention of the House to the progress of democracy in America, where the influence of property over the institutions of the country was becoming daily less apparent, and where the federative power, which was at one period all-powerful, was at the present time all but annihilated. Elections were becoming more popular, and, as a consequence, local, and not general interests, were more attended to; independent and conscientious opinions were sacrificed to the fluctuating feelings of the day, the executive power was gradually absorbed by an encroaching legislature; a constant change took place in the members of the legislature, and an irrational and never-ceasing jealousy, directed against the aristocracy of superior talent, and practical experience, pervaded the community. Enactments were made indirectly against property; primogeniture, once the law of the land, was abolished, and now only spoken of with abhorrence. These were the natural courses of the democracy which the senate was utterly unable to restrain. But, in answer to this it would be said, "the House of Lords is a very different assembly from the American Senate; it possesses more inherent stability, and has far more weight," both in property and public estimation. He conceded these points freely; but the question was, what degree of political weight would the Peers retain if this Bill passed into a law, when the sources which gave them power in that House were dried up. Were any persons wild enough to suppose that an aristocracy and an unmixed democracy could harmonize together, or could mere hereditary legislators withstand the will of an assembly representing the immediate feelings, and supported by the passions of the people? It would be said, their property would give them influence; but how long were they likely to possess it? A reformed Parliament might follow the example of other regenerated States, and by altering the law of succession, annihilate, at one blow, their means of influence. It was in vain to say these fears were imaginary, that the people were too much attached to existing institutions to contemplate the possibility of such a change. That attachment would be uprooted by this very Bill, for it was well known that the human mind reconciled itself to the most extensive changes, if they were but progressive. It was the object of Ministers to eradicate certain unpopular influences; but did they not perceive they were occupying untenable ground? When they had destroyed these, could they hope to spare those which were equally unjustifiable and indefensible in abstract argument. If a Frenchman were to be asked, what was the most objectionable part of the old system in his country, he would reply, "The law of property, as it at present existed." Yet the French were once as strongly attached to that law as the English are now. So, in this country, let the law of primogeniture be repealed, and the House of Lords would be at once annihilated. The equalization of landed property had ever flowed from every popular assembly in Europe, even when the check of a second chamber existed. It had also followed democracy in the United States, and he feared the same result would follow from extended Reform in this country. But it would, he was also afraid, not progress so peaceably as in America, where the tide of change rolled on unrestricted. The national mind was occupied in cultivating their boundless wastes; the people were flourishing and contented; large properties were few in number; and no resistance could be offered; but in the old States of Europe, where masses of property abounded, where the population was dense, and with no room to expand, the collision had been dreadful, and the transition from one state of society to another had only been effected through shipwrecking one generation. Having made these general observations, he would endeavour to ascertain the effects of the Bill, as it was likely to operate in detail upon the different interests of the country; and first, as to the Representation of towns. It was known that many hon. Members entertained great objections to a single Representative being granted; the Government had therefore, with much tact and ingenuity, turned that feeling to advantage, by making the present Bill more popular in its bearings, in allotting a most undue proportion of additional Representatives to towns; but this was, in effect, quite contrary to his and his hon. friends' wishes and intentions; and he suspected the real object of it was, by a side-wind to neutralize the effect of the franchise which had been granted to the tenants of England by the exertions of his noble friend. It was obvious to the commonest capacity, that whether it was intended as a boon or not to the manufacturing interest, and to give them a weight and influence which they hitherto had not, to the same extent, over the agricultural interest, the provisions of the Bill, by increasing the numbers of the Representatives of the large towns, so far depressed that interest, which was far from being too predominant in the State at present. Ministers were unnecessarily and wantonly creating a large popular constituency in the metropolis, where least of any part of the kingdom it was required, and where most of all, its existence was likely to be mischievous, and least under control. Like the Frankenstein of romance, they not only gave the monster existence, but they endued it with gigantic powers from its very birth. The landed interest might have had some influence over the smaller towns, but that would now be utterly annihilated. The noble Lord and the King's Government should recollect, that the agricultural interest was, from absolute necessity, and the nature of things, a power which had not the advantages of concentration or union in the same degree as the manufacturing interest. It was necessarily a divided interest, from the circumstance of its numbers being spread over a large surface or space, with few opportunities of meeting in a collected body. It should, therefore, have suggested itself to a good Government, that this body required their fostering care and protection, whenever its interests came into collision with those of the party already acknowledged to surpass it in power, from the various advantages it possessed as to concentration and union of force. Ministers, however, had pursued a different course, and it would be discovered, that in this, the third edition of their Bill, they had made attempts to weaken essentially the landed interest. How far they differed from their predecessors in the project of Reform would be discovered by a reference to the conduct of Mr. Pitt, and the debates of the period when he brought forward his motion on the same subject. It was proposed by that illustrious and enlightened statesman, that in those cases where the boroughs were to be surrendered, so as to add strength to the democratic influence, the lapsed right should be transferred to the counties in the first instance, and only the surplus should be given to the towns of magnitude and importance, in point of wealth or number of inhabitants. The alarm and apprehensions of his side of the House, and of persons out of doors, were attempted to be lulled by the assurances of the noble Lord and his friends, that all their fears were baseless; for that property, which was always the best judge in every case where its interests were concerned, was to be found arrayed on the side of that Reform which the public demanded, and Ministers had introduced to the notice of the Legislature. Alas! it had for so long a period been the habit of the property of this country to look to the Ministers of the Crown for its support and protection, that it was not to be wondered at that the possessors of property should, almost instinctively, and without examination of the reasons for imposing that implicit confidence, look up to the Government for protection in the enjoyment of that, for the security of which, amongst other things, all governments were established. In that class of persons, therefore, Ministers and their project had certainly its supporters. The confidence reposed had been violated, and these persons had surrendered themselves without scruple into the hands of those whom they had been accustomed implicitly to trust. They could not induce themselves to believe there was poison in the honeyed bowl. But he would remind the noble

Lord, there were persons, and those a large class, as well as men of the highest respectability, who felt differently from the noble Lord as to the dangers which might be expected to accompany this innovation in the Constitution. He would ask the noble Lord, whether, when he talked of his great county meetings and manufacturing unions, he found, or could enumerate as his supporters, the country gentry? Whatever might be the respectability of those meetings, or the able speeches there delivered, he would not hesitate to state, that the gentry had, with very few exceptions, absented themselves from those meetings, or abstained from giving any countenance to the project of the present Ministers by their presence or their eloquence. There was a party, he would admit, not deficient either in property or activity in public life, who, for the last twenty years, had been distinguished as of the old leaven, bearing on its front the all-redeeming stamp, in some men's opinion, of innovation. This active and insinuating body or class had, it was true, supported the Reform Bill with an influence more than proportioned to its numbers; and the country gentry, however comparatively powerful, had been, strange to say, surprised and confounded by the mode of their attack—in the same way as, if he might be allowed the use of a figure, the Indian buffalo was said to suffer itself to become fixed and entranced by the fascinating glance of the boa constrictor, so as to be incapable of withdrawing itself from the monstrous coil of its fell enemy, or exerting its native force to escape a danger it could neither repel nor avert. There had been some persons who had felt, however, and expressed themselves as they ought, both in that House, and in pamphlets written with distinguished ability, as in the cases of his hon. friend, the member for Sudbury (Sir John Walsh) and another hon. Member of that House, in which the dangers consequent upon that change meditated by his Majesty's Ministers, had been pointed out with perspicuity and force sufficient to put society on its guard, if such an object might be attained by the instrumentality of pure reason and argument. But it was not from such persons as the declaimers at public meetings or unions, however eloquent they might be, that the public could safely take their estimate of the value of the changes proposed to be made in our representative system. They were unsuited by their habits to the consideration of such topics, which were only to be treated with safety and advantage by the thinking class of men, who silently, and aloof from the tumult of popular passion, applied all the calm energy of their minds to the development of sound principles and practical improvement in our necessarily complicated representative system. Oh, why then should Ministers suppose, that Reform upon principles of moderation would not fall upon such men as a gift of grace? Did they assert still that they had the suffrages of all the intelligent in their support? If, untaught by their defeat, and that reaction of public feeling which they could not plead they had not observed, they continued to make such an assertion, he had no hesitation in saying, that they were quite unfit to appreciate the public sentiments, and stand at the head of public affairs. How was it, that the opposers of the Bill—men who had an equal property at stake—did not hesitate to make known these objections openly in that House to the innovation of Ministerial Reform, despite of the angry demonstration exhibited at public meetings? Was it not, that they were satisfied that they might depend on the good sense and the sound feelings of the country, should the measure of Reform even be defeated by their influence, and did they not rely on the good sense of the people; whereas the Ministry acknowledged that they could not trust to that sense and feeling; and in all their speeches alluded to such a result in terms which seemed purposely framed to induce the belief that nothing but tumult, insurrection, and ruin, must follow. If insurrection were in reality to be apprehended in such an event, from whom would it emanate, or who would fan the flame, except those with whom his Majesty's Ministers were now running a race so alarming and portentous? Were not those persons, whom Ministers seemed so anxious to gratify in this instance, men, by their own acknowledgment, of a class which would not be satisfied with much, unless they received all? Were the supporters of the Constitution to surrender up their arms to a party who already plainly and boldly asserted, they would employ them against those who had the folly to part with their weapons of defence? In reply to the allegation that all the families of property in the kingdom were favourable to Reform, he would ask whether, although Bedford, Russell, and Cavendish, were proud names, and associated in the national recollections with great talents and high achievement, though the Premier Duke had made a sacrifice through, as he believed, a high and overpowering sense of duty, to the principles of Reform, were not Percy, Warwick, and Rutland, names incribed in the proudest pages of our history? Had Montrose no charm for loyal ears, or Buccleugh no place in the annals of fame? Were the names of Cecil and of Shaftesbury disconnected with safety in council, or eloquence in the Senate? These were surely a great portion of the great interests and the property of the country, of which any cause, however high, might be proud. They were, too, of a class to whose firmness and courage the people owed much of their present freedom, and who had, like the nobility of Spain, who supported with similar generosity the Cortes in their struggles with the Crown, received the recorded thanks of a grateful nation. And what had been the eventual fate of those high-minded men, the nobles of Spain? They were stripped of their possessions, and exiled from their native land; and were at last seen supplicating for charity, and wandering over the face of the globe. He prayed most earnestly the same result would not happen in this country. He feared, however, that it was a general rule, that whenever a State was to be overthrown, men of eminent station were found ready to march in front, and to lead on the populace to desolation and destruction. The liberties of Greece and Rome were not al together destroyed till the spirit of the aristocracy was led astray—until such men as Julius Cæsar (the light of the Patricians) had yielded themselves to the embraces of the democracy. When he saw in so many instances of successful revolution, that some of the most eminent Statesmen had marshalled the way to desolation, and when he saw the Wentworths, and the Russells, and the Howards of the day leading on the Bill of Reform, was he not justified in fearing that the aristocracy of England would share the fate of those of France, of Spain, and other countries? He had, he was glad to state, always himself been, as many on his side the House were also, friendly to Reform, on the safe practicable basis of mutual concessions and mutual securities. But, as he saw no concessions in the present Bill, as he saw no proposition for securing the other branches of the Legislature from the overpowering predominance of the power they were invited by this Bill to vest in the Commons of England, he felt it to be his imperative duty, though he performed it reluctantly, to move, as an Amendment, that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Sir *Edward Sugden* said, in rising to second the Amendment moved by his noble friend, he was most desirous to draw the attention of the House to the real provisions of the Bill, of which hon. Members could only judge by examining into the details, as in those details were contained the very essence—the principle of the Bill. No doubt it was eminently democratical, much more so than the last, and therefore it had the decided approbation of Mr. Attwood, of the Birmingham Union, and of several other Unions throughout the country. If the Bill were not as democratic as it really was, the Government would have been bound to answer for it to the Political Unions, with which they had been in correspondence, as well as to certain Members in that House. He should be as happy as any man to consider the Bill with every spirit of conciliation, and with as much good temper as he could discuss any subject having for its object what he considered to be the overthrow of the Constitution. But it was the natural and honest sensation of the heart to express strongly what it felt warmly. In the repeated Bills which were brought before the House there was no defined principle, unless, indeed, a principle of wide, unnecessary, and dangerous innovation, unless a principle of making the Political Unions the masters of the country could be considered such. The only basis he could discover on which the present Bill was built, was an endeavour to elevate the democratic over the landed interest of the country. When he heard the Ministers state the necessity of diminishing the usual number of Members constituting the House, he in vain had asked their reasons for the reduction; but as they altered their opinions from Session to Session, it was but fair to imagine they had no other reason for acting as they had done, than the mere wanton love of innovation, and the effects of these repeated changes had been, to bring forth the most preposterous claims. It appeared as if the Government wished to have a bank (of Members) in hand that others might draw upon it; and so it happened, for the Scotch and Irish Representatives, finding the Government had a few Members to give away, immediately made their applications, and said they would not be satisfied without a fair share of the stock in hand. Mr.

O'Connell particularly; he begged pardon for having made use of the name of an hon. Member who was absent; but Mr. O'Connell said, that he would not be satisfied unless Ireland had fifteen Members, in consequence of the stock which the Government at last avowed they had to dispose of. Now if the Government had no such bank, neither the Scotch nor Irish Members could ever have made any such demands as they had made. Agitation now prevailed in Ireland to a most alarming extent; the people there had entered into a confederacy, not merely upon the subject of procuring additional Members, but for the redress of what they were pleased to call other grievances, and he begged leave to ask the noble Lords opposite, if such a state of things was not calculated to produce considerable danger to the State? The condition of Ireland had been produced solely by the supineness and misconduct of the Government. Then, as to the census of 1821, hon. Gentlemen opposite never would hear of making any other than that the standard of the population by which the elective franchise was to be governed; over and over again they were urged to adopt the more correct standard of 1831; but no, they were inflexible. And yet on this occasion they had come round to the standard of 1831, which for the first time they had now agreed to consider as the most equitable and most just. There were no less than seven editions of schedules A and B, all differing from each other—a large family, but no likeness between any two of them. Why change the constituency of A and B? All changes excited alternate hopes and fears; and why have one borough or class of boroughs dead to-day and restore them to life the next day? It was said that the first ten boroughs in B were to have the right of electing two Members each, and out of the bounty of the noble Lord they were now to have that right continued to them which was formerly so very unjustly to be taken away. Why, it really appeared as if the noble Lord were in a dream, and had said, "I'll give to each of ten boroughs in schedule B an additional Member, beside the two to which they were before entitled." And thus it would appear as if these ten boroughs were to have three Members each instead of two. He was glad they had got rid of the Riding Commissioners, but only because they were to have the Report of the Commissioners, a species of information which he was most desirous of seeing. He must complain that he never could obtain the information which he coveted during the course of these discussions, although he did not complain of any want of courtesy upon the part of the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but yet it must be clear, that on a question of so much importance as the present every information in the power of Government to grant should be freely given to Members of that House. He now begged to call the attention of the House to the manner in which the various interests of the country would be affected by the measure before them. Out of the total number of boroughs at present in existence, there were about eighty-seven that were to be partially or wholly destroyed; and in those which were to remain, a new and uniform constituency was to be created, to operate with the various descriptions of the present electors. According to the Bill as it stood at present, it took away from what he should call, by way of distinction, the conservative interest of the country, about 144 Members, as appeared by an examination of the particulars. There were two for Weymouth, 112 from schedule A, and thirty from schedule B. On the other hand it was necessary to look at the increase of the popular interest: forty-four Members had been added to it by means of schedule C, of whom eight were to be from the metropolitan districts, and nineteen by means of schedule D, all of whom were open to the objection that they were bestowed on places where there must be a contest for the single Member: on the whole it appeared there were to be sixty-three Members given to the manufacturing interests, and what was there to set against this on the part of the agricultural interests? Two new Members were added to Yorkshire, two to Lincolnshire, eight to as many counties, on the principle of their returning three each (a plan particularly objectionable, because it made a distinction between electors where none had previously existed); three were added to the Welch counties, one to the Isle of Wight, and fifty according to schedule F, making altogether sixty-six Members, who, it was said, would be returned by the agricultural interest. When the first Bill was introduced by the noble Lord, it was held out as a boon to the agricultural interest, that their influence in the counties would be strengthened by taking out of the county Representation the freeholders resident in towns. That was provided for in the first Bill; but in the fifth Bill (for they were now occupied in the sixth Bill) it was altered, and the Bill now before them, the sixth Bill, following the example of the fifth, contained no such provision. It appeared by it, that all persons who occupied houses of a certain value in towns which did not return Members of their own, were to vote for the county, and what was worse than this, all freeholders under 10*l.* annual value in the towns to be enfranchised, as well as those who now returned Members, were to vote for the counties, and not for the towns in which their freeholds were situated. He feared the number of these in several instances would be found so great as to be an over-match for the agricultural interests, particularly in those counties where there were a considerable number of manufacturing towns, and that a part, at least, of these sixty-six Members must be abstracted from the agricultural, and placed to the account of the manufacturing interest. The effect of giving the freeholders and copyholders and leaseholders in towns the right of voting for counties would be, that such towns as Birmingham and Coventry for example, would invariably carry the county election. It was necessary for the House, before it agreed to adopt such a Bill, to look forward and see what would be its consequences when passed. Let them take Birmingham for an example. Already political combinations and unions had been established and organized there; the masters and operatives had a common interest in agreeing to depress the agricultural and to exalt the manufacturing interests; and the time was not far distant when the House would see these bodies usurping the powers of the executive government. They would exercise a control utterly incompatible with good and impartial government, and the result must be, they would form bodies in the State which it would be found impossible to break down or dissolve. The House of Commons would ultimately be the Representatives of such Political Unions; it would then assume the whole executive authority, to which every other must succumb. If the noble Lord and the Cabinet had really and sincerely wished to preserve the balance of the agricultural and manufacturing interests, they should, while giving additional Representatives to large towns, have confined the right of voting in the freeholder, copyholder, and the leaseholder to the towns and boroughs where their property stood. They would then not have been driven to the 10*l.* householder alone, but would have had a more diversified and a much better constituency for the towns, and the agricultural interest would not have been completely overwhelmed and sunk. This was done by the former Bills, and yet in the two last it had been altered. Why was the resident in Coventry to be thrown into the county Representation? There could be no object in such an arrangement which he could discover but that of depressing the agricultural and elevating the manufacturing interest. The freeholders of London were to be thrown into the county of Middlesex. Why? They possessed no such right now, and upon what necessity did they require it? He could account for it in no other way, and until better reasons were shewn to him he should continue to believe, that it was done with the design and for the single purpose of crushing and keeping down the landed interest. There was the case of Horsham. The freeholders of Horsham were to vote for the Rape of Bramber, while Brighton, which at present possessed no other influence than as a large town voting by its freeholders in the county at large, and to which they were about to give Members, was to be left with its non-resident and small freeholders voting for the county, and its householders voting for the town. What reason could there be for this in common sense but that which he had suggested? And if it had not been done for that reason, then it must have been done from a mere wanton desire of change, without any reason or principle whatever. And let the House consider that they were thus about to throw all the large towns, as well those which already possessed a franchise of their own as those to which the Bill was now to give it for the first time—that they were about to throw this overwhelming mass of influence upon the counties, not in their former strength, but divided and parcelled out into districts. Why the county voters of one considerable town would nearly form a sufficient number in themselves to swamp the agricultural voters. He begged the House also to mark, that while the measure thus operated upon the sixty-six agricultural Members, neither the landed proprietors, nor those connected with them, had any means of exercising the least influence upon the election of the sixty-three Representatives of the manufacturing towns. In addition to this, as he had already explained, there were to be 144 Members taken from the conservative interest, so that altogether there would be such an immense alteration in the relative numbers and description of Representatives, that the result of such a measure must inevitably be, that they saw there for the last time an assembly of English Gentlemen connected with the land, and enabled to speak the sentiments and the wants of that most important of all the interests in the country. With regard to the right of voting in counties, as far as he understood the complicated arrangements made by the Bill, he found that the clause relating to 50*l.* tenants at will having a right to vote was embodied in it. This, although he did not deny that it was an improvement generally, only shewed, that so far as the framers of the Bill were concerned, they had no fixed principles for their guidance. But with respect to another innovation in the county franchise, he entertained a strong objection; he meant to that part of the clause respecting forty-shilling freeholders, which was last session adopted in haste, but which now appeared to have been retained after deliberation, and which did not allow a vote to a forty-shilling freeholder unless of inheritance. He knew that this was intended to strike at sham and fraudulent votes. He was convinced, however, that it would not effect that object, while it would effectually take away from many an honest freeholder a right which he and his forefathers had possessed from the time of Henry 8th; and this would be done, too, by a measure professing to extend the rights of the people. He knew that it was necessary to take precautions against fictitious votes, but let it be done in a statesmanlike and masterly manner, and not by striking a random blow in the dark, which only did injury where it was not intended to fall. Let them not, in attempting to remove an excrescence, cut away the whole healthy limb. He considered the alterations in the qualification for towns and boroughs to have left all the difficulties of that part of the subject untouched. He was always of opinion that if such a qualification was to be taken at all, rent would be the best test if they could get at it, because the real value of a thing was "just as much as it would bring." The alteration respecting the payment of rent, however, was easy to be understood when they saw how the noble Lord's efforts had been appreciated by Mr. Attwood and the persons whom he addressed. The Bill was not so good for the landlords as the last, but, by the rule now taken, every house in the kingdom upon which a claim to a vote was founded must be surveyed and valued every year; so that, if the surveyors did not meet and send up an address of thanks to the noble Lord, they would be the most ungrateful body of men that ever lived under a benign Government. He would assert, that under the Bill every house, counting-house, and warehouse in the country, the occupier of which claimed to vote, must be regularly and officially valued before that claim could be decided, and the voter placed on the register. He would assert this, and he would defy the noble Lord to contradict it. In the former editions of the Bill this right was intended to apply to dwelling houses alone, but now it would apply generally. Let the House consider what a scene of confusion and ridicule must be presented by these annual exhibitions of scheming and litigation. According to the provisions of the clause he was then reviewing, it would also be necessary that an annual valuation of all sorts of premises should take place, for what was said to be of the annual value of 10*l.* in 1831, in consequence of dilapidations might not be judged to be so much worth in 1832. What would be the effect of that upon the minds and the habits of the people? Let them imagine the grave judges appointed to preside over such inquiries sitting to try the value of a contested house. Suppose the occupier of a cottage, paying 6*l.* or 7*l.* rent, coming forward and swearing that his gooseberries and currants, and what he was likely to get by letting lodgings, made his house of 10*l.* a year value, the Judges turning to the Jury, and saying, "Well, gentlemen, you have heard the evidence; and if you think that the gooseberries and currants are worth so much, then you must decide that this is a fit and proper person to exercise the important right of voting for Members of the Legislature." Why, what must be the effect of such a mockery but to shake in the minds of the people that respect which they had always hitherto preserved for the proceedings and decisions of justice. But, besides this, such a system would open a door to one of the worst crimes that can afflict any community. He believed there would be more perjury committed upon the proceedings under this Bill in one year than upon all other subjects open to the oath of man. A man would endeavour to satisfy his conscience by whispering to himself, "well, after all it was only a matter of opinion, I have been swearing to." This was a danger, the risk of which ought not lightly to be incurred; but here, for the sake of a fancied theory, which was not, after all, sanctioned, a great practical grievance was introduced into society, for which no justification could be assigned. It was required by the Bill, that a person claiming to be registered should give proof of having held a 10*l.* house for twelve months, and that he should have been rated to the poor; but what the amount of that rate was to be did not appear. It might be five shillings, or any other sum, for no amount was specified. The payment of the rent was no longer to be required. The voter had been relieved from the claim of the landlord, he believed, at his suggestion. But it was proper that the people should know the purposes the Bill was still made to serve. It was to be a help to the revenue, by compelling the 10*l.* householder to pay up his taxes before he could vote. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was labouring in his vocation when this expedient was devised, and he had no doubt that the assessed taxes would benefit by the regulation that the voter must first produce the receipt of the tax-gatherer. It was proper that the people should know these things, in order that they might not come upon them by a very disagreeable surprise, when their demands should have been complied with, and the Reform Bill passed. Another difficulty would be found in many places where houses of 10*l.* value were not rated to the poor's rates, but by certain local acts the landlord was to pay the rates upon them. They were told that such parties could claim to be put upon the rates under this Bill, but the Bill did not specify the time when they were to be so put on, nor the particular times their rates were to be paid, and therefore their opportunity of voting at any ensuing election within the year would be lost. He now came to the most important and most objectionable alteration which had been made with reference to this new qualification. There was a provision now introduced which was not in the former Bill; nay, which had been studiously excluded by the noble Lord, according to his own declaration. But the schedules had been diminished, and the noble Lord thought that something must be done on the other side to keep up the popularity of the measure. In the former instance it was required that the holding should have been uniform; now it was permitted that a succession of holdings of the same value of 10*l.* should be the title to a vote. By this change the character of the new constituency was to be improved by letting in weekly lodgers; and not only weekly lodgers, but persons who had held a succession of lodgings in different parts of the same town. He knew not how the examination of a claim of this sort was to be worked before the Registrar, or how it was to be ascertained whether the lodgings had or had not been occupied. When a man represented himself as having lived now in this alley, then in that court, and then in another place, he should like to know how the Judge was to get at the proof of the statement. Were the officers to be sent over the town to the different lodging-houses to seek it. All sorts of evasions and tricks would be resorted to for the purpose of making votes. In the manufacturing towns they would have the masters possessing themselves of houses of the lowest description, a nominal rise in wages would take place, and the difference would be returned by a higher rent, which would be made the ground of claiming a vote, and the real value of the house could never be got at. The proper title of the Act when passed would be "An Act for Encouraging the growth of 10*l.* houses." It would not increase their growth in size or in comforts, but in number. As sure as he addressed that House they would greatly increase for political purposes. They would diminish in intrinsic value, because a fictitious value would be given to them. In the manufacturing districts particularly, these voters would be created in such numbers, and they would be so extended, as to outweigh the influence of all other classes of voters combined. He believed, that nothing could be so injurious as this introduction of a uniform class of voters, instead of a system which embraced all classes, from the highest to the lowest. The noble Lord had not, indeed, adhered to his theory of uniformity in the present Bill as in the preceding ones. But in what direction had he diverged from it? Why, having already reduced the qualification to the lowest amount at which property could be recognized at all, he admitted the lowest of the existing rights to be preserved, and which would exclude no man whatever from the elective franchise who had a house of any description over his head. The effect of all this must inevitably be, to cause the entire destruction of the aristocratic interest throughout the country. In whatever direction they looked, they saw the country cursed with political unions and combinations, and every species of agitation resorted to for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the lower orders of the people against the institutions of the State. He entreated Gentlemen to consider the circumstances which surrounded and threatened them. If the result should be to bring upon them the calamities of a civil war, in one country, and a servile war in the other, it became that House to pause before they divested property and the institutions of the State of their best support—the power of their natural protectors. How must the agitation and excitement of the lower classes be aggravated by the annual recurrence of the proceedings connected with the register under this Bill? The effect would be the same as that of having a general election throughout the country every year. And to what must that confusion and excitement naturally lead? The people would soon perceive that the forms and the expense to which they were put to acquire their vote every year were greater than those attending the exercise of the right once in seven years; and they would then very naturally demand, that having incurred the trouble and expense of acquiring the elective right, they should also be allowed to exercise it at the same time. Thus they should have forced upon them that measure of Annual Parliaments which he believed both sides of the House were most anxious to avoid. The effect of the power given to Overseers in parishes must be to convert them into political officers, and to give them a power wholly incompatible with their ordinary duties and station. Then there was one circumstance, not, he believed, very generally known, connected with this part of the measure, to which he thought there were the strongest possible objections. The expenses incurred by the Overseers in this business of preparing the register, were to be charged upon the poor-rates. He thought this was an unjust and most absurd regulation. They were daily hearing complaints of the insupportable pressure of the poor-rates, and yet they were to be burthened further with a matter of this kind. He should like to know how this would be received by those contributors to the poor-rates who did not obtain votes by the measure. Then let them look at the appointments of Barristers to preside in the Courts for settling the claims connected with the register. These Barristers, who were to be paid at the rate of five guineas a day, were to be appointed by the Lord Chancellor, a political officer! Why was this? why was not the Lord Chief Justice, who had no political duties, to make this selection; and why was he to be passed over, against all precedent, and the appointment given to the Lord Chancellor? The effect of such an arrangement was clear enough: it would make these Registrars one and all political officers. He spoke not of the intention, but of the effect he had a right to speak; and he would say, that, in conjunction with the new Bankruptcy Law, the giving these appointments to the Lord Chancellor would place a greater share of political power in the hands of that high officer than had ever been possessed by any individual whatever. It was ridiculous to suppose, that political influence would not be exercised by the mode of registration which it was proposed to adopt. What was to prevent the country Attorney from contriving with the Overseer to frame registers to suit their own views? But, besides this, the former had a particular interest to serve, by promoting litigation, for whatever costs were incurred were to be paid out of the poor-rates. He wished to make no charge against the Assistant Barrister, who would be selected from what he knew to be a most honourable body of men, but the natural effect of holding the Court for Registration every year would be, to create a periodical source of litigation, and to keep men's minds in a continued state of ferment, without leading to any practical good. With regard to the office of Overseer, there would no longer be a difficulty in getting persons to serve that office. There would be hereafter as much canvassing for that office, as heretofore for that of Member of Parliament. That would, in fact, be the struggle of parties, for whichever could get hold of the Overseer would obtain such an advantage over their opponents as to render a contest hopeless. And must not the effect of all this be to poison the minds of the lower orders, who would believe that relief was doled out to them according to political views, and with the design of making partisans? The principle of registration altogether was, in his opinion, useless, and contrary to the tastes and habits of the people. The experiment had already been made by Lord Stanhope's Act. But that was not compulsory, and it became a dead letter. It gave all voters the privilege of registering their votes if they wished it, but they did not choose to take the trouble, preferring to have their votes challenged and scrutinized at the place of election, and the Act was never resorted to. But after they had seen this roving Commission going through the country year after year, keeping the public mind in one continual ferment, and diverting every person's attention wholly to political subjects, then, after six years of this sort of preparation, supposing the Parliament to last so long, then came the election itself, and he would undertake to show, that that operation would still be as full of difficulties as any other part of the system. According to the noble Lord, indeed, they were to get through the election for a county in two days, and at no expense. But if there were to be fifteen polling-places open for two days, it was quite evident that such an election would be equal to one of thirty days' duration. He believed this regulation had been introduced with a view to prevent any voter having to go a greater distance than fifteen miles: now, he had no doubt, in some of these fifteen booths it would be necessary to have sixty or seventy persons employed, and this was to be done without expense. He had been informed, that the calculations of persons experienced in such matters, made the expense of bringing up the voters of a county under such a system so enormous, that it would be utterly impossible for any individual to meet it. He had now gone through the details of the measure, which, in his opinion, were so objectionable as to warrant the House in refusing its assent to the second reading. There was another portion of it, however, to which he objected wholly upon principle—he meant that which gave so many additional Members to the metropolitan districts. He saw great danger in throwing such power into the hands of that class of the inhabitants of the metropolis who would exclusively return the Members. He feared that by so doing they might be giving a political preponderance to the metropolis which would create that state of things so often described in a neighbouring country, when it had been said, that Paris was France. He hoped to God, that he should never live to hear it said—and if he did, he was convinced, that it could only be in consequence of passing this Bill—that London was England. If such a state of things should unhappily arrive he asked Gentlemen to consider well to what it must necessarily lead, when they saw the disposition now manifested in the metropolis to combine, and to assemble large bodies of people for the purpose of overawing the deliberations of that House—when they saw that the King's Proclamation, forbidding the meetings of such bodies, was followed by the proclamations of other parties upon the same subject. He had himself seen, when the King's Proclamation was posted up near the Home Office, another proclamation posted by its side, printed upon the same sort of paper, and in the same form, calling upon the people to obey the Proclamation of the Government, because the bloodthirsty boroughmongers desired to lead them into a plot, in order to shed their blood. He would not stop to defend the opponents of this measure from the charge of desiring to shed the blood of the people, when it was notorious, that in their opposition they had constantly been maintaining and defending the people's rights. He was now only speaking of the sort of influence attempted to be exercised over the people; it showed the *animus* that prevailed, when an individual issued a Proclamation, and called upon the people to yield obedience to a Proclamation issued by the King's Government. He knew the time could not be distant when the people of England having recovered from their temporary excitement, would recur to the examination of the motives which had actuated the opponents of measures like the present, and they would then perceive, that however much the popular voice might have been opposed, it had only been done with a view to benefit the people, and to advance the prosperity of the country. He hoped that the symptoms to which he had alluded, and the results to which they naturally tended, would have their just weight upon the House; and that before agreeing to this measure, its most minute details would be examined with the strictest care, for, once adopted, they could never be got rid of. They ought to remember, that if the measure of last Session had unhappily passed into a law, none of the obnoxious provisions contained in it, could ever have been repealed, but from which his Majesty's Government had now receded. It was of the last, and deepest importance, that they should look at the consequences of what they were going to do. What was a reformed House to do? It could not continue to do merely that which they themselves had done. If they retraced their steps and followed the same course, they would disappoint and lose the confidence of the people; because, after the expectations which had been excited, to continue to follow the old road would, in their view, be doing nothing. Other measures must be taken, and the first of these would be the adoption of all that had been abandoned in the last Bill. If the noble Lord and his colleagues were fortunate enough to be returned by the new constituency, they would be compelled to support the adoption of those measures, because they were their own offspring, and had only been rejected by the firmness of their opponents. And let it not be supposed, that the beginning of this new career was remote and afar off. A new Parliament must be assembled upon the passing of the Act, for the noble Lord had told them that such would have been a necessary consequence of the passing of the last bill. Why this should be he knew not. If ever there was a popular Parliament—he meant so far as the other side, the majority, was concerned—surely this was it. It had granted the people everything that they desired; and why, having been the donors of this greatest of all boons—why, after executing the deed of gift, they were to be called upon to die at once, in order that the parties benefitted should come into immediate enjoyment, he could not conceive. This, however, they were told was to be the gratitude of the Reformers to their friends, and the House must look forward to the next meeting of Parliament as the era of a new system, the consequences of which would rest eternally upon their memories. He wished the principles of his opposition to the Bill to be distinctly understood. He was not opposed to all Reform because he was opposed to this particular measure. On the contrary, he would not object to a moderate and rational Reform; but there was nothing of moderation or of reason in the Bill of the Government. He felt that under the circumstances of the country, some Reform was necessary. By the conduct of his Majesty's Government, the question had been placed in a different position to that which it had ever before occupied. When the Catholic Question was taken up by the Government, he felt, that it must be carried, and therefore his only object was, to see that it was carried with the least possible danger to the Constitution. With respect to Reform he had a similar feeling. His own opinions on the subject had undergone no alteration, but he felt that some change was demanded in consequence of the proceedings of the Government; and he was ready to adopt any measure not destructive of those institutions, which in his conscience he believed the great body of the people were sincerely desirous to see maintained. He was not opposed to a rational Reform, but he was opposed to so vast and sweeping a measure of destruction as that brought forward by the Government. That measure would destroy all the old barriers of our established institutions, while at the same moment it introduced an immense force in hostility to them. No country had ever advanced to the state in which England at present stood, and adopted such a measure as that proposed, without falling into ruin and anarchy. If the Bill passed, the Constitution of this country would stand alone, without a parallel in the history of nations. And no man could tell how a new Constitution would work in this country. The wisest man that ever lived would be unable to tell what would be the situation of this country should this Bill come into active operation. The House ought to bear in mind, that the Bill immediately before it was only a part of the contemplated measure of Reform. There were bills relating to both Scotland and Ireland to succeed this. No one who thought there ought to be a Reform in the Representation of Scotland, but would say, that thatReform ought to be an extensive one; and if it was so—why in itself it would be a most serious alteration in the Constitution of Parliament. Again, with respect to Ireland: the Government was not content with the existing Representation of that country, although there was certainly some reason to believe that it was sufficiently popular. At the period of the Union, nomination boroughs were destroyed in that country, and the right hon. member for Waterford upon one occasion declared that the constituency of Ireland was as popular as it could be with safety to the empire. The Representation of Ireland, however, was to be rendered more democratic than at present; and, therefore, the House would do well to consider the whole measure, and not the particular Bill at present before it. They ought not to separate the Aristocracy from the other classes of the community; and to that result the present measure strongly tended. The House would best consult the interests of the empire, and the permanence of the Constitution, under which all classes of the people had known so much prosperity and happiness, by endeavouring to strengthen the bonds of union between all classes of the State. He was favourable to a moderate Reform; but he was not prepared to sanction a measure which would lead to the destruction of the Constitution of the country. Under these circumstances he should oppose the further progress of this Bill, and cordially second the Amendment.

Amendment put from the Chair.

Mr. *Edward L. Bulwer* said, he had listened to the speeches of hon. Gentlemen opposite with attention, and was glad to find that the question was not one of mere abstract principle, but whether a particular plan of Reform was that best adapted to the admitted wants of the country. The hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down, had not attempted to show that no Reform was required, but instead of debating the principles of the Bill, which was the usual course at this stage of the proceedings, he had entered into a long, and in some degree, technical examination of its details, and of the probable effects of some of its clauses. This formed a pretty correct criterion of the feeling which prevailed on the subject of Reform. One of the chief arguments which had been urged against the Bill, was, that it tended to weaken the just influence in the House of Peers, as one of the branches of the Legislature, and to exalt the democratic institutions of the country at the expense of the aristocratic. He believed, and was prepared to prove, that it would have no such effect. The position in which the other House now stood, amply bore out his assertion: the last bill had been rejected on that pretence, and what was the result? Were the Aristocracy now safer than they were before—had any check been imposed on the progress of the democratic spirit—or had they not fed the popular fervour to a fiercer heat by the dangerous fuel of continued excitement? A great difference must be made between the excitement which grows naturally out of a constitution, and that excitement which opposes it. Popular agitation was a necessary ingredient in free countries, but in good governments it was worked off by legitimate means. In America there was no danger in the ferment of opinions—free elections furnished them with natural vents. But that excitement which now belonged to us—the excitement that paralysed trade—that benumbed industry—that ripened towards universal poverty and universal discontent—that produced the desire, and, if not soon allayed, might produce the necessity, for National Unions and Political Associations—that excitment was fraught with the darkest and the most irremediable evils to that country in which it was long suffered to exist; above all, if that country were a commercial country—above all, if it had supported its greatness by artificial systems—above all, if credit had become so vital a part of its prosperity, that every popular mistrust was the inevitable forerunner of a stagnant trade and a crowded bankrupt list. Why was Manchester more democratic than Liverpool? Because Manchester was unrepresented. Let England be as liberal to Manchester, and let that manufacturing town have Representatives—give a free vent to opinion in both, and if hereafter they were startled by the mighty course of that opinion, they would, at least, be no longer endangered by its explosion. Hon. Gentlemen had said, that Reform would operate against the three aristocracies of all civilised countries—the aristocracy of talent, of the Church, and of rank and wealth. Now, with regard to the first, it was said that men of retired and cultivated habits of mind, not being able, either from peculiarities of disposition or circumstances, to brave the chances of a popular election, were returned to this House by means of a close borough; and it was argued from such premises that close boroughs were necessary for their return. He waived altogether those long theoretical disquisitions which had been so copiously indulged in on this point; yet what, he asked, was the practical result of free elections abroad? Look to America; there, of all countries, elections were the most popular, and there, of all countries, that class of men he alluded to found the readiest access to political honours. Look even to their Presidents, for in one memorable instance they would absolutely find the man who had attained the chief magistracy, the highest honour the republic could bestow, was an academician and a professor of letters. In France, he allowed, elections were not popular, but there, at least, they had no close boroughs; yet most of those who had distinguished themselves in politics—M. Thiers, M. Guizot, M. Bignon—belonged exactly to those classes whom the hon. Member declared close boroughs could alone return to the national councils. Were they then to believe that France and America were more alive than England to ability and merit? if so, they had the remedy—a high and noble remedy—in their own hands: that remedy did not consist of any system of corruption and perjury; it had no charm that attached to the walls of Old Sarum; that remedy lay in a general education of the people. If the people could not appreciate knowledge, diffuse knowledge and they would do so. Were hon. Members afraid of the power of the democracy? Instruct the people as to their interest, and they would transfer at once the power of the democracy to the power of intelligence. Hon. Gentlemen next said, the Church was to suffer, and he for one was prepared to assert that the Church must undergo some great and efficient reform. But necessary reforms, called for by the different constitution of society, appeared to certain hon. Gentlemen, who were attached to things as they are, and who could not be made to believe that the world progressed although they themselves stood still, or even went back, appeared to them to signify and be the harbingers of destruction. But was the Church in no danger now? He would tell them, that in one memorable night a far deeper wound had been inflicted on the ecclesiastical establishments of England than twenty years would have effected, if that Bill had been passed, and the people had been brought to see in the defenders of the Church the supporters also of the people. Was the Church in danger now—why? Because it was unpopular. Unpopularity was the only internal source of danger to any constitutional authority. The institutions the people began to believe inimical to their interests, began at the same time to fall. If they would render the ecclesiastical establishment safe, they must render it beloved. It was the same with the aristocracy of rank. Popularity was the condition of its existence. The hon. member for Calne had proved, in his speech in the last Session, that the laws which the public refused to acknowledge fell at once into disrespect and disuse. It was the same with persons as with laws—with the legislative assembly as with the legislative enactment. Opinion gave its only sanction to both. When hon. Members accused the Reformers of attempting to strip the Aristocracy of power, did they mean to say, that their object was to deprive them of the love, and esteem, and gratitude of their countrymen? On these foundations their power rested. Did those who advocated Reform desire to undermine these? No; that task was reserved for the Anti-reformers. It was they who weakened the Aristocracy, by alienating from them the hearts of the people. Would you preserve them? Identify them with the people. Would you strengthen their interest? Make their interest and the interest of the people one and the same. When William 4th came to the throne, kings were not popular. Who now ever hears a word said against a monarchy? Black books were not published about the King. He was not calumniated, for his people would not purchase such trash; they would scout the calumny. Why was this? Because the King had conciliated public opinion. Let the Aristocracy do the same, and they would, in their turn, put down calumny and clamour at once. For himself individually, he cared not how soon he might be called upon to relinquish his seat in that House. But he trusted, at least, that he should be present to witness the full accomplishment of this great measure. He knew that he should see that House faithful to its former pledges, but he trusted he should also see another assembly wisely and magnanimously reversing that decree which had separated the members of it from the people. He said wisely; for, till within the last two years, why was it that no foreigner could enter this country without surprise at the almost servile respect for the Aristocracy that pervaded all classes? Why was it that the English nobles were, as a body, the most powerful in Europe? Was it not because in the great crisis of past history, instead of opposing, they had led the way to popular institutions? They blended themselves socially and legislatively with the people; they grew with the growth of that people, and strengthened with their strength. He said wisely, because, if they would recur to their former powers they must recur to their former popularity. He said, too, magnanimously as well as wisely reversing their past decree; for whatsoever consequence might attend that reversal—whatsoever might be the future operations of that public mind which they could only temper, not prophetically anticipate, nor permanently direct, the reversal of that decree, the concession to this Reform, would stand forth, at least to posterity, a great memorial; that, in the hour of danger and trial, the Peers of England did not persist in dividing themselves from that people, with whom hitherto their proudest distinctions had been associated; but that, conscious of the justice of their high cause, they intrusted it willingly to that free tribunal of opinion, before which falsehood is indeed condemned, but truth is eternally triumphant.

Lord *Mahon:* Sir, I can assure you, that since this subject was last before the House, I have given it the fullest and most anxious reconsideration, and I am anxious to state, very briefly, the grounds which have confirmed my first opinions, and which make it impossible for me, according to my conscience and conviction, to vote for the second reading of this Bill. I trust I may be allowed to say, in the first place, that I have no personal interest at stake. In the town which I represent, and which is placed in one of the schedules, I do not possess a single house; I do not possess an acre of land within 100 miles of it. Property in boroughs I have none; and as to the doubt whether I may or may not be returned in a reformed Parliament, I am quite sure that neither with me, nor with any hon. Member on this side of the House, would such a consideration weigh more than a feather in the scale, in comparison of the immense importance of the national objects now before us. Sir, I quite agree with my noble friend (Lord Porchester), who opened the debate this evening with so much eloquence, that this Bill contains considerable improvements as compared to the last. I hail with particular pleasure the diminution of schedule B—the abandonment of the principle of population in schedule A, and the change in the Parliamentary Commissioners. Sir, we may certainly congratulate ourselves on this side of the House at having been the first to propose, and the most strenuous to urge, those alterations which his Majesty's Ministers now think it their duty to adopt. Sir, I do not throw this out as a taunt; I only wish to Heaven that they had carried these amendments much further. For, Sir, though these amendments, suggested as they were by ourselves, go far enough for much party triumph, were we disposed to indulge any such, they do not, I conceive, go far enough for much national advantage. I still see in this Bill what I considered the most mischievous leading principle of the last—the 10*l.* qualification. My noble friend has objected to it this evening as too low; but, Sir, I object, not only to its amount, but also to its uniformity. I say, that so immense is the variety of interests in this great country—so manifold its different relations, that if even you can prove to me that this 10*l.* qualification is the proper one for Leeds, I am sure, from that very circumstance—I require no other proof—that it is not the proper one for Greenwich or Devonport. Sir, I consider this 10*l.* qualification as a monopoly of Representation for one single class—the middle class; and the exclusion from Representation of both the highest and the lowest. It excludes the highest (in a great measure, at least), by the destruction of not only the nomination boroughs, but of the corporations, whether close or open. It excludes the lowest by the future disfranchisement of the pot-wallopers and the inferior scot-and-lot voters. It is true that, under this Bill, the hereditary rights of freemen are again confirmed to them, in some cases at least, (for freemen by gift or marriage are still, it seems, proscribed); but it is not less true, that neither freemen, pot-wallopers, nor the inferior scot-and-lot voters, will be created or suffered to exist in any one of the new constituencies. The real fact is, that, under the present system, all places are not represented, but all classes are; and that, in the new system, every place will be represented, but only one class. I will even go further, and assert, that this Bill will in reality convert our ancient monarchy into an aristocracy of 10*l.* householders [*no, no.*] Sir, those, hon. Gentlemen who contradict me may be assured it is no slight advantage that the poor man should remember, as he does at present, when he finds himself without a vote, that there are places, such as Coventry and Preston, where the right of suffrage is engrossed by the humblest and the lowest—that he should look upon his own exclusion not as an insult to his class, but only as a misfortune to his town. And, Sir, can it be wise, at a time when agitation is so rife amongst the lower orders, when so many and such artful attempts are made to stir them up to violence—can it be wise, I say, to neglect to form any bond whatever between them and the Representation of the country? Can it be wise to place before them this 10*l.* qualification as an insuperable barrier—*hic murus aheneus esto*—beyond which all franchise is denied? And, Sir, on the other hand, if it be unwise to exclude the lowest orders, is it much wiser to exclude the highest—to shut out, as by this Bill you will do in a great measure, from the Representation of the country those who have the greatest stake in its prosperity? This measure, Sir, seems to me to lop off both head and feet from the body politic; and I no more believe that this system of Representation can be permanent and thriving, than I do that the human body could stand and live after such an amputation. Sir, there is one point on which I differ altogether from the hon. and learned member for St. Mawes (Sir Edward Sugden). He gave it as his opinion, that there is no precedent to be found in history of such a Constitution as this Bill will produce. Now, Sir, with all possible respect for the information and judgment of the hon. Member, and great distrust of my own, I yet venture to think that modern times have displayed examples of very similar systems; and that these may serve not only as close parallels from their details, but as awful warnings from their consequences. In several countries has this monopoly of Representation by the middle classes been tried; in all it has signally failed. What was it but this very cause—the centralization of power in a single class—that overthrew the first French constitution accepted by Louis 16th—the same alluded to on the first night of this Session by the right hon. member for Tamworth? It proceeded on this very principle; it stripped of power the nobles, who had hitherto engrossed it—it denied all power to the peasants and workmen, who hitherto, it is true, had none, but who had been taught anxiously to expect and to demand it. What was the result with both? The nobles withdrew in disgust from the capital, or any control on the government, some retiring to their country domains, many more flying across the frontier, and enlisting under the banners of Condé, as invaders of their native land? What was the effect on the poor? Disappointed in their expectations of political power—overrating the sweets of that power from the very fact that they had never been allowed to taste them—and disliking their new aristocracy of shopkeepers much more than their old aristocracy of gentlemen, they rose in tumult; the vast mass heaved and flung off the superstructure upon it, because they only felt its burthen and forgot its efficacy to steady and secure! Sir, I ought perhaps to apologise for bringing before this House what my noble friend has truly called an exhausted topic—the instance of France. I know that it has been so frequently introduced in these discussions as to have nearly become trite—and yet, after all, what is triteness but another name for truth? But there is another country whose name has never, as far as I remember, been mentioned in all these debates, and to which I am particularly anxious to call the attention of the House. Its Constitution is but very slightly studied and very little understood amongst us, but on examination it will be found to bear a most striking analogy to the new Constitution framed by the present Bill. I allude to Poland. Sir, it is usual in this country to consider the old Polish constitution as a pure and unmixed aristocracy—it was so, but an aristocracy of precisely the same number of persons in proportion as the new constituency of householders under the present Bill. This is no random assertion; it depends upon positive calculation. In the year 1765, Jaucourt computed the population of Poland at 5,000,000; there might then be about 120,000 voters. Now these 5,000,000 bear precisely the same proportion to 120,000, as our 20,000,000 to our half million of householders. It may, perhaps, be urged in answer, that in Poland the throne afforded no sufficient counterpoise to popular violence, being elective in its tenure, and curtailed in its prerogative. But let it be remembered that if the king had less power, the nobles had a great deal more; they had serfs and vassals—they had feudal and military jurisdiction—they had immense domains: so that, on the whole, the aristocratic force—a force compounded of the king and the great proprietors—may be considered to have been much the same in Poland as in England. I really would entreat hon. Members to look into the details of the old Polish constitution, and, amidst many lesser differences, they cannot fail to be struck with the general resemblance I have mentioned. And, Sir, let them at the same time look to the result. Where is the Polish constitution now? In the dust! Where is the Polish nation itself? Under the yoke! Such were the consequences of Representation confined to a single class! Sir, I will not weary the House with going into the case of Spain, though I may just mention, that there, under the Cortes, the same cause will be found to have operated, and the same result to have followed. But I do think that these examples should make us pause. We do not sufficiently appreciate the difficulty—the immense difficulty—of combining at the same time perfect security of property with perfect freedom of action. It is this combination that constitutes a really good government. Why, then, if this combination could be really effected by mere paper enactments—if it did not lean on long prescription and happy accident as its pillars, why should all these foreign nations have so signally failed in their endeavours to attain it?—and why should we hope to succeed better than they did in their trade of constitution-mongering? I remember Montesquieu observes, that an old law, even if bad, may often—such is the value of popular habit and veneration—be preferable to a new one, even if good. Depend upon it, Sir, that a new law, as has been truly stated, is nothing but ink and parchment—it has no hold on public opinion; men feel

"A breath may make it as a breath has made;"

but that an ancient long-tried institution, of which we do not see the reason [*hear, hear*]—yes, Sir, of which we do not see the reason, but of which we feel the benefit—that such an institution is the best fitted for true, and rational, and lasting liberty! But, Sir, I am well aware that, in the present state of things, we cannot rest entirely on ancient prescription. I only say that we should rest on it as much as possible. I am well aware, as the hon. Member who spoke last (Mr. Edward L. Bulwer) has truly stated, that there must be some change—that our Representative system must be enlarged. So fully convinced am I of this necessity, that on the 1st of March last I was fully prepared, if the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, had brought forward anything in the shape of what I thought a moderate, and, still more, a final measure—I was fully prepared—I should have cared not whether I had stood alone, or acted with others—to have given that measure my support. Sir, I would even have gone beyond my idea of something moderate, had I seen any reasonable hope of something final; for, Sir, mischievous as I think any violent project of Reform would be in its attainment, I think it, if possible, a thousand times more mischievous still in its agitation. Look to the state in which that agitation has brought the country! Can any man look to the present state of the country without dismay? Can any man deny that this state has been mainly brought about by the agitation of Reform? Sir, under such circumstances, I readily admit that we ought to make great sacrifices—to go great lengths—for the sake of a final settlement. But, then, Sir, that settlement must be final, or have a fair prospect of being final—it must be a peace, not a truce. And here, Sir, lies my next great objection to the Ministerial measure—that it holds out no prospect at all of being final. It rests on no solid foundation, and only abolishes one set of anomalies to introduce another in their place. I object to the whole principle of proportion—I object to schedule B and schedule D. How, Sir, can we reasonably hope for permanency to a measure which, proceeding on the principle of proportion, gives to Malton, for instance, with its 900 houses and 4005 inhabitants, two Members, and only one to the 6,000 houses and 36,000 inhabitants of Bury? Then, again, as to counties—the Bill attempts to establish a sort of proportion for counties; yet it gives Yorkshire six Members (two to each Riding) while it leaves two to Huntingdonshire, for instance, the county mentioned by my noble friend this evening, although, on any principle of comparison you please, population, houses, taxes, wealth, or industry—the real proportion between those two counties is not as two to six, but as two to twenty. Now, Sir, I wish to know what satisfactory answer can be given—what strong position of defence can be assumed—when, next year, the Radicals come down—and come down they will, by their own avowal—and with this Bill in their hands, summon us to strike off one or both Members from the borough of Malton or the county of Huntingdon? We shall then have given up prescription, and not acquired sound reason in its place. Sir, to this it is usually answered, that the argument comes with a very bad grace from this side of the House, because the measure could not have been framed so as to meet this objection, without making it much more Radical and sweeping. But, Sir, I say it could, by proceeding on a different principle. Why adopt the principle of proportion at all, if the framers of the Bill are not prepared to follow it up to its fair extent? If they had proceeded on a different principle—if they had but looked to practical grievance, rather than theoretical anomaly—if they had first enfranchised the large towns, and then, to make way for this increase, had struck off an exactly equal number of small boroughs—why then they might have expected to frame, not only a moderate, but a final Reform. They would have an answer ready for the Radicals, when they ask us next year for the surrender of Malton or of Huntingdon. On this principle we might then say—you have no right to complain of disproportion; we never proposed to establish proportion. On our principle, you have no right to claim any further disfranchisement, unless you are prepared first to shew us some large constituency actually in want of Representation. Such would be our answer then—but what can be our answer now? Then again, Sir, why denounce all nomination as a thing to be utterly rooted out? How can it be utterly rooted out, stopping short of the American rule-of-three? Observe how much further than your Bill you will be carried by the very principles of your Bill—by the very arguments of its defenders. It is easy to say where nomination begins, but who will tell me where it ends? It begins at Gatton and Old Sarum; but does it not, in some cases, extend even to cities and to counties? Is not, or was not, at least, the city of Chester under complete nomination? What shall we say of one Member for the county of Derby—of both for the county of Westmorland? Now, Sir, let me not be misunderstood. I quite admit that, under the new Bill, nomination will exist in only a few cases—that we shall keep quite clear of what I may think the benefits, and of what others may think the evils of the system—but I am now speaking as to the chance of this measure being final; and I ask how, if we once denounce nomination as an abominable nuisance to be immediately abated, how next year are we to answer the Radicals when they call out for the still-untouched Malton, or the half-surrendered Calne? I, therefore, maintain that this measure has no character of stability about it. I am at issue on this point, as on many others, with my hon. friend, the Member for the borough I last mentioned (Mr. Macaulay), whom I cannot mention without bearing my humble tribute of admiration to his eloquence, and who, I remember, applied himself, in his very first speech this year in March last, to prove that this was likely to be a final measure. Sir, I admired his speech, but I own I think example still more forcible than argument; and if I wanted an answer to the argument of my hon. friend, I could find it in his own example. In that first speech he gave it as one of his principal reasons for approving of the Bill, that it would put an end to the cry for the ballot—that it would satisfy the people, and induce them to forbear from insisting on that most mischievous measure. Now, Sir, after this declaration, what was my surprise to see lately an address to the embryo-constituency of Leeds signed "Thomas Babington Macaulay," stating the writer to be favourable to that very ballot, which, in supporting the Ministerial measure, it had been one of his chief objects to stifle and avert! Sir, I do not mention this as any taunt of inconsistency, but I derive from it an important argument, that if the revolutionary torrent can really carry so far along with it a mind so powerful and cultivated as that of my hon. friend, what effect will it not have upon the weak and uninformed? Then, again, Sir, my hon. friend, in that, his first speech, declared that the House of Lords would never have anything to fear from its privileges,—which were complained of and aimed at by none, except, indeed, he said, "some crazy Radical, whom the boys point at as he walks along the streets." That, Sir, was in my hon. friend's first speech for Reform; and let me request the House to compare it with his last, on the motion of the noble Lord, the member for Devonshire (Lord Ebrington) last October—I will not quote particular passages,—I will appeal to the recollection of the House—and such speeches are not easily forgotten—whether that last speech seemed to proceed from the same man as from the first? Whether it was not, from beginning to end, one bitter philippic against the House of Lords?—whether it did not rather seem to emanate from that very Radical whom the imagination of my hon. friend had just before conjured up as an object of contempt and abhorrence. Sir, I shall now conclude the observations with which I have troubled the House, I fear, at too great length. I shall only say, that if the people should still continue in their present delusion—and I believe it to be a most fatal and complete delusion—a blindness as grievous as Providence ever inflicted on a guilty nation, I shall respectfully bow to the public opinion, but I shall not swerve from my own. If this should be the last Parliament in which I shall ever sit—if these should be the last words I shall ever address to you, I shall feel proud to the last moment of my life of having sat in an assembly which I revere so much more highly than its probable successor, and of having raised my voice, however feebly, in support of principles which I have deliberately chosen and shall stedfastly maintain.

Mr. *Macaulay:* I can assure my noble friend, for whom I entertain sentiments of respect and kindness, which no political difference will, I trust, ever disturb, that his remarks have given me no pain, except, indeed, the pain which I feel at being compelled to say a few words about myself. Those words shall be very few. I know how unpopular egotism is in this House. My noble friend says, that, in the debates of last March, I declared myself opposed to the ballot, and that I have since recanted, for the purpose of making myself popular with the inhabitants of Leeds. My noble friend is altogether mistaken. I never said, in any debate, that I was opposed to the ballot. The word ballot never passed my lips within this House. I observed strict silence respecting it on two accounts: in the first place, because my own opinions were, till very lately, undecided; in the second place, because I knew that the agitation of that question, a question of which the importance appears to me to be greatly over-rated, would divide those on whose firm and cordial union the safety of the empire depends. My noble friend has taken this opportunity of replying to a speech which I made last October. The doctrines which I then laid down were, according to him, most intemperate and dangerous. Now, Sir, it happens curiously enough, that my noble friend has himself asserted, in his speech of this night, those very doctrines, in language so nearly resembling mine, that I might fairly accuse him of plagiarism. I said, that laws have no force in themselves, and that, unless supported by public opinion, they are a mere dead letter. The noble Lord has said exactly the same thing to-night. "Keep your old Constitution" is his argument; "for whatever may be its defects in theory, it has more of the public veneration than your new Constitution will have; and no laws can be efficient, unless they have the public veneration." I said, that statutes are in themselves only wax and parchment, and I was called an incendiary by the Opposition. The noble Lord has said to-night, that statutes in themselves are only ink and parchment; and those very persons who reviled me, have enthusiastically cheered him. It is, evidently, not from the principle which I laid down, but from the application of the principle that they dissent. But, Sir, it is time that I should address myself to the momentous question before us. I shall certainly give my best support to this Bill through all its stages; and in so doing, I conceive that I shall act in strict conformity with the resolution by which this House, towards the close of the late Session, declared its unabated attachment to the principles and to the leading provisions of the first Reform Bill. All those principles, all those leading provisions, I find in the present measure. In the details there are, undoubtedly, considerable alterations. Most of the alterations appear to me to be improvements; and even those alterations which I cannot consider as being in themselves improvements, will yet be most useful, if their effect shall be to conciliate opponents, and to facilitate the adjustment of a question which, for the sake of order, for the sake of peace, for the sake of trade, ought to be not only satisfactorily, but speedily settled. We have been told, Sir, that, if we pronounce this Bill to be a better Bill than the last, we recant all the doctrines which we maintained during the last Session; we sing our palinode; we allow that we have had a great escape; we allow that our own conduct was deserving of censure; we allow that the party which was the minority in this House, and, most unhappily for the country, the majority in the other House, has saved the country from a great calamity. Sir, even if this charge were well-founded, there are those who should have been prevented by prudence, if not by magnanimity, from bringing it forward. I remember an Opposition which took a very different course. I remember an Opposition which, while excluded from power, taught all its doctrines to the Government; which, after labouring long, and sacrificing much, in order to effect improvements in various parts of our system, saw the honour of those improvements appropriated by others. But the members of that Opposition had, I believe, a sincere desire to promote the public good. They, therefore, raised no shout of triumph over the recantations of their neophytes. They rejoiced, but with no ungenerous joy, when their principles of trade, of jurisprudence, of foreign policy, of religious liberty, became the principles of the Administration. They were content that he who came into fellowship with them at the eleventh hour should have a far larger share of the reward than those who had borne the burthen and heat of the day. In the year 1828, a single division in this House changed the whole policy of the Government with repect to the Test and Corporation Acts. My noble friend, the Paymaster of the Forces, then sat where the right hon. Baronet, the member for Tamworth, now sits. I do not remember that when the right hon. Baronet announced his change of purpose, my noble friend sprang up to talk about palinodes, to magnify the wisdom and virtue of the Whigs, and to sneer at his new coadjutors. Indeed, I am not sure that the members of the late Opposition did not carry their indulgence too far—that they did not too easily suffer the fame of Grattan and Romilly to be transferred to less deserving claimants—that they were not too ready, in the joy with which they welcomed the tardy and convenient repentance of their converts, to grant a general amnesty for the errors or the insincerity of years. If it were true that we had recanted, this ought not to be made matter of charge against us by men whom posterity will remember by nothing but recantations. But, in truth, we recant nothing—we have nothing to recant.—We support this Bill—we may possibly think it a better Bill than that which preceded it. But are we therefore bound to admit that we were in the wrong—that the Opposition was in the right—that the House of Lords has conferred a great benefit on the nation? We saw—who did not see—great defects in the first Bill? But did we see nothing else? Is delay no evil? Is prolonged excitement no evil? Is it no evil that the heart of a great people should be made sick by deferred hope? We allow that many of the changes which have been made are improvements. But we think that it would have been far better for the country to have had the last Bill, with all its defects, than the present Bill, with all its improvements. Second thoughts are proverbially the best, but there are emergencies which do not admit of second thoughts. There probably never was a law which might not have been amended by delay. But there have been many cases in which there would have been more mischief in the delay, than benefit in the amendments. The first Bill, however inferior it may have been in its details to the present Bill, was yet herein far superior to the present Bill—that it was the first. If the first Bill had passed, it would, I firmly believe, have produced a complete reconciliation between the aristocracy and the people. It is my earnest wish and prayer that the present Bill may produce this blessed effect; but I cannot say, that my hopes are so sanguine as they were at the beginning of the last Session. The decision of the House of Lords has, I fear, excited in the public mind feelings of resentment which will not soon be allayed. What, then, it is said, would you legislate in haste? Would you legislate in times of great excitement concerning matters of such deep concern? Yes, Sir, I would: and if any bad consequences should follow from the haste and the excitement, let those be held answerable who, when there was no need of haste, when there existed no excitement, refused to listen to any project of Reform—nay, who made it an argument against Reform, that the public mind was not excited. When few meetings were held, when few petitions were sent up to us, these politicians said, "Would you alter a Constitution with which the people are perfectly satisfied?" And now, when the kingdom from one end to the other is convulsed by the question of Reform, we hear it said by the very same persons, "Would you alter the Representative system in such agitated times as these?" Half the logic of misgovernment lies in this one sophistical dilemma:—If the people are turbulent, they are unfit for liberty: if they are quiet, they do not want liberty. I allow, that hasty legislation is an evil. I allow that there are great objections to legislating in troubled times. But Reformers are compelled to legislate fast, because bigots will not legislate early. Reformers are compelled to legislate in times of excitement, because bigots will not legislate in times of tranquillity. If, ten years ago—nay, if only two years ago, there had been at the head of affairs, men who understood the signs of the times and the temper of the nation, we should not have been forced to hurry now. If we cannot take our time, it is because we have to make up their lost time. If they had reformed gradually, we might have reformed gradually; but we are compelled to move fast, because they would not move at all. Though I admit, Sir, that this Bill is in its details superior to the former Bill, I must say, that the best parts of this Bill—those parts for the sake of which principally I support it—those parts for the sake of which I would support it, however imperfect its details might be, are parts which it has in common with the former Bill. It destroys nomination; it admits the great body of the middle orders to a share in the government; and it contains provisions which will, as I conceive, greatly diminish the expense of elections. Touching the expense of elections, I will say a few words, because that part of the subject has not, I think, received so much attention as it deserves. Whenever the nomination boroughs are attacked, the opponents of Reform produce a long list of eminent men who have sat for those boroughs, and who, they tell us, would never have taken any part in public affairs but for those boroughs. Now, Sir, I suppose no person will maintain that a large constituent body is likely to prefer ignorant and incapable men, to men of information and ability? Whatever objections there may be to democratic institutions, it was never, I believe, doubted that those institutions are favourable to the development of talents.

We may prefer the constitution of Sparta to that of Athens, or the constitution of Venice to that of Florence, but no person will deny that Athens produced more great men than Sparta, or that Florence produced more great men than Venice. But to come nearer home: the five largest English towns which now have the right of returning two Members each by popular election, are Westminster, Southwark, Liverpool, Bristol, and Norwich. Now let us see what Members those places have sent to Parliament. I will not speak of the living, though among the living are some of the most distinguished ornaments of the House. I will confine myself to the dead. Among many respectable and useful Members of Parliament, whom these towns have returned, during the last half century, I find Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Windham, Mr. Tierney, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson. These were eight of the most illustrious parliamentary leaders of the generation which is passing away from the world. Mr. Pitt was, perhaps, the only person worthy to make a ninth with them. It is, surely, a remarkable circumstance that, of the nine most distinguished Members of the House of Commons who have died within the last forty years, eight should have been returned to Parliament by the five largest represented towns. I am, therefore, warranted in saying, that great constituent bodies are quite as competent to discern merit, and quite as much disposed to reward merit, as the proprietors of boroughs. It is true that some of the distinguished statesmen whom I have mentioned would never have been known to large constituent bodies if they had not first sate for nomination boroughs. But, why is this? Simply, because the expense of contesting popular places, under the present system, is ruinously great. A poor man cannot defray it; an untried man cannot expect his constituents to defray it for him. And this is the way in which our Representative system is defended. Corruption vouches corruption. Every abuse is made the plea for another abuse. We must have nomination at Gatton, because we have profusion at Liverpool. Sir, these arguments convince me, not that no Reform is required, but that a very deep and searching Reform is required. If two evils serve in some respects to counterbalance each other, this is a reason, not for keeping both, but for getting rid of both together. At present you close against men of talents that broad, that noble entrance which belongs to them, and which ought to stand wide open to them; and in exchange you open to them a bye-entrance—low and narrow—always obscure—often filthy—through which, too often, they can pass only by crawling on their hands and knees, and from which they too often emerge sullied with stains never to be washed away. But take the most favourable case. Suppose that the Member who sits for a nomination borough, owes his seat to a man of virtue and honour, to a man whose service is perfect freedom, to a man who would think himself degraded by any proof of gratitude which might degrade his nominee. Yet, is it nothing that he comes into this House wearing the badge, though not feeling the chain of servitude? Is it nothing that he cannot speak of his independence without exciting a smile? Is it nothing that he is considered, not as a Representative, but as an adventurer? This is what your system does for men of genius. It admits them to political power, not as, under better institutions, they would be admitted to power, erect—independent—unsullied—but by means which corrupt the virtue of many, and in some degree diminish the authority of all. Could any system be devised, better fitted to pervert the principles and break the spirit of men formed to be the glory of their country? And, can we mention no instance in which this system has made such men useless, or worse than useless, to the country of which their talents were the ornament, and might, under happier circumstances, have been the salvation? Ariel—the beautiful and kindly Ariel, doing the bidding of the loathsome and malignant Sycorax, is but a faint type of genius enslaved by the spells, and employed in the drudgery, of corruption—

> "A spirit too delicate
> "To act those earthy and abhorred commands,"

We cannot do a greater service to men of real merit, than by destroying that system which has been called their refuge—which is their house of bondage; by taking from them the patronage of the great, and giving to them in its stead the respect and confidence of the people. The Bill now before us will, I believe, produce that happy effect. It facilitates the canvass; it reduces the expense of legal agency; it shortens the poll; above all, it disfranchises the out-voters. It is not easy to calculate the precise extent to which these changes will diminish the cost of elections. I have attempted, however, to obtain some information on this subject. I have applied to a gentleman of great experience in affairs of this kind—a gentleman who, at the three last general elections, managed the finances of the popular party in one of the largest boroughs in the kingdom. He tells me, that at the general election of 1826, when the borough was contested, the expenses of the popular candidate amounted to 18,000*l.*; and that, by the best estimate which can now be made, the borough may, under the reformed system, be as effectually contested for one-tenth part of that sum. In the new constituent bodies there are no ancient rights reserved. In those bodies, therefore, the expense of an election will be still smaller. I firmly believe, that it will be possible to poll out Manchester for less than the market price of Old Sarum. Sir, I have, from the beginning of these discussions, supported Reform on two grounds, first, because I believe it to be in itself a good thing—and secondly, because I think the dangers of withholding it to be so great, that even if it were an evil, it would be the less of two evils. The dangers of the country have in no wise diminished. I believe that they have greatly increased. It is, I fear, impossible to deny, that what has happened with respect to almost every great question that ever divided mankind has happened also with respect to the Reform Bill. Wherever great interests are at stake there will be much excitement, and wherever there is much excitement there will be some extravagance. The same great stirring of the human mind which produced the Reformation produced also the follies and crimes of the Anabaptists. The same spirit which resisted the Ship-money, and abolished the Star-chamber, produced the Levellers and the Fifth-monarchy-men. And so, it cannot be denied that bad men, availing themselves of the agitation produced by the question of Reform, have promulgated, and promulgated with some success, doctrines incompatible with the existence—I do not say of monarchy, or of aristocracy—but of all law, of all order, of all property, of all civilization, of all that makes us to differ from Mohawks or Hottentots. I bring no accusation against that portion of the working classes which has been imposed upon by these doctrines. Those persons are what their situation has made them—ignorant from want of leisure—irritable from the sense of distress. That they should be deluded by impudent assertions, and gross sophisms—that, suffering cruel privations, they should give ready credence to promises of relief—that, never having investigated the nature and operation of government, they should expect impossibilities from it, and should reproach it for not performing impossibilities—all this is perfectly natural. No errors which they may commit, ought ever to make us forget that it is in all probability owing solely to the accident of our situation that we have not fallen into errors precisely similar. There are few of us who do not know from experience, that, even with all our advantages of education, pain and sorrow can make us very querulous, and very unreasonable. We ought not, therefore, to be surprised that, as the Scotch proverb says, "it should be ill talking between a full man and a fasting;" that the logic of the rich man who vindicates the rights of property, should seem very inconclusive to the poor man who hears his children cry for bread. I bring, I say, no accusation against the working classes. I would withhold from them nothing which it might be for their good to possess. I see with pleasure that, by the provisions of the Reform Bill, the most industrious and respectable of our labourers will be admitted to a share in the government of the State. If I would refuse to the working people that larger share of power which some of them have demanded, I would refuse it, because I am convinced that, by giving it, I should only increase their distress. I admit that the end of government is their happiness. But, that they may be governed for their happiness, they must not be governed according to the doctrines which they have learned from their illiterate, incapable, low-minded flatterers. But, Sir, the fact that such doctrines have been promulgated among the multitude is a strong argument for a speedy and effectual Reform. That government is attacked is a reason for making the foundations of government broader, and deeper, and more solid. That property is attacked, is a reason for binding together all proprietors in the firmest union. That the agitation of the question of Reform has enabled worthless demagogues to propagate their notions with some success, is a reason for speedily settling the question in the only way in which it can be settled. It is difficult, Sir, to conceive any spectacle more alarming than that which presents itself to us, when we look at the two extreme parties in this country—a narrow oligarchy above—an infuriated multitude below,—on the one side the vices engendered by power; on the other side the vices engendered by distress; the one party blindly averse to improvement, the other party blindly clamouring for destruction—the one party ascribing to political abuses the sanctity of property, the other party crying out against property as a political abuse. Both these parties are alike ignorant of their true interest. God forbid that the State should ever be at the mercy of either, or should ever experience the calamities which must result from a collision between them! I anticipate no such horrible event. For, between those two parties stands a third party, infinitely more powerful than both the others put together, attacked by both, vilified by both, but destined, I trust, to save both from the fatal effects of their own folly. To that party I have never ceased, through all the vicissitudes of public affairs, to look with confidence, and with a good hope. I speak of that great party which zealously and steadily supported the first Reform Bill, and which will, I have no doubt, support the second Reform Bill with equal steadiness, and equal zeal. That party is the middle class of England, with the flower of the aristocracy at its head, and the flower of the working classes bringing up its rear. That great party has taken its immovable stand between the enemies of all order, and the enemies of all liberty. It will have Reform: it will not have Revolution: it will destroy political abuses—it will not suffer the rights of property to be assailed—it will preserve, in spite of themselves, those who are assailing it, from the right and from the left, with contradictory accusations—it will be a daysman between them — it will lay its hand upon them both—it will not suffer them to tear each other in pieces. While that great party continues unbroken, as it now is unbroken, I shall not relinquish the hope that this great contest may be conducted, by lawful means, to a happy termination. But, of this I am assured, that, by means, lawful or unlawful, to a termination, happy or unhappy, this contest must speedily come. All that I know of the history of past times—all the observations that I have been able to make on the present state of the country—have convinced me, that the time has arrived, when a great concession must be made to the democracy of England—that the question, whether the change be in itself good or bad, has become a question of secondary importance—that, good or bad, the thing must be done—that a law as strong as the laws of attraction and motion has decreed it. I well know that history, when we look at it in small portions, may be so construed as to mean any thing—that it may be interpreted in as many ways as a Delphic oracle. "The French Revolution," says one expositor, "was the effect of concession." "Not so," cries another, "the French Revolution was produced by the obstinacy of an arbitrary government." "If the French nobles," says the first, "had refused to sit with the *tiers état,* they would never have been driven from their country." "They would never have been driven from their country," answers the other, "if they had agreed to the reforms proposed by M. Turgot. These controversies can never be brought to any decisive test, or to any satisfactory conclusion. But, as I believe that history, when we look at it in small fragments, proves any thing, or nothing, so I believe that it is full of useful and precious instruction when we contemplate it in large portions—when we take in, at one view, the whole life-time of great societies. I believe that it is possible to obtain some insight into the law which regulates the growth of communities, and some knowledge of the effects which that growth produces. The history of England in particular, is the history of a government constantly giving way—sometimes peaceably, sometimes after a violent struggle—but constantly giving way before a nation which has been constantly advancing. The forest-laws—the law of villenage—the oppressive power of the Roman Catholic Church—the power, scarcely less oppressive, which, for some time after the Reformation, was exercised by the Protestant Establishment—the prerogatives of the Crown—the censorship of the Press—successively yielded. The abuses of the Representative system are now yielding to the same irresistible force. It was impossible for the Stuarts—and it would have been impossible for them if they had possessed all the energy of Richelieu, and all the craft of Mazarin,—to govern England as it had been governed by the Tudors. It was impossible for the princes of the House of Hanover to govern England as it had been governed by the Stuarts. And so it is impossible that England should be any longer governed as it was governed under the four first princes of the House of Hanover. I say impossible. I believe that over the great changes of the moral world we possess as little power as over the great changes of the physical world. We can no more prevent time from changing the distribution of property and of intelligence—we can no more prevent property and intelligence from aspiring to political power—than we can change the courses of the seasons and of the tides. In peace or in tumult—by means of old institutions, where those institutions are flexible—over the ruins of old institutions, where those institutions oppose an unbending resistance, the great march of society proceeds, and must proceed. The feeble efforts of individuals to bear back are lost and swept away in the mighty rush with which the species goes onward. Those who appear to lead the movement are, in fact, only whirled along before it; those who attempt to resist it, are beaten down and crushed beneath it. It is because rulers do not pay sufficient attention to the stages of this great movement—because they underrate its force—because they are ignorant of its law, that so many violent and fearful revolutions have changed the face of society. We have heard it said a hundred times during these discussions—we have heard it said repeatedly, in the course of this very debate, that the people of England are more free than ever they were—that the Government is more democratic than ever it was; and this is urged as an argument against Reform. I admit the fact; but I deny the inference. It is a principle never to be forgotten, in discussions like this, that it is not by absolute, but by relative misgovernment that nations are roused to madness. It is not sufficient to look merely at the form of government. We must look also to the state of the public mind. The worst tyrant that ever had his neck wrung in modern Europe might have passed for a paragon of clemency in Persia or Morocco. Our Indian subjects submit patiently to a monopoly of salt. We tried a stamp-duty—a duty so light as to be scarcely perceptible—on the fierce breed of the old Puritans; and we lost an empire. The government of Louis 16th was certainly a much better and milder government than that of Louis 14th; yet Louis 14th was admired, and even loved, by his people. Louis 16th died on the scaffold. Why? Because, though the government had made many steps in the career of improvement, it had not advanced so rapidly as the nation. Look at our own history. The liberties of the people were at least as much respected by Charles 1st, as by Henry 8th—by James 2nd, as by Edward 6th. But did this save the crown of James 2nd? Did this save the head of Charles 1st? Every person who knows the history of our civil dissentions, knows that all those arguments which are now employed by the opponents of the Reform Bill, might have been employed, and were actually employed, by the unfortunate Stuarts. The reasoning of Charles, and of all his apologists, runs thus:—"What new grievance does the nation suffer? What has the King done more than what Henry did—more than what Elizabeth did? Did the people ever enjoy more freedom than at present—did they ever enjoy so much freedom?" But what would a wise and honest counsellor—if Charles had been so happy as to possess such a counsellor—have replied to arguments like these? He would have said, "Sir, I acknowledge that the people were never more free than under your government. I acknowledge that those who talk of restoring the old Constitution of England use an improper expression. I acknowledge that there has been a constant improvement during those very years, in which many persons imagine that there has been a constant deterioration. But though there has been no change in the government for the worse, there has been a change in the public mind, which produces exactly the same effect which would be produced by a change in the government for the worse. Perhaps this change in the public mind is to be regretted. But no matter; you cannot reverse it. You cannot undo all that eighty eventful years have done. You cannot transform the Englishmen of 1640 into the Englishmen of 1560. It may be that the submissive loyalty of our fathers was preferable to that inquiring, censuring, resisting spirit which is now abroad. It may be, that the times when men paid their benevolences cheerfully were better times than these, when a gentleman goes before the Exchequer Chamber to resist an assessment of 20*s*. And so it may be, that infancy is a happier time than manhood, and manhood than old age. But God has decreed that old age shall succeed to manhood, and manhood to infancy. Even so have societies their law of growth. As their strength becomes greater—as their experience becomes more extensive, you can no longer confine them within the swaddling-bands, or lull them in the cradles, or amuse them with the rattles, or terrify them with the bugbears of their infancy. I do not say, that they are better or happier than they were; but this I say;—they are different from what they were: you cannot again make them what they were, and you cannot safely treat them as if they continued to be what they were." This was the advice which a wise and honest Minister would have given to Charles 1st. These were the principles on which that unhappy prince should have acted. But no. He would govern—I do not say ill—I do not say tyrannically; I say only this, he would govern the men of the seventeenth century as if they had been the men of the sixteenth century; and therefore it was, that all his talents and all his virtues did not save him from unpopularity—from civil war—from a prison—from a bar—from a scaffold. These things are written for our instruction. Another great intellectual revolution has taken place; our lot has been cast on a time analogous, in many respects, to the time which immediately preceded the meeting of the Long Parliament. There is a change in society. There must be a corresponding change in the government. We are not—we cannot, in the nature of things be—what our fathers were. We are no more like the men of the American war, or the men of the gagging bills; than the men who cried "privilege" round the coach of Charles 1st were like the men who changed their religion once a year, at the bidding of Henry 8th. That there is such a change, I can no more doubt than I can doubt that we have more power-looms, more steam-engines, more gas-lights, than our ancestors. That there is such a change, the Minister will surely find—if ever such a Minister should arise—who shall attempt to fit the yoke of Mr. Pitt to the necks of the Englishmen of the nineteenth century. What then can you do to bring back those times when the constitution of this House was an object of veneration to the people? Even as much as Strafford and Laud could do to bring back the days of the Tudors—as much as Bonner and Gardiner could do to bring back the days of Hildebrand—as much as Villèle and Polignac could do to bring back the days of Louis 14th. You may make the change tedious; you may make it violent; you may—God in his mercy forbid!—you may make it bloody; but avert it you cannot. Agitations of the public mind, so deep and so long continued as those which we have witnessed, do not end in nothing. In peace or in convulsion; by the law, or in spite of the law; through the Parliament, or over the Parliament, Reform must be carried. Therefore, be content to guide that movement which you cannot stop. Fling wide the gates to that force which else will enter through the breach. Then will it still be, as it has hitherto been, the peculiar glory of our Constitution that, though not exempt from the decay which is wrought by the vicissitudes of fortune, and the lapse of time, in all the proudest works of human power and wisdom, it yet contains within it the means of self-reparation. Then will England add to her manifold titles of glory this the noblest and the purest of all—that every blessing which other nations have been forced to seek, and have too often sought in vain, by means of violent and bloody revolutions, she will have attained by a peaceful and a lawful Reform.

Mr. *Croker* would not enter into a comparison of the speech which the learned Gentleman (Mr. Macauley) had just made, with the speech which he had made on the same subject upon a former occasion. He found no fault with the remarkable change which had taken place in the language of the hon. and learned Gentleman; on the contrary, he hailed it with great satisfaction. Undoubtedly, the learned Gentleman had spoken in a very different tone to-night, from that in which he had formerly addressed the House. He (Mr. Croker) was glad to hear it; he was willing to receive the alteration as a proof of the improved opinions and corrected sentiments which the learned Gentleman had formed during the last two months. Nor was he surprised at the change, for the events of that period could hardly fail to excite serious reflections in every well-constituted mind. On the last occasion, the learned Gentleman had used a language, as he had then told him, utterly subversive of all order in society. He had recourse to declamation, which had little to do with the argument in hand, but which, nevertheless, might have had a great and dangerous effect upon the excited public mind. From the course the learned Gentleman then pursued, he had now retreated; and he thanked and applauded the learned Gentleman for his palinode, and hoped that others would benefit by the amendment.

The learned Gentleman had begun by accusing the Opposition, and particularly his right hon. friend (Sir R. Peel), of having acted in a manner unworthy of himself, in expressing his gratification at the changes which his Majesty's Government had been compelled to make in the measure; while he, at the same time, refused his approbation to the measure, so changed. The learned Member had then drawn a picture of the different line of conduct pursued by a former Opposition, when his right hon. friends had changed their conduct with respect to Catholic Emancipation; and "why," said the learned Gentleman, "do you not accept the change you recommended, with the same approbation with which your own change was received by us, your opponents? The answer to that question was easy. That approbation would not have been withheld if his Majesty's Ministers had shown any desire to conciliate their opponents, if they had abated one jot of the evil principle of their measure of last Session, or even if they had shown any disposition to give up the obnoxious details of that measure, if they had abandoned any one of the provisions which endangered the Constitution. Had they changed any of those principles? No. They, themselves, boasted that they had in essentials changed nothing —conceded nothing. The parallel, therefore, which the learned Gentleman had attempted to draw between the opposition to the present, and the opposition to a former Government, did not hold. He would tell the learned Gentleman why the opponents of the measure had a right to reproach its authors for their conduct with respect to the former Bill. The opponents of the Bill introduced in the last Session of Parliament objected to the principle of the measure; but, when that Bill went into the Committee, they said to its authors, "If you mean to carry your own principle into effect, you are not taking the way to do so; you are showing, in some cases, the most flagrant partiality; and, in others, doing the greatest injustice." The antagonists of the Bill dealt with it in the Committee, not on their own principles, but on the principles of its authors. In the Committee they opposed it, not on the general principle of the Bill itself,—but—waiving, for the moment, that principle—on the case of each individual borough which it was attempted, unjustly even according to the principles of the Bill, to despoil of its rights. The opponents of the Bill had now this great triumph—the triumph of honesty, of integrity, of legal acuteness, and of constitutional doctrine —that there was hardly one single suggestion on which they had divided in the Committee in the last Bill, which the Ministers had not adopted in the present.

When his right hon. friend (Sir R. Peel) had expressed an opinion, that the country ought to be grateful to the House of Lords for having saved it from the crude legislation of last session, he was met by the question, "Why the House of Lords had not consented to go into a Committee, where they might have removed what they considered the objectionable parts of the last Bill, and sent it back to this House so amended?" But was it to be forgotten that the noble Earl by whom that Bill had been introduced to the Lords had said, that no alteration whatever would be allowed? did he not expressly lay down as a principle that, relying on the House of Commons for support, the Bill was not to be altered? If, in that House, with their individual and local knowledge of the several boroughs, they had occupied weeks, nay months, in discussion, and yet had been unable to prevail upon the authors of the Bill to make a single alteration in it, what benefit could have been expected from a discussion of the details in the other House? Details with which the Members of that House must be completely acquainted, and in which the Prime Minister had dogmatically asserted, he would suffer no change. Had our examination, our exposure of the errors of the Bill, been such as to encourage the Lords to hope for any good from a similar process? Let him recall to the memory of the House, one or two circumstances of the proceedings in that Committee, which would show the shameless, and now avowed, disregard for justice, with which the fairest propositions were negatived—propositions now so confessedly fair that they were even adopted in the new Bill. Let it be remembered, that the opponents of the Bill contended, that, according to the principles of the friends of the Bill, Aldborough ought not to be in schedule B, but that it ought to be in schedule A. On a division, however, the numbers were, 149 to 64 for retaining it in schedule B. Yet now, Aldborough was placed in schedule A. Similar were the cases of Chippenham, Cockermouth, Guildford, Dorchester, and Sudbury. On those respective boroughs the opponents of the Bill unsuccessfully divided; yet the noble Lord had now adopted all their recommendations, had ingrafted them in this new Bill, and advocated them as important improvements.

The learned Gentleman said, he did not like the present Bill quite so well as the last. He was not surprised at that; for there was one important difference between the two measures,—namely, that in the present Bill, Calne was in schedule B, The learned Gentleman also contended, that any amendment in the Bill was more than counterbalanced by the delay in giving the people satisfaction. "I would rather (said the learned Gentleman) have had a worse measure, that is a measure less perfectly expressed, but one passed expeditiously according to the wishes of the people." Did the learned Gentleman mean by this to assert, that the alterations in the Bill were merely alterations of expression—that they were not substantial alterations? If this were his meaning, what became of his charge of ingratitude against them for not supporting changes which were mere verbal variations? But he would state one fact, which would shew from what extensive and severe injustice the opposition to the former Bill had preserved the country. When the original Bill was first introduced into that House, it contained *forty-six* names in schedule B. Would it be believed, that in that schedule alone, *forty-nine* changes had been made? In forty-six articles there had been, incredible as it might appear, forty-nine changes! Some places had been put out, some had been put in, some had been replaced. If anybody doubted the fact, he was ready to go over the list and prove it. Was it not a great cause of congratulation to the opposition, that they had prevented the full perpetration of such numerous and such vital errors?

The learned Gentleman had affirmed, that the present Government were not to blame for the extent to which they had gone in their proposition for Reform; but that those were to blame who had refused to move the subject at all—that "their refusal to walk had compelled the present Government to run." This argument of the learned Gentleman had been fully answered by the noble Lord who introduced the Bill: on that occasion the noble Lord said, "If I am asked, why in this Bill I introduce a larger amount of Reform than on any former occasion I have submitted to the consideration of Parliament, I have no hesitation in saying, that it is because we saw that the first move was the whole question, and that it would be in vain to attempt to satisfy the public mind by any thing short of that whole." That was also the reason why he (Mr. Croker) and his friends opposed the measure, but with a very different opinion of its results. He himself had been in favour of some of the early propositions for Reform, but not of any systematic or general arrangement on that subject; and he opposed this "move," for the very reason stated so forcibly and clearly by the noble Lord; he feared this was only the first step, that it must necessarily lead to further changes, and that they might ultimately be plunged into an abyss of doubt, uncertainty, and danger — the bottom of which no man living could pretend to fathom or discern. Had the learned Gentleman — who was so eloquent on the necessity of proceeding forward—who had told the House that argument was vain, that there was no resisting the mighty torrent—that there was a dire necessity for the whole measure—that the Legislature had no choice but to embark on this ocean of uncertainty and danger, of doubtful experiment, of desperate adventure—had he given the slightest intimation of what would be, even in his opinion, the end of the career—the result of the experiment—the issue of the danger? Had he scanned with the eye of a philosopher the probable progress of future events? Had he given us any reason to believe, that he foresaw the termination of the course which he was running? Not at all. Any thing more vague, any thing more indefinite, any thing more purely declamatory, than the statements of the learned Gentleman on that point, had never fallen from human lips. It was true that the learned Gentleman had told them, that the town was besieged by superior forces, and had advised them to open the gates of the fortress, lest it should be stormed at the breach. But did he tell them that they could open the gates with safety? Did he tell them that they could open the gates without exposing their property to plunder, and their persons to massacre? They were not, under the learned Gentleman's advice, to attempt to make any terms; but they were at once to throw open the gates, and await the consequences, however fatal, and submit to the tender mercies of the victors, even though they should be pillage, bloodshed, and extermination. The learned Gentleman did not recommend them to open the gates on conditions; he did not say, "Here are the terms which the invading army is disposed to concede." And who were at the head of this army? The Whigs? Alas no! not even the Whigs. The learned Gentleman did not venture to call them its leaders, but modestly and truly described them as only foremost of the throng—pressed forward by those who were behind with a dire and irresistible force.

But it did not need the confession of the learned Gentleman to establish this fact. It was evident in all the occurrences of the day. Had they not seen what had taken place at public meetings, at which the people, deceived as the learned Gentleman forcibly and justly expressed it, by demagogues and artful incendiaries, had adopted doctrines, alike incompatible with all government, all law, and all order—doctrines which, if carried into effect, would be a greater curse to the country than a foreign conquest, and must in their working, sweep arts, commerce, science, and manufactures in one common ruin.

One of those meetings, consisting of 150,000 persons assembled somewhere in Birmingham, came to a resolution of approbation of the conduct of the two noble Lords opposite. That approbation was accompanied by a profession of principles (he did not know whether at the same time, but certainly by a meeting composed of the same persons) which must have startled, not only his Majesty's Government, but the most violent members of the popular party. These persons came to two resolutions among others, which, he would venture to say, had astounded all England—the one was, that the people ought no longer to pay taxes; the other, that hereditary rank was an abuse which ought no longer to be tolerated. Yet these were the persons who, for their own purposes, and to answer their own views, thought they should do honour to the two noble Lords opposite by presenting them an address of gratulation and gratitude. It was certainly somewhat singular, that a body of persons who had just resolved that taxes ought no longer to be paid, should address his Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his Majesty's Paymaster of the Forces, to compliment them on their conduct. If the resolutions were to prove effective, there would be no money to receive and none to pay, and those financial functionaries would find themselves in the possession of sinecure offices. It was, perhaps, even more singular, and, one would suppose, not a very felicitous selection, that a body of persons who had just resolved that hereditary rank was an intolerable abuse, should address—whom? My Lord John Russell, and my Lord Althorp. And those noble Lords, seeing nothing extraordinary in all these proceedings; not looking at the assembly in question with the same prophetic eye as the learned Gentleman; not seeing in them a mob driving them forward, instead of a body of which they were the leaders; not seeing in them a hydra of despotic dictators, but a crowd of adulators and admirers; these noble Lords felt themselves so flattered by their praises and cajollery, that—entirely forgetting the resolutions that taxes ought not to be paid, and that hereditary rank ought to be abolished—they regarded the persons by whom those resolutions had been passed, not as their future plunderers and butchers, but as their friends and admirers—poor innocents,

"Pleased to the last, they cropped the flowery food,
And licked the hands just raised to shed their blood!"

Such was the simple and lamb-like disposition of the Administration with which the country was now blessed!

But the Ministers had also, according to the learned Gentleman, a due degree of firmness and dignity, and a resolute spirit to protect property, to vindicate the authority of violated laws, and to watch over the personal safety of his Majesty's subjects. Such had been the learned Gentleman's praise of his Majesty's Ministers. A more keen irony—a more bitter satire he had never heard. [Mr. *Macauley* denied having used such words. He had never alluded to the protection of property by his Majesty's Ministers.] It was clear that the learned Gentleman's praises of the Administration had been so entirely ironical, that he had forgotten what he had said. He did not charge the learned Gentleman with using the exact words, that "his Majesty's Ministers had protected the persons and properties of his Majesty's subjects." No—no—that would have been too bold, nay, too ridiculous; but he had said, that the great party to which he (Mr. Macauley) had the honour to belong, would use all the powers of the State to preserve property, to defend persons, and to restrain the violence of demagogues. Now, who the learned Member could allude to by this "great party," if he did not mean the Ministers and their friends, he (Mr. Croker) could not guess.

But, whether the learned Gentleman meant to defend the Government, or to abandon them, he (Mr. Croker) would ask, not the learned Gentleman, but the House and the country, whether his Majesty's Ministers had exhibited any spirit or any firmness on any of those points? Let Bristol speak for itself; let Derby, let Coventry, let Nottingham, bear witness to the facts. Ministers possessed neither firmness nor vigour; and so far from protecting others, they had not shown even the power of defending their own dignity—their own houses.

Their privacy had been assailed at midnight by the delegates of Political Unions. They had been publicly insulted by combinations of persons who declared their resolution to pay no more taxes. Even when his Majesty had been advised to issue a Proclamation against the Societies to which his Ministers had previously truckled, these Societies were induced *by negotiation* to yield obedience to his Majesty's Proclamation. That was what the learned Gentleman probably meant by putting the law into vigorous execution.

He would not say that Ministers had concealed views in acting as they had done, for he could not dive into men's motives; but it would appear that they were desirous that it should not appear as if these Societies had been induced to yield to the royal Proclamation. They knew, that if the Birmingham Union went on until after the appearance of the Proclamation, and if it had then submitted, it would thereby have given, with a good grace, an example of obedience to the law. But an example of obedience to law seemed by no means the object of any of the parties. He had no doubt that the Birmingham Union had been previously apprized of the intended Proclamation, and by rescinding their resolutions to organize, before the Proclamation had been made public, they flattered themselves that they had rendered it both inoperative and ludicrous. Had they dissolved themselves on receiving it, that would have been to show deference to authority—that would have been to set a graceful example of loyalty and good order; but it was quite another thing to dissolve themselves on the evening before the Proclamation was issued, and thus to make that which ought to have been a strong and respected exercise of the royal authority, a dead-born abortion, alike ridiculous, from the argumentative absurdity with which it was worded, and the utter imbecility of its practical effects, nothing remaining on which the *brutum fulmen* could operate.

The learned Gentleman had gone on to say, that there was one subject which had not yet been sufficiently adverted to, and on which he would, therefore, touch; namely, the argument in favour of the present system which was derived from the many eminent men whom the close boroughs had introduced into public life, and he professed to answer this argument by instances in which eminent men were returned for populous places. It was certainly very natural that the learned Gentleman, who scattered the flowers of his eloquence with so generous a profusion, should occasionally fail to remember his own liberality: but he could assure the learned Gentleman, that he had not on former occasions forgotten this topic. On the contrary he had before stated, as he had done to night, that Mr. Fox and Sir S. Romilly, had been returned for Westminster; Mr. Canning, and Mr. Huskisson for Liverpool; Mr. Tierney for Southwark, and last, not least, but indeed the greatest of all, Mr. Burke, for Bristol; and he had descanted on the great authority they had brought into that House, in consequence of having been elected for such popular places. As, however, the learned Gentleman had repeated the argument, he (Mr. Croker) would repeat the answer, which was in the mouths of all who were acquainted with the political history of the country, and which ought, especially, to have been present to the mind of the learned Gentleman himself. It was true that the eminent men in question were chosen for popular places. But how did they become known to the electors in those popular places? Did they not first sit for nomination boroughs; and was it not by the splendid talents which they displayed while they sat for those nomination boroughs, that they recommended themselves to the electors of popular places? Let him ask the learned Gentleman, which of the names he had arrayed would have been heard of, had there been no nomination boroughs? In his opinion, one of the greatest merits of the nomination boroughs was, that they afforded a preliminary trial, a sort of political apprenticeship, which enabled the electors of large and popular places to ascertain the qualifications of individuals with whom they would otherwise have been wholly unacquainted. Such being the case, he could not agree with the learned Gentleman in stigmatising as Sycoraxes, as the mothers of mischief, places which had given a Pitt, a Fox, a Windham, or a Burke, to the House of Commons. He (Mr. Croker) had said, that this answer was in the mouths of all who were familiar with the political history of the country; and he had added, that it ought especially to have been present to the mind of the learned Gentleman. Did not the learned Gentleman owe the honour of an invitation to become the Representative of the town of Leeds, should the Bill pass, to representing a nomination borough? (Would to God that so much of the Bill might pass—separated from the dangers and difficulties attendant upon the rest of its provisions—as would enable the learned Gentleman to represent the town of Leeds!) How did the learned Gentleman become known in Leeds? How had he had an opportunity of showing his great talents? By sitting for one of those nomination boroughs, which he now so loudly condemned. Let him not blush at following the traces of those eminent and lamented men whose names he had mentioned. But if he must blush, let it be at the momentary ingratitude which had induced him to stigmatize with such offensive epithets, the very system to which he was indebted for the high station which he himself held in public opinion.

The learned Member, in defending the conduct of large public assemblies, had said, that he did not blame the working classes, that it was the frailty of human nature, when great masses were assembled, to follow the direction of the most violent. He agreed with the learned Gentleman, and he therefore objected to placing large and uncontrolled power in the hands of masses of the people, whom, when once excited, it was impossible to calm, and equally impossible to guide. It was a different thing to excite large masses of persons, and such an assembly as that he had the honour to address; but he had witnessed, on more than one occasion, the dangerous consequences of exciting even that House, and he affirmed, that the adoption of a measure which would continually excite the whole people, would lead not only to the dissolution of that House, but the abolition of the House of Lords, the extinction of the Monarchy, the utter disorganization of all the existing institutions of the country, and, finally, the dissolution of the whole frame of civilized society. The learned Gentleman had told them they must 'go on,' that the times had changed, and they must change with them. He remembered, on a former occasion, that the hon. Member said, in reply to those who expressed their apprehensions of the change, "Oh! do not be alarmed, the character of the House will not be changed—the class of persons returned to it as Representatives will not be altered." If that was to be the case, he asked, what came of all that the hon. Gentleman had said about a new House of Commons—a Reformed House of Commons—and of all the great the unexampled good it was to do for the country?

The learned Member had, on a former occasion, made some remarkable, but not very successful allusions to the history of France; but to-night, he had warned them not to look to the history of other countries —to France, or to Spain; but that they should read the history of England, and take lessons from the fates of the Stuarts—He pointed to the year 1640, when the great rebellion began to wear its more serious aspect—that year in which began that series of calamities by which the King was first forced into the field, then into a dungeon, and at last to the scaffold. He had, as well as the learned Gentleman, looked into that history, and, with the leave of the House, he would read some extracts from Mr. Hume's description of that period. He knew that reading extracts was not popular in that House; but he hoped he might be permitted to bring them forth upon the present occasion, when it was recollected how much use the learned Member had made of his reference to the history of this period. The House would see how just, how apposite were those extracts—how closely, how wonderfully closely they applied to the existing state of things:—"Charles finding that nothing less would satisfy his Parliament and people, at last gave his assent to this bill, which produced so great an innovation in the Constitution." It was a bill for triennial Parliaments; this first step in the path of concession was made in the year 1640, nine years before the final martyrdom of the Monarch; but these nine years were marked in their bloody progress by the successive murders of his unfortunate Ministers — some of whom, be it remembered, had instigated the commotions, of which they were the earliest victims. The historian proceeded to say, "Solemn thanks were presented him by both Houses. Great rejoicings were expressed both in the city and throughout the nation; and mighty professions were everywhere made of gratitude and mutual returns of supply and confidence. In the next year however after his Majesty's granting this triennial bill, this healing and conciliatory measure, Lord Strafford was dragged from the Cabinet to the scaffold, and Charles himself was degraded to the still severer fate of consenting to the legal murder of his illustrious, however unfortunate, Minister."

This was the first effect of concession—this was the first stage in the bloody tragedy of Reform. Mark how it went on. The Commons were constant in their project of change, and the historian went on to say—"But, notwithstanding these efforts of the

Commons, they could not expect the concurrence of the Upper House, either to this law, or to any other, which they should introduce for the further limitation of royal authority. The majority of the Peers adhered to the King, and plainly foresaw the depression of nobility, as a necessary consequence of popular usurpations on the Crown. The insolence, indeed, of the Commons, and their haughty treatment of the Lords, had already arisen to a great height, and gave sufficient warning of their future attempts upon that *order*. They muttered somewhat of their regret that they should be enforced to save the kingdom alone, and that the House of Peers would have no part in the honour. Nay, they went so far as openly to tell the Lords, 'That they themselves were the Representative body of the whole kingdom, and that the Peers were nothing but individuals, who held their seats in a particular capacity; and, therefore, if their Lordships will not consent to the passing of Acts necessary for the preservation of the people, the Commons, together with such of the Lords as are more sensible of the danger, must join together, and represent the matter to his Majesty.'" The Reformers of 1640, did not say the Peers were a 'faction'—they were modest in those days. They did not call the solemn resolution of the House of Lords "the whisper of a faction." But they spoke of the Peers simply as 199 individuals, who, in their private capacity, were opposed to the Representatives of the country. Such also was the language now commonly used with regard to the House of Peers, and the parallel was sufficiently obvious and curious with reference to the present times. "Meanwhile the tumults still continued, and even increased about Westminster and Whitehall. The cry continually resounded against Bishops and rotten-hearted Lords;" — the cry now was with the change of a single word, "Down with the Bishops, and the *rotten-borough* Lords." The parallel was in all other respects complete. "The Bishops especially being distinguished by their habits were exposed to the most dangerous insults and contumely. The Commons considered that, in a violent attempt, such as an invasion of the ancient Constitution, the more leisure was afforded to the people to reflect, the less would they be inclined to second that rash and dangerous enterprise." The historian did not say whether that House of Commons was dismissed in the latter end of October, to be re-assembled on the 6th of December, by the orders of the excitors of tumults, and under the pretence of considering a bill which was not ready —which could not be laid on the Table until the 12th; and the basis of which was laid on information, which could not be presented to them for a month after. But the present Ministers knew, as well as Charles's refractory Commons, that "the more time was afforded the people to reflect, the less inclined would they be to support their rash innovations." They foresaw, as the historian said, "that the Peers would certainly refuse their concurrence, nor were there any hopes of prevailing on them, but by instigating the populace to tumult and disorder." They therefore represented, as the hon. Gentlemen opposite now do, that delay was as dangerous as denial. "They expressed their great grief on account of his Majesty's answer to their just and necessary petition. They represented that any delay, during danger and distractions so great and pressing, was not less unsatisfactory and destructive than an absolute denial; they insisted, that it was their duty to see put in execution a measure so necessary for public safety; and they affirmed, that the people in many counties had applied to them for that purpose, and, in some places, were of themselves, and by their own authority, providing against those urgent dangers with which they were threatened." The very words adopted by the Political Unions of this day! They professed to be the protectors of property and life, they called upon all men to arm themselves, under the pretence of securing their personal safety and public property, while their main object was, to foment the tumults of which they feigned themselves afraid, and to consummate the downfall of the House of Lords and of the Established Church, and the overthrow of the Throne.

Well might the learned Gentleman say, that "these things were written for our use." Written, indeed, for our special instruction they seem to have been—happy if we know how wisely to apply them to our present use. The extracts which he had read from the history of 1640 and 1641, afforded an exact parallel to the events of 1830 and 1831. And perhaps he might not be rash in asserting, that according to what he foresaw, the parallel might still hold good between the years 1645 and 1835—unless, indeed, the present revolution should, as he was inclined to suspect, move more rapidly than the former, and bury, at an earlier period, the country in the like lamentable ruin. He was not without his apprehensions that one Reformed Parliament would pursue the course which had been already taken by another. They saw that in the period alluded to, the popular Representatives extorted the first Act from the King; he said extorted, because his Majesty knew the purposes which were to be effected by that first victory; his Ministers knew it too, and had given the bill, however otherwise unimportant, their strenuous resistance.

He had thus stated to them the first stage of Parliamentary Reform—it was the bill for frequent Parliaments—and what was the result? The very Parliament which passed the measure, so far from being legally prorogued, and legally reassembled at proper intervals, as the Act provided, assumed, in defiance of all written law and all constitutional right, to make itself permanent, and is distinguished by the name (a name infamous in the constitutional history of the country) of the Long Parliament; a Parliament which after overthrowing church and state, and harassing the land with confiscation and deluging it with blood, was itself annihilated by a military despotism, which its own folly and its own crimes had created.

The learned Member, sore from the ill success of his former allusions to French history, warned them against studying the history of foreign nations; and told them rather to look at home, to the history of the past, and the signs of the present. Why would the learned Member confine them within such narrow limits? Would he not permit them to look to Paris or to Lyons? They all knew there had been a glorious revolution in France—a revolution accomplished in the three great days of July, which had given to France a happy reformed Constitution; and no constitutional change was ever, as they boast, accomplished under happier auspices; nothing was injured, little altered: it had been epigrammatically said, that there were only three Frenchmen less in the country. They had merely got rid of Charles, and his son, and his grandson; they had succeeded in maintaining tranquillity, they had established liberal institutions upon the basis of the most extensive Reform. But what was the result? Not one month had passed under this reformed Constitution, which was to allay all animosities, quiet all disturbances, and settle every perturbed spirit—not one month had since passed in which dangerous seditions were not put down by force of arms, under the eyes of the reforming Ministers in the very seat of government itself.

Look, too, to the men who stood forth as the heroes of the three great days—the leaders of the movement—those who boasted of being the persons selected by the people as their leaders in the day of battle, and as their representatives in the time of peace. Look to those men—watch their elevation—their progress—and mark the consequence. M. de Tracy, one of the ablest, and one of the most violent partizans of the *Movement*, had spoken, and what had he said? "That the very spirit of the movement was to give to those who had gained by the change, and to take away from those who had lost, all that yet remained to them." And yet this insatiable Reform, this never-ending movement, was the Juggernaut before which the learned Member would have them, like the votaries of a mad idolatry, fling their prostrate limbs, and suffer themselves to be crushed without resistance. Then there was M. Lameth, who declared that this restless *Movement* would destroy the happiness of the people; and exhorted his countrymen "to endeavour to imitate the wise and well-balanced constitution of England, which matured and perfected by time, had won the admiration of Montesquieu, and of the entire world." These were the opinions of a man whose name must be familiar to all who knew anything of France; the oldest *civil Grenadier* of the Revolution, and he refers you to the Constitution of England, as a system brought to well-balanced perfection, deserving the imitation of France, and the admiration of the entire world; while the noble Lord, with the assistance of the hon. Gentleman and the learned Lord Advocate, would not only, with unfilial hands, tear it to pieces, so 'that not a shred not a rag should remain,' but trample it like something noxious to the ground, and vilify it with every term of degradation, in order that its character might perish with its substance.

But he would call their attention, more particularly to the warning example of actual leaders of the revolt in July, and first to M. Guizot, Home Minister of the citizen King: he was carried on the very shoulders of the people into power. But he remained not long; his position was slippery with blood; he was willing to dry it up, and wipe away the stains; but his moderation was incompatible with the principles of his elevation, and he was forced to abandon a post to which a few weeks before he had been exalted by national acclamation. In accounting for his retirement, he said, "I left the government because I found myself unequal to stem the torrent of the *Movement*." Did the hon. Gentlemen or noble Lords opposite—Did any English Guizot fancy, that he or they could stem the torrent here? M. Guizot was a writer of pamphlets, of treatises upon government, and so forth—indeed, he believed he had the honour of translating a production of Lord John Russell's; and yet he gave up in despair the attempt to check the violence of popular fury; and did the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Russell) hope and believe, that he was to be more successful than M. Guizot?

What next? There was a lawyer—bold, voluble, slippery, enterprising, universal, at everything in the ring. He spoke at the Bar—he harangued in the House—wrote pamphlets—wrote in reviews—wrote in the newspapers—[*Here there was considerable interruption from the Ministerial Benches.*] There might be those who despised reviews and newspapers, and the expressions on the other side of the House seemed to imply, that he himself had mixed in this species of literature, like the Minister to whom he alluded. To that sneer he would only reply, that he considered that those who possessed the power of writing and of speaking were much to be envied; he wished he had that power; he would not be ashamed of it. He had rather be a writer, honestly giving forth his sentiments to the people, and endeavouring to instruct them, through any medium, however humble, than be one of those who were incapable of composing even their own election addresses, and who were content to be the mere signers of some miserable radical letter, written for them by a low attorney. He had rather speak feebly, as he knew he did—and be interrupted, as he had been interrupted by those sitting on the opposite Benches—than be one of the mutes of a despotic Government, who could do nothing but attempt to strangle a discussion of which their masters were afraid [*loud and repeated cheers*]. He would take care, however, that the discussion should not be strangled, so far as he was concerned. To proceed however—the eminent lawyer to whom he alluded—M. Dupin, [*a loud laugh*] who was undoubtedly a distinguished man, and the hero of the day; his triumphs at the bar were only equalled by his triumphs in the legislature, and only surpassed by the popular acclamation that attended him wherever he went, for his generous, patriotic, innovating, and regenerating efforts. M. Dupin left the bar, and by a sudden turn of fortune's wheel, found himself Keeper of the Seals, or Attorney General, or some such high legal functionary in the new administration. But a few weeks, only had passed, when this popular Minister hastily entered the Chamber with his face pale, and hair dishevelled, to complain, that because he had ventured, in his place in Parliament, to say, that unauthorised combinations were dangerous in a society governed by laws, and because he advised king Louis Phillippe to put forth a proclamation denouncing political unions, which he considered inconsistent with all good government, an infuriated mob had attacked his house. Because these Ministers had at last found it necessary to set themselves in opposition to the very tumults which they themselves had first excited, "these very people," said he, "attacked my house, destroyed my furniture, ill-used all the individuals of my establishment, spared not the females of my family, and endangered my own life." In short, it appeared that the mob had pillaged his house, and burnt his furniture in the court-yard; and the man of three weeks' popularity had escaped by flight to tell the disgraceful, but he (Mr. Croker) did hope instructive tale, to the Chamber of France, as he now told it to the English House of Commons. M. Dupin was succeeded by one whose reputation was not quite so eminent, but who was, perhaps, next to him, he meant M. Persil, who had likewise borne testimony to the advantages of the glorious revolution. And what said M. Persil? He warned the Ministry that the people were not satisfied, nor to be satisfied with any thing short of the full accomplishment of the principle of the Revolution "All these things which you look upon," says he, "as such mighty boons, are nothing in our eyes, and only provoke our appetite for more."

This was the history of what was going on in France; this was the history of a popular Ministry, which had brought in a Reform Bill; and created Peers to pass it. This was the history of a popular Ministry, which fancied it was leading the movement, when it was only hurried onward in the torrent's sweep: while two warning voices from two eminent lawyers—the learned member for Calne, and M. Persil, told the Ministers in their respective countries, "You believe yourselves to be the leaders, while you are but the dupes, and will be the victims of this unappeaseable Movement."

Such were the scenes in Paris, but what had taken place in Lyons? The city of Lyons had its three days of glorious revolution, like the city of Paris, though the superior glory of the latter had thrown the Movement of Lyons into comparative obscurity. Lyons, however, had gone through its ordeal; and after the revolution, it had every advantage that a theorist could desire for a great manufacturing town. It had its popular prefect—its Deputies to the Chamber to represent its wants—its reforming Ministers and a patriotic King, who walked about the streets, with his umbrella, to learn the wants and wishes of his people. If they had commercial distresses—which he had no doubt was the case; and which, by a singular fatality, they laid to the charge of the competition of Coventry, just the same as the men of Coventry accused the rivalry of Lyons—yet they had a reformed Chamber, and liberal Deputies, by whom they might make their grievances heard. Were those distresses legitimately conveyed to the Chamber of Deputies, or loyally laid at the foot of the Throne? No, but with such arms as they could collect, they attacked the National Guard; that National Guard, which be it understood, had been especially established as an infallible safeguard and protection for the property and lives of the public—and what had been the result? All of the National Guard who did not join the people, abandoned their arms, and left the lives and property of the peaceable inhabitants at the mercy of an infuriated and armed populace, who held uncontrolled possession of that city several days, nay, for weeks. The authorities were wholly subdued. The popular Prefect could do nothing; nor did there exist any power to prevent the enormous mischiefs of a democratic anarchy of the most unbridled kind; and this, too, at a time when it was asserted that reason had made such progress, and information and liberal opinions were so prevalent, that every man had a full consciousness of his duties to society. But notwithstanding all these great lights, it was only by means of 50,000 bayonets that order was again established within the walls of that city.

To turn from our neighbours' concerns, and look at home, he would ask, had the royal authority been upheld here? An attack was made on the gaol at Derby, and the courage of one man saved it and probably that great town from destruction. In Nottingham, a mob collected, which, if he was rightly informed, gave some hours' information of their intentions; that mob proceeded and burnt the castle of a noble person, close to that town—not a place in which he personally resided, but one which his liberality had assigned to the purposes of charity. The castle was burnt in broad day, in the face of a great town, in the presence of Magistrates, and within the reach of his Majesty's troops, who were doomed, by the inactivity of the authorities, to remain motionless spectators of the tumult. But Ministers had not thought it worth while to institute any inquiry into so extraordinary an event—the noble owner was only a Tory—that circumstance excused all! The impunity of this crime encouraged the reforming mob to one of the most atrocious violences that ever in a civilized country was inflicted upon a respectable and peaceful family. An attack was made upon the house of a gentleman—not an Anti-reformer, nor connected with politics or party in any way. The mob marshalled themselves without interruption, and proceeded the distance of two or three miles to the scene of their intended mischief—they burst into the house, deliberately plundered it, destroyed every thing they were unable to carry away, and finally endeavoured to set it on fire. The master of the House was absent; his lady in delicate health, * was forced from her couch to a precipitate flight; led by her young daughter—another Antigone—to a distant part of the grounds, they both remained for hours on the damp earth, the daughter supporting the mother's head on her bosom, and both concealing themselves under a laurel tree. He observed a smile come over the countenance of a noble Lord opposite (Lord Nugent). It could, he supposed, not be a smile of approbation of the atrocities he was relating. He hoped the noble Lord did not smile at the afflicting story, but only at his imperfect manner of relating it. The story, however, was not yet concluded, for so profound was the terror of these unhappy ladies, that for hours after the wretches had quitted the grounds, the servants sought for their mistress and her daughter in vain. And at last when they found them in the situation I have so feebly endeavoured to describe, half dead with cold and terror,

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* Mrs. Musters, lady of John Musters, Esq. of Colewick Hall, celebrated by lord Byron as Miss Chaworth. This lady died on the 5th of February 1832, of the consequences, as is supposed, of the circumstances above mentioned.—*H.*

there was no apartment, no couch, no bed of that so lately splendid residence fit to receive them, and they were carried inanimate to the only place which had escaped the incendiaries—a groom's bed, over one of the stables. What was the conduct of Ministers on these afflicting and disgraceful occurrences? Was any steps taken, or any reward offered for the apprehension of the offenders? Was a special commission sent to inquire into these excesses? No. If there had been, could any man believe that the atrocities at Bristol would have taken place—atrocities which though more extensive, did not exceed in cruelty that which he had just described?

Not only was nothing done to punish these offenders, but no inquiries were instituted, to trace the machinations of the disaffected, although it was well known that there were links connecting the insurgents at one town with those at the other. Was it not known that they were associated, and to a certain degree organized—that they had a watchword among themselves, and that they passed among one another as a fraternity? He had no doubt that, if his Majesty's Ministers had vindicated the dignity of their government, of public justice, and of human nature at Nottingham, the outrages at Bristol would never have occurred. Well, and for the outrages at Bristol, who had been punished? Parliament had been summoned quickly enough to pass the Reform Bill. They were called away from their private affairs, and their public duties in the country, at an unusual time of the year, to meet here on the 6th of December, to consider this Bill, although it was not as he had before stated, ready till the 12th, and its basis was not even yet produced. But it seemed, that a special commission could not be issued for Bristol, till the 6th of January. If Ministers had reversed their course, and prorogued Parliament till the 6th of January, and issued a special commission for Bristol for the 6th of December, it would have been a much more rational and laudable course of proceeding.

It was asserted the delay in issuing these special commissions arose from not knowing who the criminals were; but again he asked, why were no inquiries made, no rewards offered? In all these cases, the affairs had taken place in broad day, and the slightest exertion would have traced some, at least, of the criminals.

But although the Government could find no culprits, the Political Unions and the Radical press were more active; and the first person arraigned as being connected with the Bristol outrages, was his hon. and learned friend, (Sir C. Wetherell) the Recorder of that city. He was the person who was branded in newspapers, and spoken of and vilified in all societies—certainly with the acquiescence, although he did not say with the consent of Ministers—as the greatest criminal. He really was surprised that his hon. and learned friend had not been taken up; and to have said, "I am the victim, and not the offender" would have been an insufficient defence; for what had since taken place? A person was apprehended with admirable alacrity and excellent judicial speed!—but again, that person, Captain Lewis, was one of the sufferers, and not one of the offenders. He had been one of the Special Constables, and the Coroner's Inquest had found him guilty of manslaughter; under that verdict this gentleman was, all this time, suffering, and thus one of the defenders of the law was as yet its only victim.

What he blamed his Majesty's Ministers for was, that they had not taken example by the Unions—that they had not made the same exertions on the side of law and order, as the Radicals had made on the other. He complained of his Majesty's Government because they did not say—"we will visit the sins on the right head—we will send down a special Commission without delay—Captain Lewis has not had justice—the Recorder shall not be slighted by having his name left out of the Commission—and we will not insult the magistrates and people of Bristol by the continued impunity of their plunderers."

He would venture to say, the country was not so much alarmed by the threats of disturbance, or even by the violence and outrages at Bristol, as by the death-like apathy of those who ought to be the protectors of persons and property; and had Reform nothing to do with all this? Were not these events links of the same chain which was forged on the 1st of March, the fatal date of this portentous birth? At that time Ministers said—"Pass this Bill, or dread the results! Your rejection will do nothing but exasperate, and on your heads will fall the dreadful consequences of this agitation." And so, up to that moment, had the noble Lords and the hon. Gentlemen sounded their trumpet of dismay in the House—dismay he should not perhaps call it, for in that House it created no terror—but of excitement, unintentional on their part, he was willing to believe, but of which the results were flagrant and fatal. The rash prophecy had caused its own fulfilment. What appeared to be mere declamation in the Senate, proved an incentive to rebellion which had only required a spark to explode.

He said, that the Reform Bill had been the cause of all this mischief; he distinctly charged it upon the Bill, and he could trace its steps through the country in riots, robberies, burnings, and blood, as clearly as the track of an Indian through the pathless forest could be traced by the ashes of his fires, or the bones of his victims. There was no step that he could not mark—from the first breach of the domestic peace of the City—when the Lord Mayor of London (who probably fancied himself a Minister, as he had acted like one), had for a time, excited a disturbance which he could not allay—down to the three days anarchy at Bristol. The ebullition of party triumph, which the Lord Mayor had of his own proper motion excited; but which his Majesty's Ministers seemed to approve, not only occasioned the destruction of property in the City, but it was permitted to fall on those who were out of the jurisdiction of the sagacious Chief Magistrate; and the mischievous example had travelled through the country, marking in every stage of its bloody career, the audacity of the populace, the weakness of the Magistrates, and —which was the first cause of both—the imbecility of the Government.

The learned Gentleman had treated them again on that night with the presence of his imaginary *Stranger,* whom he supposed had been brought into this country to wonder at our institutions. He (Mr. Croker) accepted the illustration, and could also fancy his arrival in our metropolis. What would be his astonishment to find our houses barricaded? He would exclaim, "Why, I thought that in England there were no fortifications for your towns, much less for your houses. I thought that the law was your common defence—that an Englishman's house was his castle—a castle protected by the law, and not by buttresses and barricades;" but he would add, "I am a stranger, and the first house I see on my entrance is barricaded." Then, he would be told in explanation, that in these altered times an Englishman's house, if he meant to reside in it, must indeed be a castle.

Entering the city by Hyde Park Corner, our stranger would inquire, who lived in that prominent but eyeless house which looks as if prepared for a state of siege? He would naturally suppose it was the abode of some state malefactor—some enemy of his country —some despotic Minister—some disgraced offender against society who was thus compelled to take shelter from the fury of the people. But what would be his surprise to find it belonged to no such individual: —"It is the house of the Duke of Wellington—it is the house of the Duke of Vittoria —it is the house of the Prince of Waterloo;" a man whose transcendant services to his country, all the nations of the world acknowledge, and whose goodness of heart, integrity, and honour, even the virulence of party will not deny.

A few steps further would lead him to another mansion, similarly protected and disfigured. Having learned by the last example, that these violences were directed against those who had performed an honest duty in Parliament, the stranger would now probably exclaim, "This, at least, must be the house of Sir Robert Peel,"—who, he hoped, would never be separated from the Duke of Wellington, either in the affection of the real friends of his country—or in the hostility of her enemies. Again the stranger would find himself mistaken—he would be told, that it was the house of a Prince of the Blood Royal. "What!" would exclaim the stranger, "with the idol King that you now have—he who has fixed his Throne in the hearts of his people—whose jewelled Crown is less valued than the civic wreath which his people have awarded him; and is it the family of this patriot King that they have attacked?" "Yes," would be the answer, "not only one so nearly allied to him by blood, but one who has married his Majesty's own sister—the sister of King George 4th—the daughter of King George 3rd—a Princess as amiable in her manners, and as exemplary in her character as she is illustrious by her birth."

He was very much obliged to the hon. Gentleman for introducing the *Stranger;* it was an old saying, that no one could see the sights of London, so well as by accompanying a friend from the country; and he was afraid there were many of those Gentlemen on the other side of the House, who would not have seen those marks of the times, but for the stranger who had been so fortunately introduced.

Well, but the stranger went a little further, and saw another house in this same state; he inquires to whom it belongs, and says, "This must be the abode of some of those haughty aristocrats—of some overgrown churchman—perhaps of the Bishop of Exeter, who lazily fattens on the enormous wealth of that princely diocese." He (Mr. Croker) was talking in the character of a stranger, and none but a stranger could be so mistaken, either as to the excellent prelate he had named, or the diocese over which he so admirably presided; but led away by the libels and falsehoods of the day, the stranger might imagine this to be the mansion of one of those lay or ecclesiastical aristocrats, who were held up to popular vengeance. What would be his astonishment to learn that it was no such person—that the dwelling belonged to a man as eminent indeed in his own way as the Prince of Waterloo—it was the house of Mr. Baring, a wealthy merchant, who had raised a great fortune, and as great a character, by those honourable means which were once the pride and prosperity of England—by mercantile transactions, conducted with industry and honour—a man who had spent his whole life in advocating liberal principles—against whose private worth not a whisper had ever been raised, and who had extorted applause from even opposing politicians. Thus the stranger would discover that the Blood Royal itself—the greatest hero this country had seen since the days of Marlborough, nay, he would not even except Marlborough—and one of the most eminent merchants of the day—that all ranks and conditions of society, were compelled to defend themselves in this extraordinary and unexampled manner, under the auspicious sway of the Reform Bill.

If such was the power of this infant Hercules in his cradle, what strength would he not possess when arrived at his full growth, and when armed with his victorious club! It behoved Ministers above all to ask themselves this question, for he firmly believed that they were themselves likely to be its first victims; indeed they thought so too, and were afraid by a resistance to the despotic will of the populace, to provoke an hostility which would be instantly fatal to them.

This he believed was the true secret of the feeble and vacillating conduct of Ministers. They had wished for a certain degree of agitation, but had no desire that it should proceed to such formidable lengths, and although they in their hearts lamented the atrocities committed, they did not venture to risk their popularity by punishing them. They seemed to hope, like the crazy Character in the play, that the fire, if left alone, might go out of its own accord. He did not charge them so much as incendiaries with raising the flame, as for being negligent or faithless watchmen, neither calling for the engines in time, nor working them heartily when they arrived. That was his charge; he went no further. Ministers began their Administration with Reform, and without it they could not hold their places.

As the progress of agitation had been tracked through fire and blood, the pusillanimity of Ministers could be also traced through every act of their Administration, even those that seemed the boldest. There was no word that they said, there was no act that they did, there was no act that they abstained from doing, which was not carefully calculated to offend as little as possible, when they could not altogether conciliate, the Political Unions, and similar illegal and anarchical associations. Against those unions the Government had ventured at last to issue a royal proclamation—nothing could look better at first sight—we imagined the Ministers had plucked up a spirit, and were about to enter into serious contest with the anarchists. Alas, no, it was mere bullying—they did not, as he had before said, issue their proclamation, till they had ascertained that it would not be resisted—they did not send their challenge, till they had ascertained that the antagonist would not fight. They, like those duellists, who make a parade of a very hollow courage, seemed to take the field boldly enough, but they had the Bow-street officers ready at hand to interpose to prevent extremities, and they took care to intimate to their antagonists that an apology, however slight, would be thankfully accepted as full satisfaction. The Birmingham Union had no desire to quarrel with its best friends, and so put forth its apology the night before the Proclamation was issued, and thus the official swords were sharpened with the full knowledge that there would be no necessity for using them.

Ministers had raised a storm which it was beyond their power—beyond the scope of their minds—to allay. He had read that day of a singular deliverance which the Administration owed to the sole interposition of a right hon. Gentleman in the Cabinet. They owed it, it seems, to him (Mr. Stanley) that a Gentleman, undoubtedly an eminent person, and in every other respect well qualified for places of trust and dignity, but who had been a short time before indicted for assisting at an illegal assembly, or some offence of a seditious nature—they owed it to the right hon. Gentleman, that this Gentleman had not been appointed to the office of Attorney General for Ireland, or some other high office in the law, under the ban of which he had happened so recently to be.

There was nothing in all this but what sprang from the timidity of Ministers, and a desire to keep their places. It was no longer in the power of the King to choose his Ministers, even if, in the two Houses of Parliament, the Whigs approved, and if the Tories, who were always foremost in loyalty to the Crown, offered no objection, provided the Unions withheld their sanction—the choice of the monarch must be now ratified, not by Parliament but by the populace.

The present state of the realm was unparalleled in history: the danger to which the Government was exposed was greater than the Ministers themselves had ever imagined. Britain—nor indeed any other country—never before exhibited an instance in which the Government was on the side of innovation and agitation. The true secret of our danger was, that the King's name had been abused, that it had been employed in a manner directly the reverse of what the Constitution recognised as the duty of the Monarch and the utility of his office. He was the hereditary guardian of a settled Constitution; it was his duty to protect life, and property, and freedom of opinion; and so he (Mr. Croker) did not doubt that his Majesty would gladly do, but his gracious wishes were unavailing when he delegated his authority to Ministers who were not his servants—who were not even their own masters, but the servants of a faction which they dared not disobey—which in their hearts they detested; but which they were meanly endeavouring to cajole and to propitiate.

The Radicals saw with triumph that the rioters at Coventry and Derby, and the authors of the tumults at Nottingham had escaped with impunity, nor did they see with less triumph, that when the Ministers had been at last goaded into sending a special commission to Bristol, justice, instead of being despatched by steam, as might have been expected in those days of improvement, had gone limping down, *pede claudo*, at the rate of half a mile an hour, to the indignation of every man who valued the dignity of the law, the vindication of public wrongs, and the security of life and property.

In conclusion, he could assure the House that in the censures he thus passed on his Majesty's Ministers, and in the appalling prospects he had thus laid before the House, he had urged nothing but what sprung from the most imperious sense of the danger of the country—danger for which he confessed that he did not see a remedy, but he was convinced that there were no means so calculated to aggravate it to a tremendous extent as passing the Reform Bill.

Lord *Althorp* said, the right hon. Gentleman concluded with the words "Reform Bill," or he should have almost doubted what was the subject of his speech, for the latter part of his harangue had, in fact, no reference at all to this Bill. At the commencement of his speech he admitted the right hon. Gentleman did make some observations bearing on the subject, but for the last half or three quarters of an hour he said nothing that could be considered as connected with this measure. It was a very natural speech for him to make, because he had attacked Ministers, but it was not a speech on the question of Reform. The right hon. Gentleman accused his Majesty's Ministers of indifference to the state of the country, charged them with being the cause of the agitation that prevailed, and with want of power to control it. He did not know upon what grounds he could found his charge against Ministers of not having done their duty in preventing disturbance. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to suppose that Ministers thought of nothing but the means of retaining their places, quite indifferent as to what those means might be, or whether they sacrificed the best interests of the country in the attempt. He did not know where the right hon. Gentleman found such feelings, but certainly they were not those of his Majesty's Ministers. He would not retort on the right hon. Gentleman, by accusing him of a desire to get into place, but certain he was, that such feelings as the right hon. Gentleman described were confined to the party with which the right hon. Gentleman acted. When the Ministers came into office they found agitation prevailing, and the country involved in difficulties;—those difficulties they had met and overcome by promptitude and decision. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that they were chargeable wlth delay in issuing the Special Commission for the trial of prisoners at Bristol. He must be fully aware, that before they sent down a Special Commission some previous inquiry must be made, depositions must be taken, and the facts ascertained. If there were any prisoners to try, means to prove the offences must be prepared. It was the business of Commissioners to try offenders against whom depositions were already taken, and as soon as this necessary preparation had been made, the Commission was sent down. The right hon. Gentleman charged them with being the cause of windows being broken, and told a long and not very interesting story about the windows that were broken and those that were still barricadoed. He must say, that for a long time back he knew of nothing which took place in the metropolis which could render it necessary to keep up those barricadoes. They had some effect it was true, and from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman it might be conceived that there was some reason for keeping them up. He did not mean that this was the object of the individuals mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman, but his speech at least rendered them liable to this observation. These, however, were matters which had no relation to the subject before the House. If the hon. Gentleman thought that Ministers were chargeable with misconduct, he should bring forward his charges. He would now come to the question before the House. He must, however, previously observe, that a Commission had been issued for Nottingham.

Mr. *Croker*—Already!

Lord *Althorp:* "As soon as it was known that there were prisoners to try for grave offences." He would now apply himself to the few points which the right hon. Gentleman had touched in his address on the subject then before them. He was glad of the admission made by the right hon. Gentleman, that the principle of the Bill remained unchanged; but where, in that case, were they to look for the escape which the country had experienced from the late Bill? He agreed in the opinion, that the alteration in details did not, in the slightest degree, affect the principle of the measure. But, supposing for a moment there had been an escape, he contended, that the condition of the country would more than counterbalance that imaginary advantage. It would have been counterbalanced by continued agitation, even if the improvements had been infinitely greater than the present Bill presented. The right hon. Gentleman had said, there was no single division upon disputed points last Session, on which Ministers had not this Session followed the opinions they last Session resisted. He would not enter into details; they must be in the recollection of the right hon. Gentleman; and he must be fully aware, that the rule by which they had been guided in the last Bill was different from the rule they were now acting on. The change which had taken place, he was prepared to say, was consistent with the general rule they had then laid down, and which had since been acted on, with one exception—that of Saltash—on which, he allowed, they had been deceived, from want of information, which had now been received; and the Bill had been altered accordingly. The rule on which they would proceed in the new Bill was much better than the rule in the last, and would, in effect, obviate many of the objections to which that had been liable. Ministers were ready to do their utmost to preserve the public peace, but their efforts for this purpose would be of no avail, unless they found themselves supported by the middle and intelligent part of the people, whose support they were most anxious to secure. With respect to the description of the persons who were most likely to be returned under the Bill, as Representatives, he was persuaded they would continue to be selected from the same classes as at present, but with this beneficial change, that they would then be acting under the influence of their constituents. This would have the effect of giving satisfaction to the country, and would create that confidence in the decisions of the House, which, he grieved to say, had not existed hitherto, and which was our greatest strength. It was idle to assert that this Bill was the first link in the chain of disturbance. The first links had been forged before their entrance into office. Clamour had existed long ago, and had constantly increased until it was raised to an irrepressible pitch by the declaration of the late Administration. Ministers had brought forward a measure for the purpose of removing this agitation. The right hon. Gentleman, alluding to the illustration in the speech of an hon. and learned friend, that it was better to open the gates of the fortress than to wait for entrance by a breach, said, that the fortress which made a long defence obtained better terms. However true the remark might be when applied to the actual fortress, he (Lord Althorp) feared that very different would be the fate of the structure they were labouring to renovate, if resistance were persevered in to the last. His hon. friend had, in the able speech which he had delivered that night, looked with the eye of a statesman at this great question; but the hon. Gentleman who last spoke had applied himself merely to one point. The hon. Gentleman had read long extracts from "Hume's History of England," on the subject of the events which took place in 1640, but he had forgotten to favour the House with one very material quotation from a contemporary author, not particularly attached to popular principles, or the liberty of the subject. Lord Clarendon had observed, that if the King had attended to the advice of the Parliament, which was brought together in 1640, the events which afterwards took place might have been avoided; but the King, by his obstinate resistance to its propositions, excited the anger of the country, and was, in consequence, the cause of the calamitous results which ensued. The noble Lord who commenced the debate with that ability which always distinguished him, expressed his hostility to the present measure, because it was likely to lead to the destruction of the landed interest. Undoubtedly, if he (Lord Althorp) entertained the same opinion of the measure as the noble Lord did, he should not be one of its supporters. If he thought that the Bill would take away from the due influence of the landed interest, he should feel himself guilty of a great dereliction of duty when he recommended it to the House. He did not, however, believe that the Bill would have any such effect. He believed that the landed interest would still possess its full and due weight in the election of Members to serve in Parliament, and he did not think that the alterations which had been made in the Bill at present before the House, at all incurred the charge of endangering the legitimate influence of the landed interest. The hon. and learned member for St. Mawes (Sir Edward Sugden) had contended, that the landed interest would lose, under the provisions of the Bill, no less than 144 Representatives. There were, however, eleven Members added to boroughs in schedule B, which ought to be considered as a counterpoise to the Members added to the great towns, and this arrangement removed one of the great objections urged to these boroughs returning only one Member, which rested on the supposition that that one was certain to be the Representative of the operatives, to the exclusion of the landed interest, whereas, if two Members were returned for each borough, the interest would be divided. The noble Lord opposite had said, that no representative system, and no government could be safe, unless the Representation accorded with the property of the country. He perfectly agreed with the noble Lord in that statement; and if the noble Lord looked to the state of the representation, as it now existed, he would find that the reason why the people were so much dissatisfied with it, was the disproportion between the property of the country and the Representation. The object of the Bill was, to reduce that disproportion, and to render the representative system more correct according to the present distribution of property. It was not his intention to follow the hon. and learned member for St. Mawe's through the various details into which he had gone, for he considered the discussion of those points better suited to the Committee than to the motion for the Second Reading of the Bill. Undoubtedly, if every one of the objections which the hon. and learned Gentleman had urged against the details of the measure had been fully borne out by argument, they would have formed sufficient ground to justify the rejection of the Bill; but he did not think that the House would be of opinion that those objections were unanswerable. The hon. and learned Gentleman had said, that if the Bill were carried, the first act of a Reformed Parliament would be to propose the re-enactment of all those clauses which stood in the former Bill, and that his Majesty's Ministers would not be able to resist that proposition, because they were the authors of that Bill. This argument was not very consistent with what had been subsequently stated by the hon. and learned Gentleman, that the present Bill was more democratic than the former one; because, if this was the case, there could be no apprehension that a Reformed Parliament would be disposed to re-enact less popular provisions. Besides, he saw no reason to expect (if the alterations which had been made were improvements, and it seemed to be agreed, on all hands, that they were improvements), that the minds of the Members of a Reformed Parliament would be so constituted as to desire to undo what was generally considered to be advantageous. He would not, at the present moment, any longer follow the hon. and learned Gentleman over the ground which he had travelled; and with respect to the question itself, he would only say, that he hoped and trusted that Parliament would now settle it. It appeared to him that the continued agitation of this great question, and the suspense in which the public mind was kept with respect to it, were evils most afflicting to the country. It was now generally allowed that Reform was necessary, and it was the part of a wise statesman, not only to look back, but particularly to regard the situation in which he was placed; and any man who reflected what that situation now was, must be convinced that a considerable alteration in the representative system of this country was become necessary. Such being the case, Ministers had come forward with a proposition, with which large bodies of the people had declared themselves perfectly satisfied. They offered to Parliament a plan of Reform, which had given entire satisfaction to the people. Under these circumstances, he put it to the House, whether the wise and proper course would not be, to adopt the principles of the Bill, and not reject the measure without going into Committee? Of course, when he made this observation, he did not mean to express the slightest doubt of the result of the motion before the House—for a bill, containing similar principles to the measure now before the House having been supported by large majorities during last Session, he could not contemplate the possibility of hon. Members not pursuing the same line of conduct they had followed in that instance. He looked, he confessed, with great anxiety to see the present Bill passed into a law. He hoped and trusted—indeed he felt assured—that this Bill would pass; and he was quite certain that the rejection of the Bill a second time would be deplored as a calamity by every man who had the good of his country at heart.

Sir *Robert Inglis* rose to address the House, amidst loud cries of "Adjourn," and "Go on." After making several vain attempts to gain the attention of the House, he moved that the debate be adjourned.

Lord *Althorp* proposed that the debate, if adjourned, should be resumed the next day, and expressed a hope that it might then be brought to a conclusion.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, the only hesitation he felt in adjourning until to-morrow, arose from its being Saturday, and therefore their time must be limited, to avoid trespassing on the Sabbath.

Lord *Althorp* said, as that was the case, the House had better meet at noon tomorrow.

Debate adjourned until 12 o'clock the next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, *December* 17, 1831.

MINUTES.] Bills brought in. By Mr. WARBURTON, for regulating Schools of Anatomy.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. HENRY L. BULWER, of all Silks raw and thrown, imported from 5th January, to 5th December, 1831; and of all Silks and Ribbons separately imported from July, 1826, to the latest time:—On the Motion of Mr. CROKER, of the Population, number of Houses, Assessed Taxes, &c., relating to Boroughs mentioned in the Reform Bill; and for all those particulars relating to the Parish of Wednesbury, Stafford, in particular:—On the Motion of Mr. DOMINICK BROWNE, of the Population in the several Counties of England and Wales, according to the Census of 1831; of the revenue of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, from 10th October, 1830, to 10th October, 1831; of the quantity and duty on Tea exported from England to Ireland and Scotland, from 10th October, 1830, to 10th October, 1831.

Petitions presented. By Sir CHARLES WETHERELL, from the Landowners and Inhabitants of Nuthurst to authorize an equitable adjustment of the able-bodied Labourers upon the Land.

THE RUSSIAN-DUTCH LOAN.] Mr. *Herries* rose to make his promised motion upon this subject. He had given notice of his intention, in consequence of what had occurred in the answer received by his right hon. friend, the member for Tamworth. It was not his intention to delay the resumption of the debate on the Reform Bill, but he deemed it an imperative duty to call the attention of Parliament and the country to a subject which he looked upon as equally important, for it appeared to him that Ministers had put an interpretation on the treaty with Russia, which was most extraordinary to all those who had read that treaty, or the Act of Parliament connected with it. That treaty distinctly stated, that on the occurrence of a certain event, certain payments made by this country were to cease. This arose out of certain conventions entered into at the last peace, by virtue of which we were to pay part of a debt contracted by Russia with Holland. The first of these conventions specified in its third article, that England should "bear equally with Holland such further charges as might be agreed upon between the high contracting parties and their allies, towards a final and satisfactory settlement of the Low Countries in union with Holland, and under the dominion of the House of Orange, not exceeding in the whole the sum of 3,000,000*l.*, to be defrayed by Great Britain." The next convention still further proved that, by virtue of this treaty, dated the 13th of August, 1814, we were to take upon ourselves that charge in equal part with Holland. In this treaty there was a distinct condition annexed, which was, that the payment would cease and determine on the separation of the Netherlands from Holland. Now, it was notorious that that event had occurred, and that, consequently, the people of England had no right to be called upon to pay this money. Holland, our partner in the engagement, had ceased to pay her share, and so put an end to our power to continue it ourselves. He would not, at this time, include in his Motion the opinions given by his Majesty's Law Officers upon this subject, as these were always confidential, and consequently ought to be treated with the greatest delicacy; but it might be possible that Ministers would voluntarily bring them forward, when the debate, which must ensue on the production of these papers, took place. Perhaps the House was not aware that the decision of his Majesty's Ministers would cost this country nearer four millions of money than three, from the payment of which he considered the country ought to be exonerated. It had been the usual practice in that House to give immediate explanations when such matters were brought forward, but now it appeared an adjournment for several weeks was to take place, without having any information afforded them. He, however, gave notice, that he should resume the subject on the earliest opportunity. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving, "that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, praying him to order that there be laid upon the Table of that House. 1st. A copy of the Convention between Great Britain and the king of the Netherlands, signed on the 13th of August, 1814.—And 2nd, A copy of the Convention between Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Russia, signed on the 19th of July, 1815. The right hon. Gentleman further moved for an account, "shewing the total sum which had been paid on the 1st of January, 1831; and an estimate of the whole sum then remaining to be paid, for defraying the charge imposed on Great Britain for the principal and interest of the Russian loan in Holland, under the Convention of 19th May, 1815; with copies of all warrants, orders, or directions, issued by the Lords of his Majesty's Treasury, for making any payments thereupon within the year 1831."

Mr. *Hunt* rose to second the Motion, and he had no doubt he should be taunted by the public Press, and the hangers-on of the Ministers, that he was always ready to support the motions of the Tories. He had no communication with them however, further than if they were disposed to look into all wasteful expenditure of the public money, he, as a Radical, would be ready to go hand-in-hand with them, and it probably would come to that at last, that the two extremes of the Radicals and the Tories would meet. He regretted much to see, that under pretence of delaying the Reform Bill, such extravagance and profligate expenditure were to be passed over with little notice. The right hon. Gentleman had no occasion to have been so delicate in moving for the opinions of the Law Officers, when he had heard the Attorney General declare his readiness to discuss the question. He trusted these opinions would be laid on the Table. He hoped the time was fast arriving when three millions of money would be considered an object not to be lightly treated by Ministers.

Lord *Althorp* said, he had no objection to the production of these documents, and gave every credit to the feelings that induced hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House to agitate this subject; when they brought it forward regularly he should be ready to meet it, and had no doubt but that he should show that Ministers had acted properly. With regard to the remark made by the hon. member for Preston, he did not believe that the Tories, by making these inquiries, had lent themselves to the Radicals, nor did he believe the public would look at the transaction in the same light as the hon. Member had been pleased to consider it.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* thought, that as Parliament had been called together three times in one year, an inquiry into other matters besides the Reform Bill might be tolerated, and he trusted that the country would not be satisfied with the air of mystery assumed by Ministers on the present occasion. If the House, or a majority of it, desired to overturn the established laws, and, by clamour, put a stop to the consideration of every other subject, he would be no party to such a course of proceedings. The public had a right to know, how an Act of Parliament, so clear and precise as this was, could be tortured into a warrant authorizing the Treasury to pay the money in question, while the express words of the Act were, that in the event of a separation, the payment should cease. By the new treaty, Holland and Belgium were separated. It was said, that the king of Belgium had been acknowledged by the other Powers as he had been by England, yet the money was still paid. It was possible that, according to their view of the case, it might be politic, under certain circumstances, to act as Ministers had done, but it would have been more respectful to the House of Commons had they been informed what those circumstances were. He was sorry that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs was absent, and that during the short time they had been together, that noble Lord had been almost always out of the way at the moment when questions might, and ought to have been asked about this treaty. To-day there was a notice on the paper which he thought might have attracted the noble Lord's attention. This subject of the payment of the interest of the Russian loan, was intimately connected with the secret policy of the Cabinet, and he believed that policy to be most dishonourable to this country, and unjust to the king of the Netherlands. Though all the papers had published notes and Protocols respecting the affairs of Holland and Belgium, and there had been discussions upon the subject in the Chamber of Representatives at Brussels, in the States General at the Hague, and in the Chamber of Deputies at Paris, yet the House of Commons were left in complete ignorance, as far as the Government was concerned, with respect to these important matters. The king of Holland had protested against the arrangement with respect to the navigation of the rivers, and indeed with respect to all the water communications with the Rhine, as they had been opened by the decrees of the Conference to the Belgians. He wished to know, whether the decision of the Conference upon this point was based upon the principle of conformity with the treaties of Vienna, which laid down certain rules to be adhered to, supposing the union of the two kingdoms to continue. Such a separation as had now taken place had never been contemplated when the two treaties of the internal navigation, and of that of the Rhine, were framed, and the ruinous consequences to Holland could not have been foreseen. He contended, therefore, that those rules did not apply, and ought not to be applied to present circumstances, and that the king of Holland, and the Dutch generally, had been cruelly treated throughout the whole business. Those who wished to see fair and even-handed justice done, had a right to complain, for it must be remembered, that Holland was likely to be a more useful Ally than Belgium which must in a great degree be under the influence of France if not entirely dependent upon that Power. The Conference had made this country guarantee the performance of a most arduous and difficult task respecting Belgium. The subject was well worthy the consideration of Parliament, and although it might be said, that until the treaty was ratified, and laid upon the Table, all discussion was useless, the importance of the interests involved, rendered he thought no apology necessary from him for entering upon it. Before the treaty was ratified, he would suggest to the consideration of Ministers, whether there were not certain articles which deserved re-consideration. In his opinion, it was not a question whether the king of the Netherlands had a right to complain of the way in which he had been treated; and, under all the circumstances, he would put it to Government, whether there were not such difficulties in the way as might induce re-consideration. He would suggest, that if the complaints were not removed, the king of Holland might find allies in other parts of Europe ready to uphold his rights, and who would consider the treaty in question as so much waste paper. Were the people of England, who, by the express words of the Act of Parliament, were not liable, notwithstanding the opinions of the lawyers, to pay this sum of money, were they to give to Russia that which neither the treaty nor the Statutes which recited it required of them? He hoped that the payment in question was not the price at which the internal navigation and security of Holland had been purchased for Belgium from one of the great contracting Powers. If it were so, he could imagine nothing more disgraceful to that Power or to Great Britain. His Majesty's Treasury was clearly not bound to advance the money, and had, in doing so, beyond all doubt, exceeded its duty. He knew that he might be charged with intending to retard the debate on the Reform Bill, by provoking a discussion upon this question, but he could assure any Member likely to impute to him such motives that the charge was most unfounded; for, anxious as he was to have the subject discussed, this was the only opportunity that had presented itself. He hoped that his Majesty's Ministers would take that course which would secure the interests and honour of the country.

Lord *Althorp* understood the hon. Baronet to wish that certain questions might be answered; but though he might attend to the arguments of that hon. Member, he certainly could not on that occasion answer any question that might be prejudicial to the public service. He had no desire to impute to the hon. Baronet, that he had made a speech merely to delay the Reform Bill; such certainly was the tendency of the speech; but it had a far worse tendency, for it was calculated to interfere with the conclusion of a treaty, and so to endanger the peace of Europe. The merits of that treaty he would not then discuss; but when it should be laid on the Table of the House the proper occasion would arise, and he should then be prepared to justify in every respect the conduct and proceedings of his Majesty's Government. To enter upon the subject in its present state would be glaringly inconsistent with his duty as a Minister of the Crown, and he could not suffer himself to be drawn into a premature discussion by anything that had fallen from the hon. Baronet or the right hon. Gentleman. The hon. Baronet complained, that the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs was not in his place, for the purpose of giving the necessary explanations respecting matters which belonged peculiarly to his department, and had said, that sufficient notice had been given to his noble friend, that his attendance in the House would be required. The notice to which the hon. Baronet referred was, that given by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, to move for papers connected with the Russian loan; but in justice to his noble friend, he must say, that although he had seen that notice on the paper, he did not conceive it was likely to bring on a discussion, and he was not therefore astonished at the absence of his noble friend.

Motion agreed to.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—BILL FOR ENGLAND — SECOND READING — ADJOURNED DEBATE.] On the Motion of Lord John Russell, the Order of the Day was read for resuming the Debate upon the Second Reading of the Reform of Parliament (England) Bill.

Sir *Robert Inglis* said,* the noble Lord opposite (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), in rising to notice—I will not say, to answer, because it was unanswerable—the almost unrivalled speech of my right hon. friend, the member for Aldeburgh (Mr. Croker), last night, stated, that if it had not been for the two closing words of that speech, he might have conceived that it referred to any other subject than that of the Reform Bill. It is true that the details of that Bill did not occupy any considerable portion of my right hon. friend's speech: it is true, that in opposing the principles of that Bill, he drew his arguments and his illustrations, as well from events now passing in other countries as from our own history in other ages; and I can, therefore, well understand why the honourable Gentlemen, the disciples of that individual, who told us, qualify the phrase as you will, that history was an old almanac, in other words, that we were not to apply the events of other times to the present, may be reluctant to hear some of those statements which came last night from the lips of my right hon. friend in reference to transactions two centuries ago, as well as to those contemporary warnings to which he so well called our present attention. I contend, that although my right hon. friend did not, on this occasion, as during the course of the last Session, lay open with so strong a hand, cut with so fine a knife, all the contents of the Bill now before us, that, although he did not follow my hon. and learned friend the member for St. Mawes (Sir Edward Sugden), in his acute and penetrating dissection of the Bill in its minuter details, yet he did sufficiently shew, that in its essential and characteristic principles, it was unworthy the adoption of the House. The noble Lord stated, in reference to an observation made on a former occasion by my hon. friend, the member for Westminster, that by his new Constitution the same men would indeed be returned as are now sent here by the old system.

Sir *John Cam Hobhouse:* With different motives.

Sir *Robert Harry Inglis:* It may be so—I thank my hon. friend for his correction. My hon. and learned friend, who is now entering the House, may, for instance, be returned with these different motives, for did he not tell us the other night, that certain influences now existed which induced him not to press his views with respect to the ballot? But, as my hon. and learned friend intimates that I misunderstood him, I will not continue the allusion. The noble Lord has said, more than once, that the same men, or the same class of men, would be returned; but be this as it may, I well remember his saying that the object and effect of the Reform Bill would be to give to the people "an overpowering influence" in this House; and he last night followed up that sentiment by stating, that the Members of the House would be more dependent on the people, their constituents. If this be the case, I contend that all those counteracting influences, which now meet in this House, will be destroyed. The nicely-balanced influences of the three branches of the Legislature, which now exist here, will disappear, and this House will become the single organ of a universal democracy. The House of Commons, instead of being the depository of all existing interests and influences in the State, will become the mere concentrating focus of the will of the people. Let hon. Members consider what must be the consequences of such a state of things in the present artificial condition of society. To take one instance: one-third of the existing property of the country has been created by the will of Parliament, and may be destroyed by the will of Parliament. The whole funded debt of England arose in the first instance, from votes of this House: and the credit thus established may be endangered—I will not say extinguished, by another vote. Let hon. Members, I say, consider that 800,000,000*l.* of property now existing may be entirely destroyed, or greatly deteriorated in value, by a resolution of the new constituency and the new delegates of England, by the acts of those who may have no other object in view than to liberate themselves from the pressure of a debt contracted by a body, which, for the first time in the history of England, the very Government have taught the people to consider as not their representatives, and therefore not fit to bind them. I cannot but look, indeed, with extreme apprehension to the injury which will accrue to other interests of higher importance even than those of the holders of funded property: but I look, in the first instance, to a general deterioration of all property arising from the immediate action upon this House, of those who have only the interest of relieving themselves from taxes. The noble Lord stated twice, in the course of his speech, that every body now admitted the necessity of Reform. Now, even if I were disposed to admit to him, which I am not, that Reform is inevitable, I will never admit that it is needful. I contend that it was not called for either by the wants or by the wishes of the people; and that the attempt to introduce a measure of this kind has been productive hitherto of nothing but injury to the interests of the country. The noble Lord at the head of the Home Department, in the first line of his letter addressed to the organ of the Government, stated that the Government was prepared to introduce a Bill "founded upon a new basis."* Now, in the interpretation of this word, and in its application to the Bill before us, I am much more disposed to agree with my right hon. friend, the member for Aldeburgh, than with my hon. and learned friend, the member for St. Mawe's; and I fear that we cannot claim the support of any of the Gentlemen opposite, on the ground that the present measure is no longer that to which they swore allegiance. In one sense this Bill rests, indeed, upon a new basis; but in all its substantial parts it is the same measure as the last. Upon the whole, I think that even the machinery of the Bill is worse than it was before; but supposing that there are here and there some few slight technical improvements, it is still essentially the same as that which has been already rejected by the other House of Parliament. What important part of the last Bill is there not in this? Have we not now, as then, disfranchisement without proof of guilt—enfranchisement without proof of need, and the same universal uniform constituency—democratical enough, not only to destroy any monarchy, but almost any republic? The measure has been converted from a Bill of twenty pages into one of forty-eight or fifty pages: its size is altered, its dress is altered, its coat has been fitted to its growth, but its personal identity remains unchanged. What it was at the beginning, on the first day of last March, it is now; and I fear that there is little hope of our ever altering it to any practical good in this House. I trust, however, if it should eventually pass this House, that those to whom reference has been so often made, will, as I believe they will, act on the same principles on which they made their stand before; and notwithstanding all that has been said by the noble Lord, I think that the most satisfactory settlement of the Bill will be its rejection. From the beginning I protested against the principles of this

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* By authority, from the authentic copy, published by Rivington.

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* Letter from the Viscount Melbourne to Lieutenant Drummond, R. E. 24th November, 1831. "The Government having determined to found the Reform Bill on a new basis."—House of Commons Paper, No. 17, ordered to be printed 15th December, 1831.

Bill. When the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the forces, first introduced it, I felt it to be my duty to contend most earnestly against what, for the first time in our history, was enunciated in the House of Commons, as a right principle of legislation—confiscation without conviction—punishment without trial—destruction without compensation. At that time, I most solemnly entered my protest against those principles; and I now renew that protest, feeling that there is nothing now, as there was nothing then, to justify our acting upon them. My recollection may be imperfect; and, in that case, I shall feel happy to be corrected; but I think, that from the first of March, when the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, introduced a similar bill, no member of his Majesty's Government has opened to us any thing of a general and statesman-like view, —first, of the necessity of these alterations; and, secondly, of the effects which will follow their adoption. If any hon. Gentleman will assist my memory by telling me that, in any one of the discussions which we have had during the last nine months, either any of his Majesty's Ministers, or any of the auxiliary supporters, by whom they are surrounded, have done so, I shall be obliged to him; but I must confess that no such fact comes to my recollection, even with the assistance of those ordinary sources for refreshing the memory, open to us all. The Bill is thrown on the Table of the House, with a popular statement of the anomalies of the existing system, and of the corruptions which prevail under it; but without any proof, or even any statement of the particular evils which the nation, as such, has thereby sustained; without any evidence that the general effect and tendencies of the old Constitution have, on the whole, been practically injurious to the country; without any presumption that the remedy proposed will extirpate the alleged evils, or be unaccompanied by greater evils of its own. Though I complain that the Bill has, by its authors, been left without any large and statesman-like defence of its principles and its probable effects, I do not mean that it has been trusted alone to its own intrinsic merits, without any defence at all on the part of its noble parents. But while I contend, as I do, that the present Bill is, in all its essential points, the same as that which was rejected elsewhere, I cannot help feeling that the ground upon which the present Bill is now defended, is materially different from that which was taken up in support of the last. When the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, first introduced his measure of Reform to this House, he stated, as a noble Lord did elsewhere, that his object was "restoration." On the second occasion upon which the noble Lord presented himself to us—I mean on the 24th of June—he had discovered that Lord Somers was a reformer, "a friend to innovation,"—that it was not necessary any longer to talk of restoration, and that our Constitution consisted of a series of changes. But now, on his third appeal to us, the noble Lord returns to his first statement, that the Bill will "restore to the people their just rights, which can no longer be withheld." Now, I contend, that a thing to be restored, must have been previously enjoyed, and taken away: but the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, has not shewn us that the people ever before enjoyed what he proposes to bestow upon them. Having entered fully, on a former occasion, into this part of the subject, I will only repeat now, that from the very beginning of Parliaments, there were boroughs as small as any which now exist; in proof of which I have before quoted the 23rd of Edward 1st as the date of the one and same year in which precepts were first issued to Old and to New Sarum: it being perfectly clear, that the one was a decayed city, if the other were any thing more than a rising village; and that the population of the one was removed to the other, both not being great towns at any one period together. Away, then, with the doctrine, that the annihilation of these small boroughs is the restoration of the parliamentary constitution of England. Then, as to the doctrine that the people have an inherent right to be represented, the hon. Baronet, the senior member for Westminster, if I may be so allowed to distinguish the hon. Baronet whom I mean, stated on a former occasion, that the people had the same right to be represented in this House, as the Peers had to sit in their House, or as the King had to sit upon his Throne. My right hon. friend, the member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel), answered that assertion so triumphantly, that I suspect the hon. Baronet (Sir F. Burdett) will not be very eager to sustain it by argument, either here or elsewhere. On the principle advanced by the hon. Baronet, the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hunt, would be entitled to claim his support in favour of Universal Suffrage, or even of an equal division of property. Not that I mean to impute such an idea as this last to the hon. member for Preston; but the arguments of the hon. member for Westminster, as to natural rights, if worth any thing, are at least as good in favour of such objects, as they are in favour of those which he more immediately contemplates, unless, indeed, he be a disciple of Dogberry, and think that as reading and writing come by nature, so does a 10*l.* qualification. For my own part, however, I cannot see what ground of distinction an advocate of *natural rights* can take between a man inhabiting a house worth 10*l.* a year and another inhabiting one worth only 9*l.* I have already noticed that the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces (Lord J. Russell), on a former occasion, alluded to Lord Somers as to an innovator; but if he can overcome that, which is not an unreasonable repugnance in one of his noble house, so far as to refer to Burke—to his magnificent defence of Lord Somers—he will find that the claim of Lord Somers to the gratitude of posterity rests upon the zeal with which he endeavoured to maintain all the existing institutions of the country. Lord Somers was not an innovator. He and the other great men of the revolution, whose real successors the old Tory party now are, stood up for the integrity of the principles of our institutions. Sir, I say that the old Tory party are the representatives and successors of the great men of the revolution; for I am not aware of any doctrines held by them which are not now held by the Tories; whilst instances can be quoted of men who, inheriting their blood and honours, have violated every principle, for the sake of which those, their illustrious ancestors, would have sacrificed every thing. I speak not of free-trade, I speak not of such comparative trifles, but of things for which those great men were ready to shed their heart's blood, and which some of their descendants would now think it disgraceful to advocate. My right hon. friend, the member for Knaresborough (Sir James Mackintosh), supported the Bill on the ground that the people were thoroughly disgusted with the state of the Representation. I do not know whether the language which I put into his mouth be stronger than he actually used; but I know that it was to the effect, that for seventy years, the people had seen so much bribery going on, that they had lost all confidence in a system under which such practices could prevail. Now, admitting the fact, which I do not—but admitting it for the sake of argument, I ask, whether it will be contended by my right hon. friend, that the Bill before us presents any adequate remedy for that evil. We have heard from the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and from my hon. and learned friend, the member for Calne (Mr. Macaulay), that the expense of a contested county election, under the new system, will be scarcely more than the market price of Old Sarum. I know not what the noble Lord may count the market price of Old Sarum, but I have every reason to believe that it never has been sold. But be that as it may, I do not think that it affects the argument of my right hon. friend, the member for Aldeburgh, last night, against a part of this Bill, when he stated that the expense of fifteen polling-booths in different places in one county would render the expense of an election as great under the new as under the old system, if not greater. But this is a matter upon which it is unnecessary to trouble the House with an observation, because the Bill involves interests of such immeasurably higher importance, that the mere pounds, shillings, and pence view of one fraction of the question is hardly, in the present stage of the proceeding, worth consideration. At the same time, there is one point connected even with the pecuniary part of the question, not altogether undeserving of notice. It is this—you have taken property as the test of qualification in an elector, and in a candidate; but with respect to candidates, the qualification is so often evaded, that the production of it is almost a mockery. Now, it is most desirable that those who are to sit in this House as, in any sense, the Representatives of the people of England, should at least give some evidence that they themselves have a stake in the country, and that they are not mere adventurers, who by popular talents only, without the evidence of personal fortune, can come into a situation to dispose of the fortunes of others. I can see, therefore, even in the expense now incident to popular elections, some check to the otherwise unlimited introduction of pennyless profligate men into these seats of power, into this Representation of all the interests of the people of England. I use the expression "Representative;" but I never will admit that, in the Government sense of that word, this House was ever intended to be a strict Representation of the people. At the beginning, as, on a former occasion, I was enabled, by the indulgence of the House, to state fully, that the

King selected certain communities to send here those who might advise with him. My right hon. friend opposite, the member for Knaresborough (Sir James Mackintosh), knows well that such was the principle on which all writs were originally issued. I do not deny the full legislative powers, even in the earliest day, of the House of Commons, when once assembled, however, assembled; but I deny that it was ever assembled, at any time, as a Representation of the people, taken on any one general principle, of wealth, of numbers, or of all classes, or of all combined. If, then, there be no right, no abstract right, in the people to Representation at all, and still less, to exclusive Representation in this House, the question, whether this or that portion of the people have more or less Representatives in this House than it ought to have, (all sent alike in obedience to the King's writs, which writs were, in their origin, discretional), cannot rest on the ground on which it is placed by right hon. Gentlemen opposite. The denial or the granting of the franchise—that is, the being called upon, according to the old form, to send persons to advise with the King—cannot be a matter of complaint on the one hand, or of inherent right on the other. What we have to decide is this—whether the system so established have, or have not, worked well—whether its effects have, or have not been beneficial. Will those who bring forward this measure condescend to point out the evils which we have endured, and above all, how their proposal is likely to remedy those evils? I do not mean (for I can see by the Bill) how the towns of the kingdom are put into schedules, and the people into classes, but I mean a statesmanlike view of the probable effect of this Bill; for if Ministers do not make this expostition, and sustain it by proof, I, for one, shall contend that they have not discharged their duty, either to the House or to the country, in agitating such an empire as this, with such a question, at this or at any other time. The noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) stated last night, that we were now all Reformers; and the same assertion was made, in the last session, by an hon. Gentleman, whose speech will be more remembered on account of the answer given to it by my right hon. friend, the member for Tamworth, than for any intrinsic merit of its own; that hon. Gentleman being pleased to assume, that the only question among us on this side was, what the amount of Reform which each might admit, should be. The noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, in like manner told us, in the Summer, that now "every Anti-Reformer has a pigeon-hole for a constitution of his own." Now, I beg leave to say for myself, that I have no constitution to tender to the noble Lord; I am content with the Constitution as it exists. I have always contended that the actual frame of our Constitution has produced more blessings to this country than have ever been enjoyed by any other kingdom, in any other age, under any other form of government whatever. I have heard it asked—indeed the question was repeated last night—whether the Constitution of England under the Tudors be fit to be the Constitution of England in the year 1831; and my hon. and learned friend (the member for Calne), stated, that, improved as the administration of affairs had been, in the time of Charles 1st compared with that of Henry 8th, yet that such improvement had not been so great as the growth of public opinion then required it to be. He did not deny the ameliorations which had successively, since that time, taken place: he admitted them all; but he argued, that, considerable as they were, they were not commensurate with the requirements of the age. My hon. and learned friend contended, in continuation, that exactly in proportion as the first members of the House of Hanover were unable to act on the principles of the Stuarts, so was the House of Hanover in the nineteenth century unable to act upon the principles of the House of Hanover in the eighteenth century. He argued that none but bigots would contend that the old institutions are fitted to the new condition of the country. Now, I will admit myself as complete a bigot as he could desire, to answer, if I cannot prove, that the Constitution, as it exists now, although in name the same, is, in point of fact, very different from what it was under the Tudors. Let us take the amount of the elective franchise, for instance, as it was under the Tudors and the Stuarts, and as it is under the House of Hanover. It remains now, and has in every age remained, nominally the same as it was even before the Tudors, in the time of Henry 6th; but can any one fail to perceive, that, whilst the nominal amount is unaltered, the practical effect is very different? By the change in the value of money, that which was rather a high qualification four centuries ago, has become almost nominal. I hardly know in what proportion, since the time of Henry 6th the constituency has been increased from this cause alone; but, considering, in addition to that cause, the division of property, and the increase of cultivation, it cannot be less than fifty-fold at the lowest. This change has been accomplished gradually, without danger, by one of those elastic principles in the Constitution, which enable it to accommodate itself to the wants of the times. A change similar to that which has taken place in the constituency, may also be observed in the Representatives of the people. Will any one say, that the Representatives of England are not a very different class of persons from that which sat in this House two centuries ago? It was stated last night, although I dare say it was sufficiently familiar to the House before, that the new member for Worcestershire was quite unconnected with that county, by birth, or by property, or by residence; and the hon. Baronet (Sir John Sebright), who stated the fact, argued from it, that the county of Worcester was decidedly favourable to Reform, because it preferred a gentleman so circumstanced with Reform, to their old Member against Reform. But does he not see the use which may be made of that fact on the other side of the argument? Does not the fact itself prove the non-need of Reform, for that the people have, and exercise, under the present system, the power of selecting from all England, those whom they may think most fit to represent them? That is a power which was given to them by the change of circumstances, and is one which they never could have possessed, and, indeed, did not wish to possess, two centuries ago. Look at Middlesex again; a perfect stranger in family and in estate, has fallen into the Representation of it. Look at Yorkshire. An hon. Gentleman, formerly a member of this House, of most respectable private station, five or six years ago, utterly unconnected as he was with the landed aristocracy of that county, and connected only with its manufacturing interests, was, without a contest, selected to fill the seat once occupied by Sir George Saville. We all know that last year another hon. and learned person, a stranger in every thing but in reputation, was, by the same county, placed in the Representation of the tenth part of England. I suppose that it will not be denied, on the Ministerial benches, that the House of Commons, elected six months ago, does, by its majority, on their side, at this moment, represent fully the mind and will of the people of England. If this be not so, why taunt us with the cry, that your majorities on this Bill are the organs of the determination of the people, that "the Bill shall pass?"—if it be so, have you not already got a full proof, that, even under the old and reviled system, there are powers inherent in the Constitution, by which the strongest infusion of popular excitement can be communicated instantly and irresistibly to this House? While, however, there is this immediate reflection here of the popular feeling on this subject, there are still left amongst us some guards and checks to its extremest violence; and in them there may still be some security for the preservation of other interests. But the noble Lord opposite has not attempted to state, that the constituency which he proposes to create, will send Representatives who, carrying into this House the mind of the people, will also have any interest in preserving the other institutions of the country, but it has been stated, that "the people are dissatisfied, and require the change." Now, my hon. and learned friend (the member for Calne) last night stated most happily, in the course of one of the most splendid speeches which even he had ever made in this House, that the Government was made for the people, and not the people for the Government. In that observation I perfectly concur; but I contend, that before we assume the people to be dissatisfied with this government, we want something far different from the exhibition which has been made to prove it to us. I do not ask upon what grounds, or in what way they are dissatisfied, but I ask the opposite side to prove that such is the fact. Will any man tell me that the current of public opinion has run long and steadily, and, therefore, increasingly, against the old system, and in favour of the new system? Will it be said, that the result of the last election conclusively proves it? Let me ask, how can we distinguish between a mountain torrent and a perennial stream? Is it not by watching whether, after a time, there be not a subsidence in its waters? Taking that test, can it be said that the people now hold the same language, and shew the same eagerness respecting the progress of the Bill, that they did six months ago? I will not say whether there have been, in the technical sense of the word, a re-action; but there has certainly been a considerable subsidence of opinion on this subject. I am willing to admit, that a Constitution—to work well—must, in all cases, be suited to the people who were to live under it. The English Constitution was thrown away in Corsica; and, on the other hand, the absolutism of the government of Spain and of Portugal is cherished as their heart's blood by the people of the Peninsula. If it be argued that the petitions of the people in this country prove their determination to have this Bill, and nothing but this Bill, I ask the noble Lord opposite, whether he always thought the petitions of the people equally conclusive; and whether there have not been occasions in which as great numbers of the people have expressed a decided opinion, as they have done in this case? But I contend, that even if it were proved, that the whole existing race of Englishmen were eager and determined to possess this Bill, we should be bound to consider, that the people have only a life-interest in the Constitution; that we are their trustees; that we must not allow them to commit waste on the property, but must ourselves endeavour to preserve it for their and our children. We must not, for the sake of temporary popularity, or even to avoid some great evil, supposing any likely to arise from resistance to this demand, which I deny—but supposing, I say, that it is likely to arise, we must not, to avoid it, run into the certain evil of sacrificing their permanent welfare and interest. But, I will ask, does the intelligence of the country demand this change? I deny that it does. Look to the manner in which the two Universities have pronounced their opinion. Will the noble Lord deny, that a very large proportion of the individuals composing them are opposed to the present measure? I speak now of those, who, by law, constitute the corporate body in both Universities. But can he deny, that at least as large a proportion, also, of the rising talent of the country, now in those Universities, and hereafter to constitute in succession those corporate bodies, will be found, at this instant, arrayed against him and his Bill? I might state the same—I believe, with equal confidence—in respect to the majority both of the Clergy and of the Magistracy, spread over the whole kingdom. A minor point, if any thing connected with justice can be considered minor, has not been brought before the House. It is a point which seems to have been totally overlooked by both the noble Lords opposite, in this their sweeping measure, although they were bound to take it into consideration, both by principle and precedent—I allude to the justice (in abolishing so many existing rights) of giving adequate compensation to those who are to suffer by their measure. Unpopular as, in this House, may be the doctrine of giving compensation to those whose rights are swept away by schedule A, can any man deny, particularly after the convincing speech of my hon. and learned friend (Sir Charles Wetherell) near me, last Session, that these boroughs, and the rights belonging to them, are both, in the strictest sense of the word, property? The Legislature has allowed these burgage-tenures to be bought and sold, all parties knowing that the elective franchise entered into the calculation of their value. After having suffered this, can we turn round and take that which we have thus allowed to be sold, away from those who have bought it, without giving compensation to them? But, as I said before, this is not merely a question of justice and principle, but of direct precedent. Was not 1,250,000*l.* awarded at the time of the Irish Union to those whose interest in certain boroughs was annihilated by that measure? And is it not recorded by the papers on our own Table, that this sum was apportioned, not to the voters, but to the proprietors? Let it not be forgotten, also, that these boroughs so confiscated were, without exception, corporation boroughs, and not boroughs in which the burgage-tenure prevailed, in which last the property evidently becomes more tangible, and of course the argument for compensation more irresistible. I follow the greatest modern lawyers, in holding that that is property, the denial of which is the subject of an action. If, therefore, the denial of the right of voting be, as Lord Holt has decided, a subject of action, whether that right rest upon a corporation charter, or upon burgage-tenure, I am justified in contending, that some compensation is due to those whose rights are to be extinguished by the Bill of the noble Lord. What, after all, Sir, is the end of good governmen? Throughout these discussions it has been assumed that the end of good government is equality of Representation; but I say, that this is to confound the end with the means. The civil end of all government ought to be the freedom of the person, and the security of the property of the subject. Is not this end attained under the existing system? If so, the noble Lord has no right to derange it for the sake of a theory, whether true or false in the abstract. I consider the onus lies with his Majesty's

Ministers to prove, that the great ends of government have failed; and not only that, but that this measure will attain those ends, that it will satisfy the people, and secure for us blessings which the old system has not secured. Now, what does the hon. member for Preston tell us with regard to the satisfaction of the people? Does he not say, that those whose Representative he claims to be in this House, are not satisfied with it? Does not the noble Lord opposite know that certain meetings have taken place in the north, at Macclesfield, Stockport, Leeds, &c., in which, without a single exception, the Whigs have been driven from the field by the disciples of the hon. member for Preston? Have not the majorities, on those occasions, told us "that they will not be delivered, bound hand and foot, into the hands of a "10*l.* oligarchy;" or, to use the expression of my noble friend the member for Wootton Bassett, (Lord Mahon) to "an aristocracy of shopkeepers?" In any case I should not like the Bill, but certainly it would be more tolerable if any one could state, in this House, that he believes it to be a final measure; I mean final as far as the word can be applied to human institutions, meaning, perhaps, a generation. But does the noble Lord pretend to state that the new Representation which he proposes to introduce into this House, will not, year after year, bring forward measures which will agitate the country far more than even this? Does he believe that any thing which we can now do, short of offering actual resistance to this Bill, can prevent the continued agitation of the subject? Perhaps, indeed, neither granting nor resisting this measure will prevent the question being again agitated. But the difference between the two cases is this: by resisting now, we may effectually prevent the necessity of still further and more dangerous concessions; whereas, by now yielding, we prepare the way for all future concessions, and give up the very arms with which we might defend ourselves, into the hands of those who will use them to enforce their further demands. I have already quoted the opinion of the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that much the same Members would be elected into a Reformed Parliament, as are now elected into an unreformed: I might well ask, then, if that be so, why change the system? But, then, I have also been told, that they will be sent here with different objects. Now, in reverting to this subject, which I noticed slightly when I first rose, I cannot but urge the hon. Gentlemen opposite, considering that this point is practically the most important in their Bill—to state at once what those objects are, and what it is, which will produce a change in the Members of a future House in respect to those objects? If a clear and permanent majority of this House be to be more under the influence of popular will than they are at this moment, can any body doubt what will be the consequences? Is it not evident, that at the present moment the popular will in some places—at least, in some meetings—is for the abolition of several institutions which appear to be as dear to the noble Lord as to myself, and which ought to be far more dear to him than to me? Does he believe that the interests of property will be as secure, when you have in this House the Representatives of those who declare that the law of primogeniture ought to be done away with, and that the distinctions "of rank are unnatural, and" (though the hon. Baronet, the member for Westminster (Sir Francis Burdett) did not add the concluding part of the Resolution, the other night, I will finish the quotation for him)—"ought to be abolished." Do the noble Lords think that the rights of their "order" will be more secure, when Members are introduced into this House such as you may expect to be the Representatives of a constituency holding opinions like these? Do they not know, that the ultimate objects of those who agitate this Question on the other side of these walls, are the remission of all taxes, the confiscation of Church and funded property, and the abolition of the House of Peers? Have not the latter body, as was stated by my right hon. friend, the member for Aldeburgh, yesterday, been designated as an assembly of 199 individuals, and their corporate capacity, and their legislative functions destroyed, so far as the will of those who hold that doctrine is concerned? Under these circumstances, I can feel no confidence in the stability, even, of the Constitution about to be established; and so far as all the great existing interests of the country are concerned, I see no security to any one, and I see danger gathering round almost all. I see danger, indeed, on every side. I admit to the noble Lord, that there is danger in resistance; but I contend, that the danger of concession is infinitely greater. I believe, that under the existing system, greater happiness has been enjoyed by the people of this country, than ever was bestowed upon any people in any age, or in any country. Admitting, and feeling, I hope, greatly for the existence of much individual distress, and distress even in large masses—I say, that such civilization, such wealth, such comfort, such freedom, such wide-spread enjoyment, never before, I believe, was known in any country of the world. Our national wealth and resources, exhausted as they now appear to many to be, under the pressure of tremendous wars, and an expenditure of above 1,000,000,000*l.*, in the course of thirty years, are yet greater, I believe, than those of any five other European States. No man who has travelled, will venture to say, that there is any country of Europe bearing evidences of such an extension of civilization and comfort as have been possessed by England under our despised and reviled Constitution. Looking to the history of the last thirty years, there is no shore which is not tributary to our commerce; there is no sea which has not been a witness of our victories; our sword has not been drawn except to conquer—has not been sheathed except to spare; and in all things, among all the nations of the earth, Providence has pre-eminently prospered us. What have we rendered to God for these His blessings? What we have been as individuals, I will not say. I desire to judge no man except myself: and this is a subject too delicate to justify more than the most passing allusion:—but, as a nation, we have not employed our wealth, our resources, and our influence, as we ought; we have not been sufficiently humble—we have not been sufficiently thankful for the blessings which we have enjoyed. I most conscientiously and solemnly believe, that if this Bill of Reform shall pass, carrying with it the hazard, and, at no very distant day, the destruction of all that security of social comforts which we have hitherto enjoyed, the overthrow of all our institutions, and the unspeakable and immeasurable misery which must attend and follow that crisis;—I say, I most conscientiously and solemnly believe it will be, because we have been at once the most favoured and the most ungrateful of nations.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* was anxious to address the House upon the present question, and if the observations which he had to make were not considered by hon. Gentlemen important as to the measure under review—and he was not so vain as to suppose he could throw much new light upon the subject—still they were important to himself, if the House would indulge him in listening for a short time to what he proposed to press upon its attention. His great desire was, to show that the motives which induced him to resolve upon the vote he was about to give should be fully and clearly understood. When the last Bill was brought in, he thought it his duty to give it a decided opposition in all its stages. He did so because he thought that it was unnecessary, and was originated at a most unseasonable time, when they had not the means to legislate with safety to promote the end in view, and because it must be such as there were no means of calculating. He was of opinion that the course which his Majesty's Ministers had pursued was in all respects pregnant with danger; and he had therefore been desirous that the people should have a second opportunity of giving the question a calm consideration. After that measure had been disposed of, and after its principles had been so ably explained as they had been in the discussions which took place in that House and elsewhere, he entertained some hope that his Majesty's Ministers would have thought better of the subject, and would have introduced a new Bill in consequence, more likely to conciliate their opponents than that now before the House; and that he and others, who had taken a mitigated view of the opposition which ought to be given to Reform in the present state of the country, would be able to give it their support. He need not add, that he was painfully disappointed. He had looked at the Bill with a full desire to find it such as he could approve, and he admitted that he had found in it many points which were essentially practical improvements. He must observe, that his Majesty's Ministers had, in his opinion, abandoned one most objectionable feature which had been found in the former Bill, and which would have led to future danger and confusion—namely, the assuming the amount of population as the basis of Representation. He greatly preferred the taking even the arbitrary number of boroughs in the schedule A, or the combined calculation of the population and assessed taxes, to the taking a certain amount of population, and disfranchising all the boroughs which were found to contain a less number of inhabitants than the amount fixed upon. In schedule B there was also, he was willing to admit, a great improvement, inasmuch as two Members were restored to a great proportion of those boroughs which, by the former Bill, were to have been deprived of one. But, what was of greater importance than all these changes, was the abandonment of that application of the rule of three in estimating the claims of the large towns, and in adapting their Representation to that rule. The principle had been abandoned, which enabled a person to say if a town with 4,000 inhabitants was to have two representatives, how many ought a town of 10,000 to have? He was also rejoiced to find in this new Bill, that the plan of effecting the divisions of counties by means of Commissioners was abandoned, and that the House itself was to carry that division into effect, for the House only was, in his opinion, the proper tribunal to adjust those divisions. Another great improvement was the return to the double Representative system, which was proposed in this Bill, by the increased number of enfranchised towns inserted in schedule C. That usage of the Constitution was a salutary one, as had been most fully shown in the discussion on the last Bill; but at the same time, by applying it to the towns in schedule C, which were each to have two Members, he was greatly in doubt whether the advantages which were gained thereby were not counterbalanced by the preponderance which would be given to the manufacturing over the agricultural interest. He approved of the apparent intention that was entertained of giving charters to such places as were to be enfranchised. This was according to the ancient custom of the country, and he hoped another advantage would be found, should it be adopted. It would create objects of local ambition, and one great objection he entertained to the Bill was, that by it many local politicians would be transferred from remote districts to the general field of politics, which the granting of charters would, he hoped, in some degree restrain. He had much rather see those persons who were intimately versed in the local politics of their respective places of residence, aspire to some of the local objects of ambition, than to see them enter the arena of that House. There was, he regretted to perceive, a great and increasing error amongst men, in the constant attacks which were daily made upon the municipal institutions of the country. He was, therefore, extremely glad to find that the violation of corporate privileges, and the deprivation of corporate rights, which was contemplated in the former Bill, was not to be effected by the present, but that the freemen of corporations and their successors, were to retain their franchises and immunities. These alterations, he was willing to confess, were great improvements on the former Bill; but he could go no further than express his approbation of those alterations; for having still the same objection to the principles upon which the Bill was founded, to the manner in which it was introduced, and to the reasons which induced Ministers to bring it forward, he must decline to take on himself the heavy responsibility of giving any support to the measure. He could not vote in its favour in the present stage, though he owned he should have been glad if the measure had been such as that he might consistently have voted in its favour. But though much improved in several parts, he did not see such an essential alteration of the principle of the measure as would justify him to vote for the second reading. Let it at the same time be understood, that he was one of those who were sincerely desirous, if the thing could be brought about, of seeing some arrangement between the two sides of the House on the subject, which, allowing a fair share to public feeling, and to public excitement might concede something to those who had strong objections to many parts of the Bill. He would assert, that if they had gained nothing by the rejection of the late measure beyond those improvements to which he had referred in the present, even these would be enough to justify the House of Lords in throwing out the former Bill. There certainly never was a political step upon the propriety of which less doubt existed in his mind, and he thought that many, even amongt the supporters of Government, would in a short time consider that if they gained nothing more by the rejection of the late Bill than the introduction of the improvements in the present, they had gained that which fully justified the Lords in their decision. But while he was convinced that the Lords were fully justified, let him at the same time add, that after the great excitement which existed on this subject in the public mind—after the strong expression of that opinion in many parts of the country—after the passage of one Bill through this House for Reform —after the vote which the House had come to on the rejection of that Bill by the House of Lords—after being called together at this very early period, so soon after the close of a most protracted and fatiguing session—and after having the early consideration of the question of Reform recommended to them from the Throne as a matter involving the best interests of the country, he did think that they had arrived at a point at which it became every man to look practically at the question, and to see if the evils of further suspense in the public mind on this subject might not be avoided. Indeed, from some things which had dropped from some hon. Members on the Ministerial side, he was in hope that many at that side, who had supported the former Bill, might be not indisposed to admit of further improvements in the Bill in the Committee, so as to remove some of the objections of those who were opposed to the late measure. According to the admission of the supporters of the Bill, the three great principles on which it was founded were disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and the extension of the suffrage. As disfranchisement was the point on which public feeling was most strong, it was also that on which he thought most ought to be conceded. He would not then enter into the question of nomination boroughs, nor would he defend the principle of them, but there were reasons in favour of their continuance which it was difficult to make the public understand and appreciate. Feeling as he did on this subject, and satisfied that, in principle and in some of the details, this Bill was dangerous, yet, taking all the circumstances of the state of public feeling into consideration, he would say, that if many hon. Members on the other side would come forward, and declare that they were prepared to admit of amendments which would remove many objections to parts of the Bill, he should not be indisposed to give up the point of disfranchisement to a considerable extent, that being, as he considered, the point on which popular feeling was most strongly excited: he was disposed to concede that, provided that, on the other hand, concessions were made of parts of the Bill on which the public did not feel so strongly. But it might, perhaps, be asked, why, as he was disposed to disfranchise to a considerable extent—as he was prepared to adopt schedule A under particular circumstances—as he admitted the principle of enfranchisement, and was quite ready to say that it must be carried to a considerable extent—as he admitted, too, the propriety of some extension of the suffrage, and acknowledged that many improvements were made in the present Bill—why not vote for going into the Committee? His reasons were, that he objected, partly to the manner, and partly to the extent of the plan proposed; and he believed both these objections might be obviated without creating more than local discontent. But he wished to be distinctly understood, that if he did make those concessions on the conditions he had mentioned, it was not because his opinions on any of those points had become changed since the late Bill, but because he felt the pressure of the times, and because he thought that concession should be made to circumstances. If Government would persist in forcing this measure upon the Legislature, and certainly one half of the intelligent public, without admitting of modifications, he should most deeply lament the circumstance. If those who supported the Bill as a whole—although they differed as to many parts of it even among themselves—should continue to refuse concessions, he hoped that those who opposed it upon principle, would maintain that front which would enable the respectable part of the community to keep their ground, in defence of the Constitution, against the infliction of an ill-advised and injudicious measure.

Mr. *Godson* was happy to be able to give his support to the Bill. After having carefully examined the alterations that had been made, he considered them, on the whole, to be improvements, and he would therefore continue his best support to it, because he felt fully convinced the amendments which had been introduced did not affect the main principles on which the Bill was founded. These were the disfranchising, totally or partially, such boroughs as were likely to be under a corrupt influence, the enfranchising of the large towns, and the conferring the right of voting on 10*l.* resident householders. Provided these great improvements were kept in view, it was of little consequence whether the Bill was based on population, assessed taxes, or the number of houses. He was convinced the foundations on which it rested were conformable to the present state of things, and adapted to the existing state of society. He supported it on those grounds, without thinking it very material, whether a certain or fixed number of boroughs were contained in schedule A or schedule B. He believed that the alteration with respect to the 10*l.* clause, which he held to be the main one, only made that part of the Bill more conformable to the spirit and intention of the old common law of the country; for, in the absence of any specific directions, if a writ was directed to any Sheriff, it would certainly be his duty to obtain the suffrages of the householders generally, those paying scot-and-lot, or as, it was determined by this Bill, those paying parochial rates and assessed taxes. He did not intend to indulge in any remarks which could make this great measure be considered a party question; and he did hope, as it seemed to be generally admitted that Reform was necessary, although hon. Gentlemen differed as to the degree, that hon. Members would cordially resolve, by timely concessions, to save the country from continued agitation. The objections made by the opponents of the Bill seemed principally to consist of objections to its details. If that were so, then let them not oppose the second reading of the Bill, but consent to its going into Committee, and there debate the objections which they thought ought to be urged, and propose the amendments that appeared to them desirable to be adopted. So far as he was concerned, he was wedded to no party, and had no other object than to satisfy the public, by improving the institutions of the country, and allaying excitement. He should be most willing and ready, to listen to all suggestions offered, without caring by whom they were proposed, and, if he considered them improvements, they should have his best support. He came to that House for the purpose of endeavouring to suit the Constitution under which he lived, and which he considered had been impaired by time, and not fully adapted to the various interests which had gradually been produced by the progress of society—to the existing wants of the community; and, with that object in view, he should vote for or against the measure, as he saw it likely to attain or not to attain that object. He would suppose that the Bill was altered in its progress towards maturity in consequence of the objections that were urged to it; he would suppose that the House of Lords reduced schedule A to some forty-five boroughs, and schedule B to ten boroughs, that they struck out the whole of the metropolitan Representation, and that, with these alterations, the House of Lords passed the Bill, and it became a law, what would be the consequence? Why, a dissolution would take place, and the country be called on to express its opinion on the new constitution of Parliament. The opinion might be well anticipated. The great families that were well beloved in their districts, would still return some portion of their Members to represent the agricultural community; the principal alteration would be in the different sort of Members returned for the manufacturing towns to what were now returned for the nomination boroughs. In this view of the case, although there was much said about the injury the agricultural interest would sustain, he must confess he saw no such danger, even supposing the large towns were to have what it was said this Bill would give them—a preponderating weight, by the number of their Members. Still he could not see, that the agricultural interest would be endangered; for it was not seriously to be imagined that the large towns would choose for their Members men who desired to destroy, or even to injure, any of the great interests of the country. The opposite assertion proceeded on the assumption that none but men of noble birth understood the true interests of the country, or had them really at heart. He denied the assertion altogether. There were in the towns many men of humble birth, but of good sense, and of extensive acquirements —men who had acquired wealth by their skill and industry, and who were as much respected for the honour and integrity of their characters as if they had been ennobled from the Conquest. It was such men as these that would be chosen as the Representatives of the large towns; and was it to be supposed that they would do any thing to injure the interests of the country? It had been asserted, that, by the disfranchisement of small boroughs, the schools for the formation of statesmen would be broken up; but, to counterbalance this supposed evil, they would have the practical knowledge of merchants, who, instead of looking after family alliances, would be looking after commercial treaties. But if they extended their view, and looked to the numbers who were anxiously expecting the passing of this Bill, could they believe that it was nothing that the people would be contented? If they perceived evils in the present system, and hoped to find remedies in Reform, that alone was a great argument to forward the Bill. If people were asked, what they expected to gain by it, their answer was ready. They hoped their voice would have some weight in that House—that there would be a more economical expenditure of the public money—a better system of taxation—that the grievous monopolies which now afflicted the country would be abated—that the great questions of peace and war would be more fully weighed, and that if, after all, they should fail to reap any advantages from these alterations, they would have the satisfaction of knowing they could not obtain them by the hands of their own Representatives.

Colonel *Wood* agreed with those hon. Members who considered the present Bill as materially better than the last, and therefore, he thought it better to admit at once, that the alterations which had been introduced were really amendments, rather than to take the view of the hon. member for the University of Oxford, and deny that character to the alterations. He received the concessions in the spirit with which they had been tendered, and in the hopes, that by receiving them as such, they would be able to effect still further improvements. He could have no difficulty as to the vote he should give on the question before the House. He had voted for the second reading of the last Bill, and he had done so in the hope, that in the Committee that Bill would receive such amendments as would enable him to assist in passing it into a law. He had, however, been disappointed, for the Government, by the assistance of considerable majorities had rejected improvements, and the measure had, in consequence been lost. If the Government had pursued a different course he really believed that the measure would have passed. The present Bill, although he admitted it was materially amended, was still clogged with such complicated details, that he feared they would very much impede its progress. He would, therefore, shortly state what he considered improvements, and what he thought there was still objectionable in the Bill. He approved of retaining the present number of Members, but disapproved of altering the proportions given to each country. He thought the three parts of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, ought to retain their relative numbers. It was true that the proportions were not to be greatly altered, but, as they were to be altered, a dangerous precedent would be afforded. It must be remembered, these proportions had been settled on most important occasions, viz. the unions between the respective countries. An hon. Member last night had given notice of a motion, to increase the number of Representatives for Ireland; he could hardly see on what grounds. The constituency under the Bill was to be founded upon taxation and property, and, following those principles, he did not see why the proportions ought to be altered, especially with respect to Ireland. England and Scotland paid taxation to the amount of 40,000,000*l.* and upwards, while Ireland did not pay to the amount of 5,000,000*l.* and, therefore, he could not understand how, in concurrence with the professed principles of the Bill it could give to that country an increase of Representation. With respect to schedule A, he could not but observe, that the number of places contained in it, fifty-six, was still retained, although the same places did not make up that number. The schedules were stated by the noble Lord to be drawn up upon statements and calculations furnished by Lieutenant Drummond, and certainly the plan upon which the Government had gone in the present Bill, was far better than that pursued with respect to the schedules A and B in the last Bill. Whether these calculations were accurate or not he had not the means of judging, but they would be hereafter scrutinized. He did not, indeed, see what particular virtue was attached to the number fifty-six. He knew the noble Lord who had introduced the Bills had said, that an arbitrary line must be drawn somewhere; but why was there to be an arbitrary number? The conduct of the Government reminded him of "heads I win, tails you lose;" for no sooner were particular places shown not to come within the arbitrary line, than new places were picked up, merely for the purpose, as it appeared, of keeping up the number of fifty-six. Besides, the number fifty-six was now introduced in the first page of the Bill, but he hoped it would not be proposed, that the House should adopt that number at once, and so determine, that fifty-six boroughs should be disfranchised without reference to the merits of the particular cases. If they so acted, he was sure they would commit great injustice. He could only account for the retention of the number fifty-six by looking to the declaration of the noble Earl at the head of the Government, which was, that he would be no party to a Bill not fully as efficient as the last, surely that declaration was not to be understood as pledging the Government to the disfranchisement of fifty-six boroughs. He had understood the noble Earl's declaration to mean, that he would be no party to a measure, that did not equally enfranchise the large towns, equally disfranchise the weak and nomination boroughs, and equally open all boroughs to a respectable constituency, but not that he would disfranchise fifty-six boroughs. He trusted, therefore, that the number fifty-six would not be considered in Committee as unalterable. He thought a great many difficulties had been made by commencing with disfranchisement, and that it would have been far better if the motion of the hon. member for Montgomeryshire, for the postponement of schedule A till the enfranchising part of the Bill had been completed had been adopted. He thought still that schedule A ought to be postponed, and he hoped hon. Gentlemen opposite would listen to the suggestion. In his opinion, they ought to first settle the number of places to be enfranchised, and then disfranchise as many small boroughs, using the scale that was now before the House, according to Lieutenant Drummond's report. With regard to schedule B, he objected to it altogether. There ought to be no such thing. If the boroughs in schedule B were nomination boroughs, they ought to be placed in schedule A, and if they were not nomination boroughs they ought to continue, in accordance with the old and regular system of Representation, to return two Members. By such a regulation the whole construction and constitution of Parliament was altered, and a beginning made with innovation, that might carry them whither no man could foresee. There were no instances but in Wales of one Member being sent and it was generally necessary to have two, because most places were divided by parties. On the subject of enfranchisement he must say, that he thought the proposed metropolitan districts exceedingly objectionable. The 10*l.* house as a criterion of the franchise, would amount almost to universal house suffrage, for it was impossible to suppose, that any houses in the metropolis were of less value than 10*l.* a-year. If that should be the operation of the clause, it was all that had been contended for, even by the hon. member for Preston. He could find no safety in such an arrangement for the metropolitan districts. He would then pass from the points of the Bill of which he disapproved to those variations from the old measure which he regarded as improvements. He was gratified by the restoration of the rights of freemen, but still he thought that the concession had been sparingly made, and with a bad grace. Why were not all freemen, those by creation as well as by servitude and birth, reinstated in their privileges? That ought to be done for the maintenance of corporate privileges and for the good of the lower classes; and therefore, when the Bill went into Committee, he trusted the concession would be rendered full and satisfactory. But there were other rights by which the lowest class was represented, and those rights were abolished. The potwalloppers, and the inferior class of scot-and-lot voters, were no longer to exist; and that he considered a most unjust and impolitic curtailment of the rights of the lowest class. He was for Universal Suffrage somewhere, that he might not have it everywhere. The Bill created Universal Suffrage at the doors of Parliament, while it abolished that suffrage at distant places, where it was harmless. He could not help even then noticing one inconsistency in the Bill. All the places which were to be enfranchised were to be erected into boroughs, and yet old corporate rights were to be invaded. He approved very much of erecting the enfranchised places into boroughs, but he should like to see the Bill consistent. He trusted that the new places would not merely be made boroughs for the purposes of the Bill, but that the Ministers would advise his Majesty to exercise his prerogative, and grant them charters. He also hoped that a Bill would be introduced to enable those places which were made boroughs to take up their charters with the least possible expense. With respect to the right of voting in places which were cities and counties in themselves, if he had read the Bill right, it required alteration, as well as with regard to voting in boroughs in general. Was it not monstrous that a 10*l.* freeholder should be entitled to vote for the place in which he lived, and that the 40*s.* freeholder should be compelled to go fifteen miles to give his vote? And further, that the 10*l.* freeholder should, by the proposed arrangement, in some instances have a vote for only one Member, while the 40*s.* freeholder, resident in the same place, should have a vote for two Members? This he trusted would be amended by letting all freeholders vote for the place in which they lived. He hoped also that the rights of copyholders would be placed precisely on the same footing as those of freeholders, and that the 40*s.* copyholder in common with the 40*s.* freeholder, would be allowed the same privileges as the 10*l.* copyholder and the 10*l.* freeholder. Now with respect to that clause in the Bill which had been attended throughout with the most difference of opinion, he meant the 10*l.* franchise clause, that he thought materially improved; but there was an imperfection in it which must be corrected in Committee if the Bill was to be rendered satisfactory. By the Bill as it at present stood, it was merely necessary that a person should inhabit a house of the value of 10*l.* for one year, and be rated to the poor-rates. Such an enactment would give rise to endless litigation and abuse. The question depended entirely upon value which would vary in the proportion of the number of persons consulted. Was not the noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) and hon. Members opposite aware that the same test had been the criterion upon which a parish settlement was tried? Such was the fact, and it had given rise to so much difficulty, to such endless and overwhelming disputes, that the Legislature had been obliged to interfere and to establish a more reasonable and precise test. If the clause were preserved in its present shape all the Surveyors would be sure to differ. One would value a house at 9*l.* and another at 11*l.*, and there would be the most perplexing and endless difficulties. He should therefore suggest that a house ought to be rated to the poor for the amount of 10*l.* to give its occupier a vote. That alteration would not only avoid a multitude of difficulties, but would render registration and all the involved and complicated machinery belonging to it unnecessary. The poor-rate would speak for itself. He might be told, that there would be collusion, but he replied that there would be no collusion compared to that, to which the test of value would give rise. Let the poor-rates be taken, and let the freeholder show, that his freehold was rated to them to the value of 40*s.* and the householder show that he was rated to them to the value of 10*l.*, and there would be an end of all question of right of voting, without travelling Barristers and all the machinery of registration. He threw out this suggestion to the noble Lord, and entreated him to consider it. If the noble Lord still felt attached to registration, let him throw it into a separate bill. Let it not clog and confuse the Reform Bill, but stand upon its own merits. He felt very strongly on the subject, but he would much rather see his suggestion adopted by the Government than make any distinct motion on the subject. He hoped that when the House met again, they would find the Bill divided into two, and that registration would stand alone; but if he were disappointed, he should feel it his duty to take the sense of the Committee upon the plan he had proposed. In conclusion, he had only to say, that he should vote for the second reading of the Bill, and he should do so with an earnest hope that it would receive such amendments in the Committee as would render it a safe and desirable measure, and ensure to it the concurrence of the whole of the Legislature. Concessions were necessary; but he trusted that all would feel, that concession could not be on one side only. Each must give up some points, and endeavour to allay the angry feelings that at present were so prevalent, and thereby enable themselves speedily to pass the Bill, and devote their attention to all the great and important objects which now pressed upon their consideration, and were of such vital consequence to the State. In that hope he should vote for the second reading of the Bill.

Sir *Henry Willoughby* said, that agreeing in much which had fallen from the hon. and learned member for St. Alban's, as to the conduct to be pursued by each Member when in Committee on the Bill, yet, as they were not arrived at that stage, he conceived it to be his duty to discuss the principles of the Bill. That he should do as briefly as he could. Generally, he supported the Bill, because he considered, the sooner a measure of Reform obtained a legislative sanction, the better it would be for the peace and welfare of the empire. In one observation he agreed with the hon. Baronet, the member for the University of Oxford, viz., that the elective franchise, as a right, belonged to no class of the people. Those who would thus argue, were speedily involved in difficulty—whence did such right originate? Where was the limit? It was no principle of the Constitution; nor was it sanctioned by either statute or common law. But it was the bounden, and most sacred duty of the Legislature, from time to time, to limit or to extend, to enlarge or to control, the possession of the elective franchise, as the interests of society and the welfare of the empire demanded. That duty had been neglected for a long series of years. Mr. Locke had pointed out, in a passage most correctly describing the present state of this country, how necessary it was to observe the constant flux of things in this world—how people, riches, trade, and power, changed their stations—how flourishing cities came to ruin, and unfrequented places grew into populous countries; and he added, that under any Constitution of which Representation was a leading principle, the task of correcting such inequalities was, not to create a new, but to restore the old Legislature. The necessity of Reform depended on the historical fact, that since the Revolution of 1688, the constituency of that House had been suffered to fall into decay: so far from having been extended according to the growing wealth and intelligence of the country, it had gradually become more narrow and contracted. He was prepared to contend, that the constituency, in many respects, was open to less objection in 1688 than at the present time. He would take, for instance, the class of close Corporations, eighty-five in number, of which, at least sixty, were closed by decisions between 1689, and 1739, as appeared from the Journals. He was aware, that many of these decisions were founded more on party feelings than on justice. It was also true, that the cases of Shoreham, Cricklade, and Aylesbury, and the more recent cases of Penryn, Grampound, and East Retford, testified the anxiety of that House to punish malpractices; but as a real amendment of the constituency, these cases did nothing—perhaps worse than nothing. The discussions relating to those places caused a belief to be spread through the country, that the House was infinitely more corrupt than it was, and that it was, on that account, unworthy of the confidence of the people. Leaving to more able and to more eloquent Members to expatiate on the numerous advantages that would arise from the introduction of the towns in schedules C and D to the privileges of direct Representation—leaving to others to point out how the characteristic principles of the Constitution worked together and concentrated around themselves all the elements of political power, as these gradually arose, and moulded such elements to the great purpose of providing for the strength and security of the empire, he should only observe, that the introduction of the Representatives of such towns into Parliament was strictly constitutional. From Edward 1st to 1688, all flourishing towns appeared to have been summoned to send Representatives to Parliament. In early times there was no exception, he believed. Halifax had been mentioned as one: but in the reign of Henry 6th, Halifax had but fourteen houses; in Philip and Mary, but 140 houses; subsequently, on taking up the woollen manufacture, it became prosperous, but it would owe a tardy act of grace and favour, from receiving Representatives, to a Parliament of 1832. From Henry 8th to 1676, 215 Members had been added to that House. Even Calais had Members during the time it was in the temporary possession of our Kings; and if so, why not the great towns placed in the midst of the country, and in the heart of the empire? He regretted that the introduction had not been gradual. This, however, was no fault of the Government, or of the Bill, but was the neglect of a century, and made a great alteration now inevitable. As to disfranchisement, he supported schedule A, from a conviction, that it was an absolute and well-considered necessity, from no abstract love of the principle, though he had no doubt as to the competency of the Legislature. The clear distinction between property and trust could not be denied, and he believed, so far as the practice of the Constitution was concerned, in early times there were precedents. In very early periods, disfranchisement of poor and decayed boroughs appeared to have been common: the Sheriffs omitted and summoned at their pleasure—an undue power, which was at length restrained by Statute. The Burgesses of St. Alban's complained, that the Sheriff had deprived them of the right of Representation in order to gratify an Abbot. The Burgesses of Torrington complained, that the Sheriff had summoned them to Parliament through malice, *malitiosè*, though it was a poor and decayed place. At least seventy boroughs which once sent Members now sent none. Farnham and Greenwich were the latest instances; but he wished to call the attention of the House to the first Parliament of James 1st. In his Proclamation he ordered the Sheriff not to summon Members from any ancient borough, "soe utterly ruyned that there are not sufficient resyants to make such choice, and of whome, lawfull election may be made."* Seventeen boroughs were omitted in the list of that Parliament, being considered as small and decayed places, and many of which were now in schedule A. We find also the King, under his own prerogative, summoned, for the first time, Members from the two Universities and several boroughs. He would say nothing of the prerogative, whether it was good or bad. It was clear no such prerogative now existed, and that the Legislature alone could enfranchise, or disfranchise, if reasons of State policy required it. It had been argued, that the right of a borough to return Members was indefeasible, and reliance was placed on the cases of Wendover, Amersham and Marlow, towns restored to the privilege of Representation, after a lapse of 340 years. No such inference could be drawn from those cases. Mr. Haslewell searched the Tower and found early Writs for those places, he carried those Writs before the Standing Committee of Privileges, and on the proof of a previous return, the House of Commons directed their Speaker to issue his Warrant for Writs to these places. This was clearly an act of usurpation on the part of the House. At that period the Crown exercised the prerogative of issuing Writs, and at any rate the House of Commons had no right whatever to exercise that power, which, if it did not appertain to the Crown, required an Act of Parliament. It was one of those acts of arbitrary power called forth by the contests between the privileges of that House and the prerogative of the Crown. In 1640 the two similar cases of Northallerton and Malton occurred, but no inferences of indefeasible right could be drawn from any of those cases. Undoubtedly, as the hon. Baronet, the member for the University of Oxford said, there had been small boroughs from the earliest times. One class were boroughs in ancient demesne, and once paid a higher rate of taxation; and another class summoned by the Tudor Princes to give the Crown a positive influence in that House. If it was right the Crown should have such influence, these boroughs now served no such purpose, as this species of influence was now in other hands. These boroughs, however, were never popular in this country. Lord Shaftesbury called them poor rural animals, easily beguiled by courtiers. In late times also several great men had denounced them. Lord Chatham called them the rotten parts of the Constitution. He added, they could not last a century—if they did not drop, they must be amputated. He did not purpose to press on the attention of the House any of the trite topics on close boroughs or the nomination system. He thought that the fate of the small boroughs was decided by a general expression of public opinion. The notoriety of the sale and transfer of seats—the fact that that species of influence had accumulated in a few hands, had produced a deep-rooted feeling of dislike. When it was stated by the noble Lord who had introduced the measure before them, that seven Peers influenced sixty-three Members, and that fact was circulated through the country by a vigilant and able Press, the fate of these boroughs was practically decided. So long as this influence was in many hands —so long as the sale and transfer were not generally known, they might escape, if not the notice, at least the hatred, of the public; but when it was once clearly made out and understood, that a few individuals possessed a large proportion of the legislative power of the kingdom, that influence was practically at an end, being contrary to the feelings of a proud and high-spirited people. It was in vain to say, that it worked well—that it sent clever men there: the cleverness of the advocates of a bad system was an objection, and not an advantage. It was contended, however, that it was dangerous to disfranchise these boroughs, because they were a necessary link between this House and another. He doubted this. The nomination boroughs formed a divided power: on a late occasion twenty-six peers connected with borough influence were on one side, and twenty-three peers on the other. It was clear that it was not a power to be relied on by the Aristocracy, as it was probable it might be wholly used on one side of a question affecting their supposed interests; but be it so or not, it was a power against the law of the land, against the law of Parliament, and against the standing orders of that House. If a demagogue sought to abuse the Aristocracy, he found in the nomination system his most effective weapon of attack; it was therefore no real support in times of danger and of difficulty. It was said, however, close boroughs were necessary for Ministers of State. Under a Reform there would not be that necessity for vacating seats that now existed. It was admitted that it was desirable that the chief Ministers of the Crown, and their legal advisers, should be in that House. Under the present practice, if a Member was called by the Crown to a high office, and sat for a close borough, there was no difficulty in the return; but if it should please the Crown to call to office a Member of that House who had gained the favour of a numerous constituency, at the moment he should attend to the duties of his office, he might be sent to the most distant part of the empire, to canvass a numerous constituency. He thought, then, the actual system was not perfect. Perhaps, during the sittings of reformed Parliaments there would be no occasion for vacating the seat, and if on a dissolution the Ministers of the Crown, backed by all the influence of station and of office, could not enter this House, instead of being a disadvantage, it might operate as a useful hint, in proving to such Ministers that their parliamentary conduct had not been in conformity with the wishes of the great mass of the wealth and intelligence of the country. He wished to say a few words on the 10*l.* constituency. It might be too low for the districts in and about the metropolis—he was inclined to that opinion; but that was a subject for the Committee. On that principle he thought they were entitled to the support of the Members on the other side of the House, on their own argument. A constituency of householders was the old principle of the English Constitution: here there was restoration, there was that which had been declared by the hon. member for the University of Oxford to be essential to restoration—pre-existence. In all the towns and boroughs of this country, he excepted any peculiarity arising from burgage tenure, the parties entitled to the elective franchise were the resident and substantial householders. The man who resided in the town—who used its trade, and was entitled to its liberties—who was assessed to the wages of the Member, that man possessed the elective franchise. Burthen and privilege were reciprocal—a maxim as generous as it was sound. The whole fabric of corporate rights was erected on this constituency, and he was afraid it might be shown they too often had overburthened and destroyed it. On the subject of corporations, he heard strange doctrines—Magna Charta was made to apply to corporate rights. Excepting the city of London, he believed, at the time of Magna Charta there were no corporations in this country—charters of privileges there were many, charters of corporation none. The first charter of corporation dated, he believed, from 1440, and was granted by Henry 6th. The first charter mixing up the elective franchise was to the burgesses of Wenlock, in 1478, under the reign of Edward 4th. The uniting of corporate and parliamentary rights was generally a practice of much later date, under the Tudors and the Stuarts. Take the case of Bath, where now the franchise was in a select body of some forty persons. The corporate right in that city bore date the 27th Elizabeth; the city of Bath returned Members 250 years before that period. Who made those returns? He would say, in the language of the writs, the "Cives Bathonis." There was no trace that any close right existed until the appearance of the corporation. This was the history of many towns in this empire, and he agreed in what had fallen, on the subject of corporations, from the hon. member for Bossiney. This, however, was an inconvenient moment to discuss that question as it deserved. He was aware of the use, and protested only against the abuse, of corporations. Rightly managed, he knew their value, as the engine of municipal government; but, converted into monopolies, they became the fertile source of oppression and misgovernment. Before he sat down, he wished to say a few words on the advantages to be derived from any Reform Bill. If he had not a distinct view of those advantages, he should not support a Bill introducing an extensive change in the corporation of that House. By concentrating within that House the Representatives of the mass of the wealth and intelligence of the country, they could obtain an effective organ of the public sentiments. If difficulties assailed the empire, the House could act with more energy and effect: if laws were to be imposed, such laws would carry with them more of a general consent, and obtain a more implicit obedience; for it was perfectly true, as was affirmed by his noble friend, the member for Wootton Bassett, though with a different meaning, that laws were of themselves but ink and parchment. If unions and associations were dreaded, here was a remedy, as they would remove the fuel of a great and acknowledged grievance; and if the Press was tyrannical and licentious, they would curb any undue authority, by making this House a more effective organ of public sentiment. It was unnecessary to suppose trade would be more brisk, or that the wages of labour would be increased by that Bill. It would not clothe the naked, feed the hungry, nor pay the national debt, to use the words of a noble Lord; but it would have a tendency to produce that which was wanted to the correct working of the Legislature—confidence. He thought, however, one specific grievance would be remedied. The history of this country since 1688 proved that all governments, whether Whig or Tory, had been too lavish with the resources of the empire. There had been economy for the last fifteen years, but he was afraid it was the economy, not so much of reason and reflection as of necessity, produced by the penury and destitution of the public purse. He did not contend that better or wiser men would come there, but that whoever should come would be checked by a fair constituency. If a Member neglected his duty, or betrayed his trust, the remedy would be found; there would be still power, but that power would be controlled by responsibility. He would give his vote for the second reading.

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* See Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 969.

Colonel *Sibthorp* could not bring it to his mind, upon a question of such vital importance to the King, Lords, and people of this country, to give a silent vote. He had listened attentively to the debate on this new Bill, as it was called, but when he looked at this improved edition of the emendation or correction of the constitution of the House, he could not perceive that either the care or the consideration had been given to it which was recommended in the Speech of his Majesty, and which its importance demanded. Ministers must be aware, that there were some things in it so little capable of standing the test of investigation, that the more quickly they were passed over, the better, although there undoubtedly were some improvements in it, compared to the measure of last Session. But, as they had been introduced in consequence of the opposition that Bill had met with, he had no doubt, when this came to be thoroughly examined, very considerable improvements might also be made in it. He denied that the people could be satisfied with this Bill. He would ask, even presuming that the people of England were favourable to the Bill, whether it would prove equally satisfactory to the people of Scotland, or, if satisfactory to both, would it be satisfactory to Ireland? It was necessary to proceed with the utmost caution, in order to prevent all unnecessary excitement in the country. He believed it possible that a measure could be brought forward, founded on the basis of justice, but bearing no resemblance to the present, which might satisfy the people on the one hand, and prevent such violent changes on the other, as this Bill would occasion. It had been stated, that so strong was the general feeling in favour of the Bill of last Session, that no Anti-Reformer could dare to show his face in a populous place. He represented a place which had been ransacked for the purpose of throwing him out; but though he had avowed his determination to oppose the Bill, his public services were so much approved of, that he was again returned, by a larger majority than ever before. He did, however, acknowledge the necessity for some Reform, as well in that House as out of it; but still, until he saw such measures recommended as were calculated to render Reform salutary and safe of execution, he should fearlessly oppose it; for he was convinced it would be the means of sacrificing the best interests of the country, and would involve the whole nation in distress. If it did not succeed, as he feared it could not, it would be impossible for the House to retrace its steps. A measure of this sort ought to be permanent, and not calculated by any of its provisions to produce periodical excitement. In this Bill there were thrown in allspice, pepper, and salt, to suit some palates, and sugar and honey to please others; but none of these ingredients could he swallow—he should choke in the attempt. He would proceed to show, however, where his objections particularly laid, and first, he conceived the 10*l.* clause to be at once unjust and dangerous, unequal in its operation, and not founded on grounds of security to the State, or even on the ground of expediency, to meet the pressure of the times. In many places it would disfranchise some persons, and bestow their rights upon others not half so well qualified to exercise them. It would give a vote to labouring men who earned a guinea a week, and took the right from many respectable persons in the smaller boroughs. Again, if a house had three floors, and one was let for 15*l.*, another for 12*l.*, and the third for 10*l.*, each of the persons who hired such a floor would be entitled to vote. Much had been said of the changes in schedules A and B, which was what he might call, change sides and back again. But still there was the same sweeping clause of disfranchisement as in the Bill originally presented to the House. He never could agree to the disfranchisement of the boroughs in schedule A. It was condemning them to an untimely death, without judge or jury, on the pretence that undue influence was exercised in them. Never was there, in his opinion, a more arbitrary and unjust measure introduced. He certainly agreed with those hon. Members who thought it would have been better to have left schedule B out of the Bill altogether; but no, exclaimed both of the noble Lords opposite, at the same time, that would be too great a cut upon our Bill; but he did yet hope to see it again cut up altogether. The next point he should allude to was, the division of counties. He was glad the hon. member for Derbyshire had given notice that he intended to propose this clause should be struck out. Although he was somewhat surprised that one of the most ardent supporters of the Bill wanted to get rid of that part of it, the hon. Member should have his support. With respect to continuing the right of voting to freemen during their lives, his Majesty's Ministers were not to be thanked for that concession. To have deprived them of that right would have been the greatest and most impudent robbery ever perpetrated by the Legislature. The next part of the Bill he should notice was that relating to towns, which were also counties in themselves. Was it proposed the freeholders in such places were to have votes for the counties in which such places were situated? He observed several places having that character had been omitted in the present Bill. These were points he should require distinct information on hereafter. He was glad to find it was determined at length, that the notion was abandoned, of reducing the number of Members, for, with the present number, it had been his lot often to sit in that House, when the most important measures had been passed, at a time when there was not more than from fifteen to thirty Members present. When he said this, he felt bound to add, that he thought Scotland and Ireland ought to have an increase of Members. It had been said, that when the Catholic Relief Bill had been passed, two years ago, that it would pacify Ireland; but, as he had predicted at the time, it had wholly failed, and that would also be the fate of this Bill. He must further say, he considered the plan of registration a very objectionable part of the Bill. He knew what sort of persons Overseers of parishes generally were: they would do nothing without eating and drinking, and the poor and county rates, already so heavy, would be beautifully whipped up in consequence. Again, he would declare, that there had been a most unfair distribution of Members by the Bill. Lincoln, with double the extent and population, was only to have one Member more than Durham; and Great Grimsby, which was at present larger than Tavistock, and was daily increasing, was to be shorn of one of its Members, while Tavistock, which was decaying, was to retain its two Members. He objected to the very principle, and every part of the Bill. It was, in his opinion, most unjust and partial. He also objected to the Bill, as giving too great an influence to democrats; the landed interest was not protected as it ought to be, and he should feel it his duty to give his vote against the Bill going into Committee. He was one of those who had learnt wisdom from the history of former times, and nothing like clamour should put him down. He trusted that the whole House was animated by the same spirit and a sense of duty to the country would induce it not to pass so ruinous a measure.

Mr. *Slaney* thought that, if ever there was a time at which it was necessary to approach the question of Reform with calmness and moderation, it was the present. The whole country was looking with intense anxiety to the proceedings of that House. It became their duty, then, in legislating upon the most important subject that could be brought under their consideration, not to suffer themselves to be betrayed into the manifestation of too much warmth—still less to be biassed by any party animosity. For his own part he was leagued with no party, was under the influence of no party, but he supported the Bill, then under the consideration of the House, from an honest conviction, after the best consideration that he had been able to bestow upon the subject, that it was a measure calculated to promote the welfare, and increase the happiness of the country. Having, as he had just stated, given every consideration in his power to the subject of Reform, and, in the main, highly approving of the measure which had been proposed, he still thought that some further approximation towards conciliation might be made between the extreme points upon which the friends and opponents of Reform differed. Ministers had set the example of concession. He thought that the hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, if they had really the good of their country at heart—as he had no doubt they had—would do well to follow that example. Government, in the present Bill, had conceded something of what was objectionable in the last. He thought, that that should be a pledge to the opponents of the measure that, if good cause could be shown, more would be conceded in Committee. He regarded the alterations which had been made, as a pledge from the Ministers that they would be ready, in Committee, to make such further changes as might be recommended by reason, and be calculated to render the Bill more useful. He doubted not, but that if any just and legitimate claim to alteration could be made, it would be taken into due consideration by the Government. Every one, even the opponents of the measure, must be anxious for the settlement of the question of Reform. That, he conceived, after the experience of the last twelve months, could only be satisfactorily attained by mutual concession. He begged to remind the House, that that was not the proper time to debate the measure in detail. They were not then assembled to consider particular clauses of the Bill, but to say whether or not, in this kingdom, there was not wanting an extensive and efficient Reform? Every one who voted that night against the proposition of the Government, would, in point of fact, be opposing that which the great body of the people, through their Representatives in that House, had declared to be necessary for the welfare of the kingdom. It had been said by the opponents of the measure, that nothing had been made out which could justify so great a change. If the House would bear with him, he would state a few simple facts, which he thought could not fail to rouse the attention of hon. Members, and which, if they could not contradict them, ought, he conceived, to carry with them a conviction, that an extensive alteration in the representative system was necessary. About seventy years ago, the population of the manufacturing districts of the country, bore a proportion to that of the agricultural districts, as of one to two. About thirty years since, it had increased so as to become equal. In 1821 the manufacturing population very considerably out-numbered the agricultural; and, at the present moment, the population of the manufacturing districts, more particularly of the great unrepresented towns, had increased to such an extent, as to stand in the proportion of two to one to the agricultural population throughout England and Scotland, having completely reversed the relative proportions. Reform was called for, therefore, in consequence of the great change which had taken place in the relative numbers of the people, and it was neither practicable nor expedient, to exclude from their full share of Representation, that class which out-numbered the other in the proportion of two to one. He thought that population, although not the only one, was still the most important criterion which could be adopted, for deciding where Representation should be established. He had alluded to the populousness of the manufacturing districts—he had stated, that they stood in the proportion of two to one, as compared with the represented and agricultural classes. But, if the manufacturing districts had thus increased in population, could any man deny that they had increased in a still greater proportion in wealth and intelligence? As a proof of their wealth, he need only allude to the immense amount of taxes which they contributed to the revenue of the country. If the House would allow him, he would just compare the amount of taxation annually paid by some of the towns which at present enjoyed the elective franchise, with that of some others which had not yet been admitted to that privilege. Taking thirty-eight of the boroughs in schedule A, it would be found that the amount of their contribution to the national coffers, in the shape of taxes, was only about 100*l.* a-year each. But, in looking at thirty-eight of the boroughs which by this Bill would be enfranchised, it would be found that the amount of their contribution was not 100*l.* or 200*l.*, but 26,000*l.* a-year each. Thus the amount of taxes paid to the State was 260 times larger in the towns to be enfranchised, than in the same number of boroughs which were to be disfranchised: and this statement, therefore, deprived hon. Gentlemen of the arguments they had urged last Session, that the Representation was not, as it ought to be, apportioned to those towns which contributed most to the State, but was given to population, without reference to wealth. Those towns had not only increased in population, but also in property; and it would be satisfactory to every benevolent mind to know, that, as the population had increased, the average duration of human life had also increased to the extent of five years, since the period when the agricultural population was twice as numerous as the population of the manufacturing districts. That was a fact which must be satisfactory to every benevolent mind, and it must also be satisfactory to know, that, though the amount of property among the manufacturing classes was not great for each individual, it was pretty equally divided, and the great body of the manufacturing population accordingly lived comfortably, and were distinguished for good conduct and intelligence. He would next mention another point. Having stated that the thirty-eight new boroughs paid taxes to the amount of 26,000*l.* a-year each, and thirty-eight of those to be disfranchised only 100*l.* a-year each, he would ask, how stood the constituency of the two classes? Why, the nomination boroughs, at an average, had only twelve constituents each, while the other had between 2,000 and 3,000 each. He would ask, therefore, whether it was not natural that men remarkable for their intelligence, activity, and energy, should desire to have the greatest privilege of freemen—the right of voting for those who made their laws? Looking, therefore, at all the circumstances which entitled any class to have a right to such a privilege—looking at their numbers, their property, and their intelligence—it could not be denied that such places had a fair claim to enfranchisement. But it was said they were virtually, though not directly, represented by the members for Gatton, Old Sarum, and Aldborough. He would not stop to argue the question whether Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, were virtually represented by the members for Gatton, Old Sarum, and Aldborough, but merely ask, whether the inhabitants of such places could be satisfied with such Representation? Would not the intelligent mechanics of Birmingham or Manchester reject with derision such an answer to their just demands? But, in addition to these reasons, there were still others. The occupation in which these men were engaged, was, from its nature, exposed to great fluctuation at different periods—at one time employment was abundant, at another time it was contracted, and consequently many, by such a change, were reduced to great suffering and want. The causes of the change were not always well known, and it was, therefore, necessary for the peace of the country, that the people in those districts should have direct Representatives in that House, to inquire into the causes of the change, to endeavour to provide a remedy when it could be had, and, when that remedy was not to be had, to convince the people that the disease was beyond the control of Government. He would mention an instance. It was well known that the glove-trade of Worcester was at present in a most distressed state. He would not stop to inquire into the cause, but merely ask, whether it was not a great satisfaction to the operatives of that place to know, that they had a Member who not only could represent their sufferings to the Government, but could get a Committee appointed to inquire into the cause of their distress, and thus ascertain if their disease admitted of legislative remedy? Let the House apply the case to Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, and ask, if it would not be a matter of the first importance to the country, for these places to have Representatives who could make their wants known to the Legislature, although it might be beyond the power of the Legislature to give them any relief. Though the Representatives could not remove the wants, they could explain and demonstrate to the people, that they did not arise from any fault of the Government, or from any particular Administration, but from causes which no Government could control. What was at present the consequence in these districts when distress arose? The mechanics had no Representative in Parliament, and advantage was taken of their distress by mischievous persons to excite them against the Government, and the best institutions of the country. They had no Representative of their own, and they, consequently, had recourse to demagogues. Were this defect removed—were Representation given to every town of considerable size—he had no doubt that one great cause of discontent would be removed. The members for Gatton and Old Sarum, he would not deny, were men of integrity and talents, but if they were to speak with the tongues of angels, they would not convince the people, because they had no constituents, and they were unknown. What was the result? In times of distress, mischievous persons were found who attributed that to Government, and the people were excited and led astray by their passions. Authorized Representatives would possess the confidence of their constituents, and their advice would be attended to. The disturbances which now occasionally happened in these districts, would, by these means, be mitigated. To him it appeared most extraordinary, that any hon. Member who watched the signs of the times, could object to enfranchise the large manufacturing towns. Did they conceive dissatisfaction could continue without great danger? Had the advantage of the cotton-trade to the country been lost sight of by hon. Members? Were hon. Gentlemen aware that this branch of manufacture alone, employed nearly 1,000,000 persons, and that it produced 30,000,000*l.* per year to the country? As the necessity of Reform was generally admitted, he did entreat hon. Members to allow the Bill to go to a Committee, where its details could be altered and improved. Some persons objected to, and had contended there was an undue proportion of Members given to the manufacturing interests. It was obvious that part of the Bill could not be amended or altered in its present stage, but with reference to this, he would ask hon. Gentlemen if they had duly considered the propositions which they called in question? About thirty Members were to be given to these interests, which might be said to be totally unrepresented now. Eight were to be given to the cotton-trade, three to the trade in metals, carried on at Birmingham, Wolverhampton, &c.; three to the woollen-trade, which formerly was the chief, though now only the second manufacture in the country; one to the Potteries, the trade of which had been created by the ingenuity of a single family, and which now exported property to the amount of a million a-year; one to the carpet manufacture, three to the shipping interest, and a certain number to those places which might be considered as the repositories of accumulated wealth. Whatever else the House might do, he was sure there never would be peace or tranquillity until those great marts of wealth and intelligence were represented, and the nomination boroughs disfranchised. They might abolish taxes, and reduce expenditure, but until the people received a full share of Representation, and a direct interest in making the laws by which they were to be governed, it was in vain to expect tranquillity. He knew there were men of the most honourable character opposed to the Bill, and he was the last man to cast any imputation upon their supposed motives, or the causes that influenced them. He was glad to see the conciliatory tone displayed by both sides, on the first night of the Session; he hoped it would be followed in the future stages of the Bill, the fate of which was anxiously watched, not only by the people of the United Kingdom, but by the whole civilized world; and he sincerely prayed that the question might be speedily settled, otherwise the character and feelings of the people would be changed, and instead of each man peacefully following his occupation, a state of the most alarming excitement would prevail, property would be rendered insecure, and the country thereby be reduced to such a state, that it would never recover from the evils which might be inflicted. He therefore earnestly prayed that the Bill might pass.

Mr. *Edward Cust* said, as one of the members for Lostwithiel, he felt called upon to apply to the noble Lords opposite, to ascertain how it was, that place now appeared in schedule A, when, from the speech of the noble Paymaster of the Forces, he understood it was to be inserted in schedule B; he requested information on this point hereafter, and would forthwith proceed to make one or two observations on other parts of the Bill. He was one of those who thought there was no material alteration in the principles of it from that of last Session, nor did he imagine there could be, when he remembered the steady support Ministers received from hon. Gentlemen opposite. As he entertained this opinion, and had opposed the former Bill, he still continued determined to oppose the present one. He considered it calculated to make a dangerous inroad into the Constitution, which had hitherto been the means of giving wealth and happiness to this country. At the same time he felt gratified that the rights of the freemen were to be spared, and that several other minor improvements had been made in the Bill, but he yet saw no provision for the Representation of the colonies. It was also ridiculous to suppose, that the franchise which had been proposed, would represent the wealth and intelligence of the country, and more particularly in the large manufacturing towns, and the metropolitan districts. So far from the present edition of the Bill being an improvement, on the whole, he considered it more democratic in its tendency than the last. The present was, indeed, a troublesome season, and there was, he feared, but one step between the changes that were now proposed, if they were granted, and the destruction of the country; he hoped, therefore, that House would not accede to the second reading of the Bill. He had expected some nearer approach to a more satisfactory adjustment of the Reform question; and, if a measure founded on such principles had been brought in by the Government, it should have had his support; but Ministers, from the commencement, had proceeded too fast, and too incautiously; they had acted like unskilful navigators, who, having found a vessel stranded, and having, through means of an accidental current, got her under weigh, they flung overboard justice, discretion, and foresight, and, delighted with the popular breeze, they set all canvass, heedless or unconscious of the shipwreck which must inevitably follow. The changes which they attempted were too great and too violent, and such as he could not countenance by his vote.

Sir *John Bourke* was happy to be able to assent to the opinions of those who had pronounced the present Bill much better than the last; and, notwithstanding all the taunts and sneers of Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, he would contend, that its provisions were as favourable to popular interests, as the most ardent admirer of the first Bill could possibly desire. Certain it was, that the present Bill had lost none of the supporters of the former Bill, and he believed it would be found that it had gained the votes of some of the opponents of the former measure. While, however, he expressed his determination to sapport the provisons of the present Bill, he must take leave to express his dissent from the course which the Government had thought proper to pursue with respect to the Representation of Ireland. As one of the members for an Irish county, he felt bound to say, that the people of that country required a much larger number of Representatives, than it appeared was to be allotted to them; and, therefore, he now gave notice that it was his intention to move, that the Scotch and Irish Bills be brought in and read a first and second time, before they went into any Committee on the English Reform Bill. By that means they would be able to ascertain what number of Members could be obtained for increasing and improving the Irish Representation, and at the same time have an opportunity of taking them from the metropolitan districts, or the great manufacturing districts of England, if the original number of Members was still to be preserved. He should, at the proper time, be prepared to shew, that whether considered according to population, wealth, or extent, Ireland had a fair claim for a considerable increase of Members. He confessed, he had yet to learn what was the principle adopted by the Government with respect to Irish Reform. There could be no question that its population was very inadequately represented, for the province of Connaught, by far the largest and most populous division of the kingdom, had only twelve Representatives. He thought that the members for Ireland were bound, on this occasion to state boldly their dissatisfaction, and to offer the Government this fair bargain, that if it was disposed to deal justly with Ireland, they would give all their assistance in securing the passing of the English Reform Bill, but not otherwise.

Mr. *Baring Wall* had been an opponent of the last Bill from conviction, and he must, from the same circumstance, continue to oppose the present Bill, because, in all essential points it was the same. There was no person who felt more strongly than he did, the awful situation in which the country was placed, and who felt more deeply than he did, the absolute necessity that something in the way of conciliation should be done. He thought it most important to state, that this Bill was the Bill belonging to Government alone, which must take the whole credit and responsibility of it. He and his hon. friends had nothing to do with the responsibility of it, and he could not allow the members of the present Government to say they had made alterations, and that those alterations were concessions to the opponents of the Bill. They were not concessions to them — they were concessions to reason and justice. He was, however, ready to admit, that most of the alterations of this Bill might be considered as amendments. The schedule A had been taken upon a new basis. Little time had been given for hon. Members to reflect, whether that basis was one on which it would be expedient to ground a schedule of disfranchisement, should a disfranchising schedule be agreed to at all, but he thought the House ought to have time to consider before they were called upon to approve or disapprove of that schedule. He thought many circumstances had occurred which ought to have induced the Government to make more concessions, and more alterations than they had made in the measure which they had brought forward. He could not but call upon his Majesty's Ministers to recollect, that since Parliament had last met, the voice of the House of Lords had been expressed against them. He was sure the members of his Majesty's Government would be the last persons in the world to assert, that there was no property, no talent, no rights in the House of Lords to be regarded, upon a great and important question like the present. He called upon the Ministers to recollect, that not only had the House of Lords declared against them, but that the Church had declared against them. And he would say, when he had heard arguments raised concerning the interestedness of that great and learned body, that the House ought never to forget the important truth, that the Church owed almost the whole of the patronage it enjoyed to the Lord Chancellor and the Government. He thought likewise, that the very circumstance of his Majesty's Ministers having proposed amendments in this Bill, proved to the House that the measure which they had before proposed was not perfect. This was a reason why they should not now come forward, and again say, they would stand by "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." He rejoiced in the altered tone of the supporters of the Bill, though he could not admit, there was any alteration in the language used by the Ministers. The hon. member for Shrewsbury had begged the House to recollect that this was no party measure. He entirely concurred with the hon. Member in that sentiment, and in his recommendation to the House not to discuss this great question with personal or party feelings. The hon. member for Liverpool had said, that the House was not a talisman of truth, but that Members sometimes said one thing in it, and sometimes another. That evil, if it existed at present, must, he feared, be increased, when Members would, under the new Constitution, have to depend more upon the middling classes of society for their return, than they ever had done before. For his own part, he must say, a speech less calculated to support the provisions of the Bill now under consideration, than that of the hon. member for St. Alban's, he had never heard delivered; and he had no doubt that that hon. Member would be found voting on the Opposition side of the House. He inferred from that hon. Member's speech (spoken as it was from near the Treasury bench), that the clause for creating metropolitan Members was not to be sustained. With regard to the nomination boroughs, he would say, that public opinion having been so strongly declared against them, he should not oppose a measure for abolishing them; but if they were to be given up at all, they ought to be given up all together, and not partially or by halves. He, therefore, was prepared to support the disfranchising schedule, to the extent to which Government proposed to carry that schedule, provided, upon examination, it was found to be a fair and real one. He was glad to hear what an hon. and gallant friend had observed, respecting the borough of Lostwithiel. He thought it a piece of gross negligence on the part of the Ministers, that they should come down and state. that the borough of Lostwithiel was in schedule B, and that on the very night after that statement was made, the Bill itself should inform the House, that Lostwithiel was in schedule A. Were people's feelings, or were their just rights and privileges to be trifled with in this way? Down went the post to Lostwithiel on the night on which the measure was brought in, and informed the inhabitants, that the borough of Lostwithiel was safe; the Reform Bill was immediately popular there, and in all probability, the healths of his Majesty's Ministers were freely drank on that night. Next day's post took them the tidings that Lostwithiel was placed in schedule A. Then what would be the case? Probably the Members of his Majesty's Ministry were burnt in effigy, and he was not sure that the Yeomanry might not very soon have to be called out to quell disturbances in that part of Cornwall. With respect to schedule B, that schedule was not only inexpedient but unpopular. He believed that the only part of the Bill which was popular throughout the country was, the extinction of the nomination boroughs, and the extension of the elective franchise. To schedule A, he had, certainly, become a convert. A convert he could hardly call himself, for his opinions remained the same, but a convert to that schedule, on account of the alarming state of the country. It was the fashion, on the Government side of the House, to claim attachment to the people; but he begged to observe, that he was as much attached to the rights and privileges of the people, as well as to the privileges of the Crown, as any man in that House. What he disliked were, the noisy factious demagogues, who excited and aggravated the country. He must observe, that he saw a borough with which he had been long connected, removed from schedule A to schedule B; but for this he would not give any credit to Government, nor consider it a concession. If they were to have concessions from Ministers, such concessions should be dated from that evening, because the Bill on the Table was the Bill to which Government now stood pledged, and the House had nothing to do with any former measure. With regard to the relative state of Representation, he was unwilling to hazard an opinion; but if the adjustment of the balance was right in the former Bill, that of the present Bill must be wrong. On this point he should like to hear some explanation from Ministers or their supporters, in order that they might be pinned down to their own opinions. It was most important to know what was to be the relative number of town and county Members, and what the proportions of those of the several parts of the United Kingdom. The result of the deliberations of the House upon this point was looked to with deep interest from all parts of the country. He knew not whether he spoke the opinion of his constituents when he said, that he thought Government were perfectly right in not giving any more Representatives to Ireland, but he believed he did, and that he also spoke the sentiments of the majority of the people of England. Indeed, he thought it a positive evil, that any alteration at all should be made in the Representation of that country. There might be reasons why Members should be given to large towns, and other great interests which had arisen in England, but he saw no such reasons for giving more Representatives to Ireland. No large towns had sprung up there, no new interest had been created, nor did any of the arguments upon which new Members were created in England, justify or apply to the creation of additional Irish Members. He would beg to ask the hon. member for Galway, whether any of these reasons would apply to Ireland: that hon. Member said, in substance, "look to the number of inhabitants that are unrepresented." After the Repeal of the Union, if ever that event took place, it might be very well to bring that question forward, but up to that time the interests of the two countries were identified, and he should as soon think of inquiring whether the population of Dorsetshire or Cornwall were equal, as of inquiring into the relative population of England and Ireland. As to that part of the last Bill which approved of the appointment of Commissioners, he must say, that useful results were likely to follow from it; and this was owing to the conduct of the Commissioners themselves, to whom he offered the tribute of his admiration. He knew not which most to admire, their zeal, or the amazing expedition with which they despatched their business. He certainly thought the House would derive quite as much information from their topographical researches, as they had received from the anonymous tourist of last year. He did not know who that person might be, but there was one part of his information at least new, and that was, that the town of Poole was a very opulent and delightful place. Allusions had been made to the period of the Commonwealth, and the rebellion which had preceded it; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in adverting to Clarendon's History, drew an analogy between those periods and the present; and he (Mr. Wall) would also refer to that History, as presenting scenes not unlike what were passing at present. In one part, the writer said, that at the time of the rebellion, there were men of great parts and great acquirements, and he said, in another part, that the Government was in the hands of persons interested only in doing good for themselves, and who cared nothing for the good of the people. The historian further said, that with respect to the people, there existed the same restless disposition as at the present day, the same tone of innovation, the same calling for dissolution of Parliament, the same feeling against the Church, and the same cry of "down with the Bishops," resembling, in every particular, what was going on at present. The analogy was sustained to the most trivial points; the Lords could not go down to their House, without meeting with the grossest insults—without being followed by the mob, crying out "rotten-hearted Lords;" and, what was still more extraordinary, they had at that period their "Lords' Lists," but whether black or red, he (Mr. Wall) could not tell. These lists, however, were hawked about in every street and alley, and posted on every wall of the metropolis. The state of Ireland at that time bore a wonderful similarity to her present condition; it was then said of her, that she was a gulf to swallow, and a sponge to suck. The remarks of the historian upon what followed, also afforded us a striking and useful lesson. Clarendon said, that after the attainder and settlement of Parliament, the public mind became marvellously calm and composed, but to that succeeded the dreadful re-action which was inevitable upon this disappointment. The Peerage was abolished, the Church was destroyed, and the King was assassinated. He (Mr. Wall) had no doubt but that for some time after the passing of the Reform Bill, the public mind would become "marvellously calm and composed." But, then, was he not at present justified in anticipating disappointment and re-action? This was a view of the question, at which he looked with much alarm, and he envied not the feelings of that individual, who, having read the history of the former period, could come to the discussion of the present question, without fear and trembling. Who were the parties, he would ask, that were to be benefitted by this Reform measure? Certainly not, those who were so loud in clamouring for the passing of the Bill, and he would venture to assure those now in power, that the passing of the Reform Bill, would be their own overthrow. He wished the Whigs would listen to the voice of reason, and adopt those modifications suggested by the Opposition; then would their power be increased, they would gather strength, and be enabled to preserve the institutions and the tranquillity of the country.

Mr. *Cresset Pelham* concurred entirely with the sentiments of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, and as he conscientiously believed, that the Bill would not be attended with those beneficial results which were anticipated, he should vote against its second reading, and he should do so, because he thought it destructive of those institutions which were framed by the wisdom of our ancestors, and which saved this country.

Lord *William Lennox:* There is one peculiarity in the reasonings upon this question, for it is the invariable practice of the opponents of the Bill, and one which the hon. member for Weymouth fell into, of arriving at their own conclusions, and deducing from causes effects that can only be found in their own apprehensions. Beginning, then, by stating what will be the result of this measure, and their statements resting upon no other foundation than their own data, they denounce the promoters of it with all the fervour of their own very peculiar creed; then, as their fancy rises, they see the surges of revolution breaking high against their own castle walls. In the confusion that follows, anarchy prevails—democracy triumphs—the Church crumbles—good government is trampled under foot—the crown falls from the monarch's head—a political chaos ensues, for nothing is too monstrous, too miraculous for their distempered imaginations. But have they paused to ask themselves a few practical questions? for, in the common mode of argument, by establishing premises we may arrive at conclusions not so very dissimilar. I will suppose then, that no man can be found to think otherwise, than that he is placed in society for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the many—that laws are framed and administered for the benefit of the State in general—that political liberty should be filled to the exact measure that may give an interest to every individual in the State, without endangering the welfare of the whole—and that, if the laws are adapted to the characters and customs of the people, they must possess a power of elasticity to suit them to any changes that may take place in those customs or that character. Now there is nothing herein that can be controverted, except by those who place their reliance only upon vested rights, which vested rights over the conscience of a man, is very like the vested right of a West-Indian planter over the body of his slave; for I see no distinction between a mental and corporeal enthralment. But in a rational debate I acknowledge no such adversary. Supposing, then, our purposes, either as men or legislators, to be admitted, and these are, the welfare of our fellow-man either in his individual capacity or his general interest in the community at large—why, I would ask, is the whole order of things to be reversed because existing laws are found to be incompatible with those interests? In what political vocabulary does the endowment of an acknowledged right mean revolution? Or who is he who would stigmatize the conscientious legislator who accords it, as a restless anarch? In what moral code does he who withholds deserve better than he who bestows? Let the community arbitrate between us as to which party are sowing the dragon's teeth, to spring up in discord and confusion. The proposition before us is simply this—the people of England think themselves inadequately represented, and petition us to amend what they deem a grievance; and here I must acknowledge, that their opinions as to their own Representation are worthy of attention. They claim this as a right, and look upon the withholding of it as an act of the grossest injustice—an injustice in which they see, or fancy they see, corruption, self-interest, and many of the worst passions of man, militating against them, and which, if persevered in, must drive them to desperation. Who, then, will have caused the confusion? who will have sown the seeds of anarchy? The people have found out that the many were not placed here solely for the advantage of the few, and when the former know their power, the latter may find themselves in jeopardy. Our opponents threaten us with all sorts of ills. I fear none. The people of England love a monarchical government when divested of its abuses. A Reform in Parliament will reduce to practice what the Constitution is in theory. The House of Commons is the safety-valve through which the grievances of the people should find vent: by enlarging it, explosion is prevented. I support the Bill, improved as I think it is in many respects, because I believe the tranquillity of the country depends upon it, and I look upon its rejection by the House of Lords as the cause of all the ills that have lately accrued to the commercial, financial, and political interests of the country.

Mr. *Praed* said, he had waited with much anxiety all through the debate to hear something in the shape of argument, to which it would be worth a reasonable man's while to attend; but he had heard nothing of argument. Even the speech of his hon. friend (Mr. Macaulay) did not contain any argument, nor were any explanations given of the many changes made by Ministers in the Bill. And here he must acquit his hon. and learned friend, of the charge of inconsistency with respect to the ballot, which had been made against him, he knew, from a long and intimate acquaintance, that his hon. and learned friend had never been favourable to that principle. He could not but complain of the charges made against hon. Members on his side of the House. They had been charged with causing the long-protracted discussion on this Bill. It was not unnatural, that those who had originated important amendments, introduced into the noble Lord's measure, should claim some merit and acknowledgement of those services. His Majesty's Ministers had certainly admitted the value of their suggestions; but the hon. member for Calne said, they ought not to claim any merit for those changes which had followed their suggestions, because it would have been better had the Bill passed in its first state. He would, however, ask his hon. friend, whether the Bill in the form it then wore, would not have been more likely to meet with a better reception in the Lords? What were the important changes made in compliance with the objections of those who had opposed the Bill? The test of population was abandoned. Was not that occasioned by the arguments on his side of the House? And, again, the census of 1831 had been taken in consequence of the cogent arguments of the opposers of the Bill. They had contended, upon indisputable grounds, that it was better to legislate upon data of the present day than data of ten years back. Now all these changes had been introduced by his Majesty's Government, in direct opposition to the documents they themselves had laid on the Table of the House, and which had been found more amusing than instructive. The noble Lord informed the House, that the Bill had been formed upon a new basis. Population was no longer the test of Representation, and it was presumed the Bill had been much improved. But his Majesty's Ministers had gained little by discussion on the last Bill, and really he did not see how the House could come to a more favourable conclusion on the new Bill. The basis of the intended Constitution was altogether erroneous. It was impossible to make an estimate by figures of what ought to be borough Representation. His Majesty's Ministers might as well entertain the country with any other extravagant calculation—

> "And tell exactly the time of day
> The clock would strike by Algebra."

The circumstances of two boroughs, each containing the same number of inhabitants, might nevertheless be essentially different, and might demand a different amount of Representation. Where two boroughs were situated near each other, and a small borough was placed at some distance from them, he would, in many cases, prefer disfranchising one of the larger boroughs to disfranchising the small borough. But there were more important changes made in the Bill—not in the principle of the measure, he wished that had been changed—but in the details. The noble Lord now told them, that there was no mistake, no injustice, nothing wrong, no unequal operation, because they had adopted a different rule; but did not the noble Lord recollect, that when they had protested against the operation of the former rule, they had also protested against the rule itself; they had complained and proved that rule was wholly unfair and its operation partial. His hon. and learned friend, the member for Calne, had contrasted the conduct of himself and his hon. friends, with that pursued by the friends of the Bill, on the occasion of the Catholic Relief Bill, and had said, that when the then Ministry turned round, and advocated these doctrines to which they had been opposed previously, their opponents had assisted their efforts, instead of taunting them with the change in their opinions: but his hon. and learned friend omitted to mention the most material feature of the change. The then Ministers had all the unpopularity of the measure, while the Whigs engrossed a pretty large share of the fame and profit. There were other changes in the Bill, and he should have paid a grievous compliment to his Majesty's Ministers if he had allowed the changes in the Bill to be the work of those Ministers. The best changes had been produced by its opponents. In the regular course of reasoning it might be said, that all the parts of this subject had been sifted, yet, not long after the struggle of last Session was over, there came into the field a masked combatant. He spoke of an anonymous pamphleteer. The writer was no friend to those who opposed the Bill—no soldier belonging to the camp of the authors. It was edited and published by G. Berger, of Holywell-street, Strand. It was entitled "Whig Fraud and English Folly?" being a letter to the people, showing them that they are betrayed by these Whig Ministers, who, under pretence of increasing the power of the people, are robbing them of the power they now possess." A part of the letter he had alluded to, was appropriated to discuss what had been done and attempted by Ministers, with a view to alter or modify the 10*l.* clause. That clause, in the first Bill, required that all persons must have occupied a house six months to have a right to vote. When it was under discussion last Session, the opposition was principally against the system of registration. In the second Bill, instead of six months, the term of occupation was to be twelve months. The change had been resorted to by his Majesty's Ministers for the purpose of improving the respectability of voters, but this was a rat which had been ferreted out, as he would prove to the House. It had been asserted, that it was a perfidious juggle for the purpose of disfranchising three-fourths of the citizens of England. Instead of making any of his own remarks on the effects of that clause, he begged leave to cite the following passage from Mr. Berger's letter—

"A view of the case soon satisfied me that it was not to save expense that the system of registration was introduced; and I accordingly, to use a vulgar proverb, began to smell a rat—and a rat sure enough I found, skulking from the light of day as artfully and craftily as ever rat was discovered. To drop metaphors and to use plain language, I found that the object of this system of registration was not to save expense—not to simplify matters—no such thing—I found it was a mountebank's trick to engage the eye, while the sleight of hand was performed—that it was a perfidious Whig juggle, to acquire, indirectly, such a length of occupation as they did not for a moment dare directly to propose. I will proceed to state distinctly my ground for this charge. The following are the regulations of the Bill.

"On the last day of August in every year, the Overseers are to make out a list of persons entitled to vote under the provisions of this Bill; and in order to get first upon it, amongst other things it is necessary that the party should have been in occupation of the same premises for twelve months at least. This list undergoes correction and revision; and when so corrected and revised, it is entered into a book, and that book is the register of electors to vote at any election which may take place between the first day of December following, and the first day of December in the ensuing year. The four usual periods of entering upon new premises are, as you of course know, Michaelmas, Christmas, Lady-day, and Midsummer. I will consider the operation of this system upon the vote of a person entering at each of these periods, and then I think you will be able to apply my reasoning to every other case.

"Suppose, then, mine is a Michaelmas take—and as the day of registration for the present year is uncertain, for the sake of simplicity let me be supposed to enter at Michaelmas, 1832. On the last day of August, 1833, a list will be made out; on that list my name cannot appear, because I shall have been only eleven months in occupation; I must wait then till the list of the last day of August, 1834; that is to say, I must be in occupation twenty-three months before my name can be put on the list. After I get on the list I must wait till the 1st of December, 1834, before I can by possibility vote; therefore the shortest possible occupation required of me before I can vote will be twenty-six months; and if, instead of supposing the election to happen on the earliest possible day, we take the middle of the year as the average period of its occurrence, six months more must be added. Thus is an occupation of thirty-two months substituted by the system of registration for the six months now required by the common law of the land. This is the rat I ferreted out from his concealment. Here is something more congenial to the principles of a Whig than a diminution of expense: this is the perfidious juggle I spoke of, by which the disfranchisement of three-fourths of the artisans of England is effected, without one of them suspecting a word about the matter. This is the Whig sleight of hand, by which that has been accomplished secretly, clandestinely, and surreptitiously, which, if openly proposed, would have long ago decided the fate of the Bill, and of those by whom it was proposed.

"We will now consider the case of a person who enters at Christmas 1832. As before, it will be August, 1834, before he gets on the list, and consequently, by just the same reasoning as I employed in the last case, the average occupation required of him before he votes will be twenty-nine months. So the average occupation required of a person entering at Lady-day will be twenty-six months, and of one who enters at Midsummer twenty-three months.

"By the same reasoning it appears, that no man by any possibility can vote without fifteen months' occupation of the same premises, viz. twelve months previous to the last day of August, and three months previous to the first day of December following; and, then, supposing, as before, the election on an average to come on in the middle of the year, six months more must be added, making twenty-one months essential in the most favourable case. Thus, my friends, have these wily Whigs, by their system of registration, substituted for the six months' occupation required by the common law an occupation varying in duration from twenty-one to thirty-two months."

But now to judge of the effects of that pamphlet, how stood that clause in the edition of the Bill then before them. It distinctly enacted, that the voter should not be required to occupy the "same" premises for twelve months; this, of course, was a concession made to the anonymous writer, and took away at once all the security they had in the former Bill, to limit the number of voters, and to judge of their respectability. In the next place, he came to the alterations made in the allowing the franchise to be retained by freemen in perpetuity. He was as great an advocate as any man to preserve existing rights and privileges, but this provision, taken in connection with the extension of the franchise, only proved the certainty that there would be an enormous addition to the numbers of the lower class of voters. He had moved for returns to show the number of this class of freemen at present, but in the absence of authentic information, from the best inquiries he could make, he supposed there were about 200,000 such persons, who would possess the right of voting, in addition to those expressly created by the Bill. In the first Bill, the existing rights of freemen were preserved; in the second, these words were introduced, "So long as they shall continue to be entitled to vote:" these words, implying the continuation of the right, almost defeated the effect of the first Bill. But, further than this, according to the first Bill, the voter, on coming up to the poll, was to swear that he was the person whose name appeared on the register. But the provisions of the second Bill rendered it necessary that the right of voting should have been continued without intermission. The present Bill altered the case altogether, and he would refer to the same writer he had before alluded to, in order to explain the motives of the Ministers for making the alteration.

"As the clause reserving existing rights drew near at hand, the tempter seems to have suggested to the mind of one of these Whig lawgivers, a mode of extirpating scot-and-lot voters, pot-walloppers, &c. so subtle and refined that no human being could be reasonably expected to detect it. What was to be done? The Bill had been printed and committed before this happy idea presented itself: to attempt to introduce it as an amendment would be to draw attention to the tender part. Nevertheless, the idea was too good to be lost; so the whole clause was remodelled, and printed on a fly-leaf, and was huddled through a deserted House of Commons, assembled on a Saturday, on which day out of tender regard to the impatience of the people, the House had been compelled by Ministers to meet. This clause, then, so smuggled into the Bill, and huddled through the House, runs as follows—Having saved the right of freemen, it proceeds :—'Provided also that every person now having a right to vote in the election for any city or borough (except those enumerated in the said schedule A) in virtue of any qualification, other than those hereinbefore mentioned and reserved, shall retain such right of voting, so long only as he shall continue to be qualified as an elector, according to the usages and customs of such city or borough, or any law now in force, and such person shall be entitled to vote in the election for such city or borough, if duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained; but that no such person shall be so registered in the next or any succeeding year, unless such person shall, on the 1st day of February in the next year, and on the last day of August, in each succeeding year, continue to be qualified as such elector in such manner as would entitle him then to vote if such days were respectively the days of election, and this Act had not been passed,' &c."

Now the change is this: one word is wholly omitted, and the word "and" is substituted for "a." It was hardly possible that Ministers could have intended to effect so great a change by such simple means; but certain it was that they had done so, and this change, with others of the same description, was through the whole of the Bill. But he would dwell no longer on these alterations. Another great fault of the present Bill was, that sufficient attention was not paid to the landed interest; it might be all very well to give Members to the large manufacturing towns, but would they protect the landed interest? Would Blackburn and Manchester protect the interests of Bridport and Dorchester? No! and why? Because they were diametrically opposed to them. He had not been surprised to hear his hon. and learned friend, the member for Calne, say that he was not disposed to go into the contents of this Bill; he could account for this by simply observing, that its principles were so involved and contradictory, that it was better for the advocates of the measure not to enter into a discussion of them. He regretted this the more, because his hon. and learned friend, in the course of all the speeches with which he had favoured the House, had never gone at any length into the details or principles of the Bill, although he had pointed out many evils which he supposed to exist, and which he attributed to the state of the present system of Representation. With what success he had done this, and how his arguments had been met, were fresh in the memory of the House; but neither when the borough which he represented found favour in the eyes of Ministers, nor at this present time, when it was an object of their severity, had he endeavoured to point out how this measure was calculated to remedy the evils of which he complained. He had never heard a more magnificent relation of the gradual progress of society, than that which was made by the hon. and learned Gentleman; he never had the pleasure of hearing a more beautiful analogy drawn between the progress of nature and that of people and nations in general; but had there been one single word in that speech which might not have been spoken during the three days at Paris, at the Congress of Vienna, or which might not have been uttered by Massaniello in the market-place of Naples? The hon. and learned Gentleman, indeed, told the House, that, in future, Manchester might be contested for less than the market-price of Old Sarum: but this was not all that was required. He ought, at the same time, to have proved, that a contested election at Manchester would be as cheap to the young, well-informed man, coming up from the University with no patrimony but his talents and acquirements, as was the opportunity of coming in for a nomination borough. His hon. and learned friend had told them, that the same men would have opportunities of entering that House, but they would not be returned for the same places; and he said that a man's spirit was broken by doing the work of his patron—that he presented a more piteous spectacle than the light and beautiful Ariel doing the work of Sycorax. No one would charge his hon. and learned friend with being more debased or broken in spirit at the present moment, while sitting for the borough of Calne, than when, some time hence, he would sit as the Representative of the great town of Leeds. Suppose, by the way of illustration and argument, it was imagined that this country had recently shaken off the yoke of a foreign despot, and that we had offered to us a new Constitution, on which we were about to decide, so far as he was concerned, he would say, that after serious and deliberate consideration, not being blind to the difficulties or danger of the vote he was giving, he was disposed to reject the offered Constitution, because he saw no reason to hope that that Constitution would secure a good or stable government. He should say they were establishing three estates in the kingdom, all perfectly independent of, and removed from each other. If the 10*l.* householders were to have the same right of voting as those who were far above them in society or station, property was not made the basis of the system of Representation. If it were asserted the principle was founded on taxation, that was overturned when all below the 10*l.* householder paid nearly, or quite the same amount of taxes. There was no other support for such a Constitution but Universal Suffrage. The present House of Commons represented the universality of the country, but the one to be elected by the new measure would possess prerogatives without power, and privileges without daring to exercise them. Sovereignty would be an empty name—good order and Government, and an organized state of society, unmeaning sounds. It might appear absurd and ridiculous to make such prophecies as these, but it was unfortunate that predictions were seldom believed until they were realized by the event. If any man had made use of such predictions in the French Chamber, he would have been treated with ridicule, but they all knew the result. He prayed to God that his predictions might not turn out well-founded.

Colonel *Lindsay* said, that there were parts of the Bill of which he approved, and other parts of which he greatly disapproved. One of his great objections to the measure was, that it tended to destroy the fair balance between the agricultural and the manufacturing interest in that House. The former, he had no doubt, would be crushed in the conflict which must ensue. With respect to the 10*l.* clause, he considered that the alterations which had been introduced, made that measure more practicable than before; and he also approved of the amendment, whereby freemen were to retain and transmit their franchise to their descendants; but he feared it would not ultimately become a part of the Bill, for the sovereignty of the Press had already denounced it as a clause that ought not to be passed. The Bill, notwithstanding some little alterations in the details, was essentially the same in principle, as that which was thrown out by the House of Peers; it had not been modified, as there was reason to hope it would have been, to meet, in some degree, the opinions of those who were the friends of the Constitution. Persons were somewhat startled, when the words "new Constitution" first met their ears, but now the expression was received and used without hesitation, and it was quite a common question, whether we preferred the old Constitution or the new one. Before such a change was effected, Ministers were bound to show that the old Constitution was not adequate to all the purposes of the State. They were bound to shew the practical evils which required remedy. They were bound to shew that the influence of the Peers in the House of Commons was injuriously preponderant, or that there was a waste of the public money, or that the House itself was unfit for the duties that devolved upon it. No such proof existed in the present House of Commons. Until some practical evils of the Constitution were pointed out, he should certainly adhere to it. If change were necessary, he would join the Government in changing the Constitution, but, looking at the blossoms of the Reform Bill, there was no appearance of good fruit. It was somewhat difficult to judge of the nature of anything which had not been tried—it was, therefore, not easy to compare the workings of the present Constitution with that which was proposed to be substituted for it. But they had some means of judging by tracing what had happened, under nearly similar circumstances, at the commencement of the French Revolution. Philosophers brought theories from their closets—they were promulgated, and the minds of most persons became enamoured of them—the powers of Government were curtailed—and Clubs, Secret Societies, and Political Unions, were formed. The Press attacked on the one hand the higher orders of society and the Church, and on the other lauded the Monarch, and applauded his popularity. It delighted to deck with garlands the victim to be sacrificed. Was there not a most striking parallel between such symptoms, and those which now appeared so rife among us. Physicians were led to judge of a disease by the symptoms, and those which now prevailed were too plain to be mistaken. The best way to overcome them was to stand by the existing institutions of the country. As that was his decided opinion, he was prepared to vote for the Amendment—at the same time he was prepared to say, he was most anxious to see all abuses which had crept into the Constitution, from time or other circumstances, removed; but he would never consent to the adoption of a new, or theoretical form of government, in this great empire.

Lord *John Russell:* * As the time for our discussion this night is limited, and it is desirable, on many accounts, not to adjourn the debate, I rise, Sir, at this early hour, to place the House in possession of such explanation as I can afford, of the general principles, and leading provisions of the Bill which is now under our consideration. Before I enter upon that discussion, however, I must say a few words as to the time in which the measure is brought forward. We are accused of raising this question at a period of extraordinary excitement in the public mind. Sir, if it be a misfortune to have delayed this discussion till the calmness requisite for deliberation is interrupted by clamour, and disturbed by the fervour of impatience—of that misfortune I am not the author. On the 15th of December, 1819, just twelve years ago, I proposed to the House of Commons to give two Members to Leeds. That proposition was assented to in the Commons, but entirely disfigured in the House of Lords. From that time to this, I have scarcely ever ceased to urge this question, in one shape or other, diluting and diminishing my propositions, even to the *minimum* of Reform, with the hope of inducing the moderate to feel their way to an improvement in our representative system, and to obtain, by experience, a guide for any future changes. But I was always met by the reply—"Everything is quiet; no one demands this change; leave well alone—*quieta non movete;*" and all the common places of the adherents of things as they are. What is the consequence? You are now asked to make a change so great, that there is, undoubtedly, some risk in the operation, but an infinitely greater risk in refusing to proceed. If this be a calamity, I repeat, let those answer for it, who would not entertain the question when it might be entertained in perfect temper, and who, having dammed up the river, come now to complain of an inundation. Let us, however, go somewhat further into this history; for, since we are accused, we have a right to our defence. In 1827, the right hon. Gentleman opposite, as the organ of a great party in this House, and in the country, declared there were three measures to which he should give his decided opposition; namely, to the Repeal of the Test Act—Catholic Emancipation—and Parliamentary Reform. In the following year, 1828, being defeated on a division in this House, he gave way on the repeal of the Test Act. Did we taunt him with this? On the contrary, we allowed the Duke of Wellington to carry off the fame of this great concession to the spirit of religious liberty. In the year following, 1829, the Duke of Wellington, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite, proposed the total repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities. What was our conduct? We sung no song of triumph; we prided not ourselves on our past efforts; and when a Gentleman, now no more, spoke with some scorn of new conversions, I, as a humble member of a great party, said, that we would not look back to former contentions; that it was enough for us, the Ministry were then, as we thought, in the path of true policy, and that we should give them our earnest support. It is notorious, indeed, that we carried this so far, that rather than injure a Government engaged in so great a measure, we concurred in votes opposed, if not to our principles, to our feelings, and our wishes, and our opinions: by this conduct the Government were retained in power, and carried their question. Parliamentary Reform remained behind. The elections of 1830 clearly showed that a settlement of this question, like the others, could no longer be resisted. I impute no blame to the late Ministers for the course they chose to pursue. Had they been willing to concede upon this measure likewise, so far from reproaching, I should have given them the best support I was able, although their propositions had fallen short of my own conceptions of what was required. They did not think it consistent with their public duty to make any concession; they were at liberty to judge on this point what best became their own character, and their own principles. But what I do complain of is, that having abandoned, or rather, I should say, declined this great task, they now bitterly reproach us, because, in conformity with our principles—in accordance with our character as public men—we endeavour to make a settlement which may satisfy the just expectations of the people, and, at the same time, preserve the ancient institutions of the State. In questions of this kind, every thing depends on the fitness of the time for the measure proposed. An hon. friend of mine, member for the University of Oxford, has quoted to-night, for the hundredth time, and for the hundredth time to misinterpret it, the saying of a great orator of our day, that "history is no better than an old almanack." Nothing could be further from the intention of Lord Plunkett than to lay down such a proposition in the abstract. But what he said was, speaking of those who attended to the letter, and neglected the spirit, of history, "that history, in such hands, was no better than an old almanack." A person of great wit, who lived in our own time, used to say, that "it was not every man who was to be trusted with a memory." So, likewise, it is not every man who is to be trusted with history. For instance, if my hon. friends reads, that in 1688 the Roman Catholics were excluded, and the close boroughs preserved, is he, therefore, to conclude that the same thing is to be done now? Rightly did our ancestors judge for their day; and we, judging in the same spirit, and adapting our institutions to our times, as they did their institutions to their's, may wisely, and justly, and seasonably, admit where they excluded, and abolish what they preserved. A right hon. Gentleman, who has alluded to history only to misuse it, has spoken of the late revolution of France, and adverted, in terms of some scorn, to the loss of popularity which has attended the authors of that revolution. Why, who looks upon a revolution otherwise than as a calamity, which necessity only can justify? But let those who blame the authors of the Revolution of 1830, ask themselves, if a proclamation were to appear to-morrow, abolishing the liberty of the Press, and suppressing legal rights, is there a Member of this House who would think himself bound to obey such a proclamation? Why, then, resistance was necessary. But what, after all, has been the result? M. Perier, one of the wisest, but, at the same time, one of the most moderate of the authors of that Revolution, has been able to stop a popular movement in its course, and rallied the friends of order and good government round the new dynasty; while M. Guizot, of whom the right hon. Gentleman spoke so slightingly, concurs with that majority of the Chamber of Deputies, by whom the present Administration is upheld, himself respected for his talents and integrity. But our concern is with the present Bill. The first of its leading provisions is that which abolishes for ever fifty-six of the smaller boroughs. Our right to do this, however disputed in the commencement of these discussions, is now no longer questioned. But ought we to use this undoubted power? Upon what principle does this main clause rest? Why do we propose so extensive an amputation? Simply because we contend that the House of Commons ought to represent the people. This proposition, which would have been considered a truism a hundred years ago, is now spoken of as a new and startling heresy. But what says the Constitution? Search where you will, the Constitution declares that this House ought to be the Representative of the people. To quote but one passage from the celebrated Reports of Sergeant Glanville's Committee:—"It is a service," say they, "for the King and Commonwealth, and not for the lord of the borough, who, by reason of his interest in the borough, hath nothing to do in the matter of such election." When, then, we find that the lord of the borough hath, on the contrary, every thing to do in the matter of election, we deprive the borough of this abused trust, and transfer it to hands who will use it "for the King and Commonwealth." "Aye, but," says the hon. member for Thetford, "such is the Constitution in theory, but it has not been so in practice. The practical constition of this House is not a Representation of the people." If this be so, then the constitution of this House, not being founded on law, or acknowledged principle, depends only on the consent and concurrence of the people; and that consent and concurrence failing, as it now avowedly does, there remains only the naked, unsupported abuse, having no foundation in law, and no sanction from opinion. The hour of reformation is arrived. I have touched this point lightly, because it is one upon which men's opinions may be said to be made up. Let us now go to the consideration of the question most important for us duly to weigh, and well decide upon, namely, what is to be the future construction of this House? I will not adopt all the distinctions which a noble Lord on the other side has made, but I will discuss it in the spirit in which he has discussed it, and inquire, as he has done, whether the new House of Commons, while it represents the wishes and interests of the people, is likely to maintain our ancient institutions. The first part of the reformed House of Commons to which our attention should be turned, is the representation of the counties. No one will say, surely, that the addition of sixty-six to our county Members, or the admission of copyholders of 10*l.* a year, or the division of large counties, or the partial exclusion of town voters, or, lastly, the tenant right of voting, introduced by the noble Lord opposite, take away any thing from the solid and permanent character of our county Members. We have here 158 Members of this House, of a class to which no Anti-reformer can object. We have, next, about 140 Members from places under 10,000 inhabitants, and having from 300 to 500 constituents under the 10*l.* franchise. Surely no one will contend that these places, being, in fact, country towns connected with landed proprietors, are likely to send to Parliament wild and revolutionary Members. We may add to these, eight Members from the reformed boroughs of Cricklade, Shoreham, Aylesbury, and Retford. We have, therefore, full 300 Members out of 500, to whom none of these general declamations, concerning the danger of great popular constituencies driving on their Representative to measures of plunder and revolution, can in any way be attributed. There remain about 200 Members to be chosen by large town constituencies. But can any man say, that even these will be generally animated by a spirit destructive of our institutions? It is always assumed, that the Members for places in the schedules, are of what is called, in the new language, a conservative character. But I know several of these guardian boroughs, where the electors would sooner take twenty guineas from the wildest democrat, than ten guineas from the most conservative candidate that ever appeared upon a hustings. Why are Canterbury, Norwich, Maidstone, and the rest, to be reckoned inferior to Wallingford or Sudbury, in care and reverence for the Constitution? After all, there are but few—it is astonishing how few—of these boroughs that will have very large constituent bodies. The London districts, indeed, may have 18,000 or 20,000, but, altogether, I do not believe there are twenty places that will have more than 5,000 voters. By far the most important clause of the Bill, however, is that which we are now to consider; I mean the clause which gives the right of voting to persons occupying houses, counting-houses, or warehouses, of the value of 10*l.* a-year. That an extension of suffrage must be an element of any plan of Reform, you will not deny; the only matter here to consider is, to whom you will extend it. The main object is, to have Representatives chosen by the people, who will act for the interest of the people. For this purpose, the electors should, as far as legislation can attain such an object, be intelligent, incorrupt and independent.

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* Printed, by authority, from the corrected Report published by Ridgway.

In other words, they should have the capacity to make a choice, the wish to make a good choice, and the power to carry that wish into effect. For instance, if you place the suffrage with a few rich, educated persons, they will have the capacity to choose, but the blight of monopoly will lead them to exercise their choice for private and not for public good. Again, if you place your suffrage too low, your electors, having no capacity to choose, will have no wish one way or another, and will thus be open to bribery; or they will be dependent, and subject to control. An election, by a single rich man, may be an excellent choice; and so may an election by a multitude of needy men; but the chances are against them, and a legislator will not trust to either. Mr. Fox, when speaking on Lord Grey's Reform motion of 1797, said, 'My opinion is, that the best plan of Representation is that which shall bring into activity the greatest number of independent votes; and that that plan is defective which would bring forward those whose situation and condition take from them the power of deliberation; I can have no conception of that being a good plan of election, which should enable individuals to bring regiments to the poll.

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That I take to be the most perfect system which shall include the greatest number of independent electors, and exclude the greatest number of those who are necessarily, by their condition, dependent."[*] I was much found fault with the other night because I spoke of the intelligence of the new electors. But I am confident the want of intelligence, and consequently of all interest in public questions, leads to half the abuses in our popular elections. The extreme Anti-reformers, and the extreme Reformers, meeting, as extremes often do, contend for a very low franchise. The one party hopes to swindle the poor and ignorant out of their votes by beer and bribery; the other party counts upon leading them, by false representations of public abuses, and by promising remedies which neither this nor any other Reform can ever give. It is therefore desirable to fix upon a class of persons, who shall partake largely of the popular spirit, and yet not constitute a body hostile to property, or debased by ignorance. In order to effect this, it will be advisable to bring into action the more intelligent of the working class in the large towns, and the more respectable of the middle class in the small boroughs. With this light to guide us, let us examine the elector for cities and boroughs—that creature of this Bill, who has been described alternately as the monster of Frankenstein, and the shade of Robespierre. In order to vote for cities and boroughs, it is necessary to be a householder, or the occupier of a warehouse, counting-house, or shop. The yearly rent, or the value of the premises occupied, must be not less than 10*l.* The time of occupation must have been, in the whole, not less than fifteen months. The assessed taxes and poor-rates due for the first half of this time must have been paid. This condition is rendered further restrictive by requiring that such payment must be made, not as at present, previously to polling, but previously to insertion in the register of voters for the ensuing year. So that, instead of several hundred voters marching to the hustings, whose rates had been paid the day before by the candidate, some security is taken, as far as security can be had, that the voters will pay their own rates and taxes. Thus we obtain, as an elector—first, a householder; secondly, a man who is answerable for property of a certain value; thirdly, a resident of the town, permanently dwelling therein; fourthly, a man who is able to contribute, and does contribute, to the rates and taxes of his borough. The result of the inquiries made by order of Government, show that the proportion of 10*l.* householders, in different towns, varies from one-sixth to one-half, but it may be stated to be generally one-third, or from one-third to one-fourth of the whole number of householders. At Norwich, with 60,000 inhabitants, the electors would be about 4,000; at Birmingham, about 5,000; at Leeds, rather more than 5,000; at Sheffield, under 5,000. And this is the right of voting which has been compared to universal suffrage![*] The

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[*] Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xxxiii, p. 726-7.

[*] The following instances are taken at random, from the inquiries of the Commissioners, and the new returns for the census:—

	Houses.	10*l.* *Houses.*
Cambridge	4,099	1,600
Chichester	1,650	696
Colchester	3,362	1,200
Coventry	5,887	1,500
Derby	5,218	1,684
Durham	1,323	668
Lichfield	1,319	450
Lynn	2,914	652
Newark	2,094	510
Northampton	3,239	1,087
Norwich	14,028	4,100

town of Leeds has been regularly canvassed for the purposes of election, by twenty or thirty gentlemen, of respectable station and known character, in that chief seat of our woollen manufacture. The result of their canvass has been, that, in the quarters of the town chiefly inhabited by the working classes, not more than one in every fifty householders will have a vote under the 10*l.* clause. In the principal streets for shops, almost every male householder will have a vote. In the parts of the town occupied by dwelling houses, the number occupied by females makes a very material deduction from the number of votes. The working classes in Leeds, almost all live in houses of from 5*l.* to 8*l.* rent; out of 140 householders, heads of families (including several overlookers) employed in the mill of Messrs. Marshall and Co., not more than two will have votes; out of 160 householders in the mill of Messrs. C. Willans and Sons, Holbeck (including fifteen overlookers) many earning 25*s.* to 30*s.* a-week, not one will have a vote; out of 100 householders in the works of Messrs. Taylor and Wordsworth, machine makers, only one, even of this high class of mechanics, will have a vote; out of 11,000 inhabitants of the township of Holbeck, chiefly occupied by the working classes, but also containing mills, dye-houses, public-houses, and some respectable dwellings, there would be only 150 voters. The township of Wortley has nearly 6,000 individuals, and 130 voters. Armley, with 5,000 inhabitants, will have only 150 votes. Upon the whole, the unanimous opinion of the canvassers was, that the 10*l.* qualification does not admit any person who may not safely be intrusted with the elective franchise; and that, were the qualification raised to 15*l.*, the extent of exclusion would be intolerable. In Manchester the case is somewhat different. From personal examination, it appeared that, in a manufactory, where 702 persons were employed, 108 were householders, thirty-one of whom pay a rent of 10*l.* and upwards. In another, where 530 persons were employed, seventeen stated that they pay a rent of 10*l.* and upwards. This examination shows the impolicy of proportioning the franchise to the amount of population. Leeds and Manchester would, in this respect, come under the same class; and yet the result of the operation would be entirely different. In Leeds, you would exclude the whole of the working classes; in Manchester, only a portion of them. I could name two towns (Reading and Wigan) with nearly the same number of houses, where the number of 10*l.* houses in one will be nearly double that of the other. Situation, elections, industry, speculation, and other circumstances, besides population, contribute to determine the amount of house-rent in a town. I do not say, certainly, that the working classes will be excluded, generally, in large towns, to the same extent as in Leeds. I should be sorry to think that such would be the case. The operation of time, and the growth of our manufactures, has produced that anomaly in our Constitution—a mass of industrious, intelligent, prosperous men, without any direct tie binding them to our Government. I say, an anomaly in our Constitution, because Blackstone has said, what he thought, no doubt, the truth in his time, that there was hardly a free agent in the kingdom who had not a vote in some place or other. The fact being now so widely different, it is an object with every sound Reformer, to reclaim this powerful tribe from the political desert to which they have been confined; to recal them from wild prospects and hostile schemes, in order to bind them to our institutions; to make them a part of the great family of the Constitution, partaking in all its privileges, and defending it in all its dangers. Such, then, are the leading provisions of the plan of Representation which we submit to Parliament. Granting that a Reform was necessary, we maintain that this is a Reform both effectual and safe. It destroys the system of nomination to seats in this House; gives their due weight to large unrepresented towns; extends the right of voting to those who are capable of exercising it with advantage to the State. Those who contend that any change is unnecessary, charge us with having produced the opinion, which is the parent of this measure. If, in this respect, we are in any way guilty, we are guilty with Locke and Blackstone, Chatham and Fox, and many others of the most illustrious, both of our practical Statesmen and our constitutional writers. To all these authorities, I am now about to add that of

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Oxford	3,541 ..	2,180
Plymouth	8,729 ..	2,100
St. Alban's	836 ..	540
Wigan	4,162 ..	568

Making 19,435 10*l.* houses in 62,401, or not one-third of the whole number. And when we make the proper deductions, it is not likely that the voters will exceed a fourth of the householders.

one who sat for more than thirty years in that Chair; one who, living in the time of Walpole, those days of job and joviality, could not shut his eyes to the corruption that was going on around him, and had the virtue to condemn what he had not the power to resist. In a note in Burnet's history, he thus speaks of the plan of Representation adopted in the time of the Commonwealth—"What I mean was, the taking away elections from the small decayed boroughs, and enlarging the number of Representatives for counties, and city of London." (He was not afraid even of the metropolitan Members:) "but even this was unequally done. It was, however, a Constitution I heartily wish had been continued. This would be the most effectual cure of corruption in elections, &c. It is a sad mark of Courts or times when corruption is deemed necessary for Government. How glorious and popular would a Prince be who should suppress it! everything would be just and great!" There is now a Prince on the Throne who is worthy to attain this glory; and happy are those who serve him, in being the humble instruments of so great a design. Speaker Onslow speaks likewise of the difficulty of such a task, and says, that only "upon great emergencies and revolutions, it may, perhaps, by a great spirit of government, be done with safety." We are now not, happily, in revolution, but we are in a great emergency. If Parliament shall accede to this measure, I see every prospect of our riding safely through the gale; if, on the contrary, the same successful resistance is made, which has been once made before, I can only put up my prayers and hopes—

——— Sit cæca futuri,
Mens hominum fati, liceat sperare timenti.

We may, perchance, escape the dreadful evils which attend and follow civil dissension: but, for my own part, looking at all which passes around us, from day to day, and from hour to hour, I confess I shall not be sanguine of the result.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, that, as far as the noble Lord was concerned who had introduced the question of Reform, he was willing to admit, that the noble Lord had always stated his opinions upon the subject freely and distinctly; and if he charged any class of Reformers with concealing or disguising their sentiments, certainly the noble Lord was not among them. On that occasion, as on all former occasions, the noble Lord assured them, that Reform was not intended to subvert the Throne, the Church, the Aristocracy, and the whole system by which the country had hitherto been regulated and governed. He gave the noble Lord full credit for a conscientious sincerity in the expression of those opinions, as well as a desire to maintain and preserve the institutions of the country. He, as was well known, entertained a very different persuasion from the noble Lord, and he claimed credit for avowing it with the same sincerity and good faith which he had been ready to admit in a political opponent. In entering upon the question, he begged to say, in the first place, that he considered it to be highly inexpedient to agitate it at the present period of unexampled excitement—excitement chiefly to be attributed to Ministers themselves, and which had been created for the express purpose of carrying the Bill. He would ask the noble Lord, why he had not brought forward his bill of 1819, the utmost limit of which was, to give a few new Members to some of the large towns? Had Ministers only made partial and necessary changes, without changing the constitution of every town, and borough, and corporation in England, they might then have reasonably demanded of their opponents why they blamed them for introducing a measure of this description. It might be proper to give Members to Leeds, Manchester, and other wealthy and populous towns; but the Bill went far beyond this, and introduced a uniform rate of franchise, based upon the worst order of householders throughout the kingdom. The real question was simply this; was not this excitement occasioned by the Ministers, who brought forward a measure of Reform for which there was no exigency? Why did not the Ministers, when they made Parliamentary Reform one of the main principles on which they accepted office, proceed according to the ordinary course of the Constitution? Why, he would ask, had they proceeded against it? Why did they not proceed with that gradual pace which had been kept in all former changes of the construction of the House of Commons? Why did they proceed at once to this unbounded measure of Reform, when one of their own number, now a member of the Cabinet, had moved a resolution only some few years ago, which proved that he thought that the people would and ought to be contented with much less? He was not surprised that the noble Lord should complain of the responsibility which now rested upon his shoulders. He envied not the noble Lord that responsibility, but he could not help asking, why had the noble Lord incurred it? Why had the noble Lord, who avowed his opinion to be, that a gradual course of Reform was the right course—why had the noble Lord—why, indeed, had his right hon. colleagues in the Administration, abandoned that course for this unexpected measure of universal change in the Constitution? But the conduct of Ministers was, in all its bearings, most extraordinary and most incomprehensible. "Oh," say they, "it is necessary to propose something. We give you this Reform—reject it if you dare; for the responsibility for the consequences shall not rest upon us who propose it, but upon you who reject it?" Could any thing be more monstrous? Could any thing be more unjust? He would not object to this language on the part of Ministers; on the contrary, he would agree to it, if their plan of Reform was reasonable; but, if it were unreasonable, as he maintained it was, then the responsibility of the rejection fell, not upon those who rejected, but upon those who proposed it. The noble Lord had said, that a great change was necessary. That might be true; and yet his plan of Reform might not be necessary. He denied, and ever would deny, *totis viribus*, that the spirit of the times required the degree and measure of Reform which the noble Lord had brought forward. It might be true that it was right and fitting that the great towns of Manchester, and Birmingham, and Leeds, should have conferred upon them the right of returning Representatives to Parliament; but he would do credit to the former arguments of the noble Lord, and would say, that it was quite another thing to advance, that because certain new towns which had risen from insignificance into wealth and importance ought to be represented in the House of Commons, therefore you ought to overturn the right to representation which had belonged for centuries to all the boroughs in schedule A, and, after such wholesale and sweeping devastation, should proceed next to a partial destruction of the boroughs in schedule B, and should then conclude by overturning the existing right of franchise in all the other towns of the country now sending Members to Parliament. The noble Lord had told them, that though the public mention of these wide and sweeping changes had created great excitement, that excitement was not to be attributed to Ministers. If not to Ministers, to whom was it to be attributed? He maintained that it ought to be attributed to them, and to them alone. Even if they had not generated it, according to their own showing, most assuredly it had been fed and amazingly increased by their measures. The noble Lord, to justify his plan of Reform, had told them that there had been a large Reform in France, that property there was safe, and that M. Perier was still minister. True, he was so; but in the unsettled state of men's minds in France—a state produced by the barricade revolution of July—no man could be sure how long M. Perier would continue minister. The noble Lord had told them that they need not even be afraid of a large revolution, for though there had been an overthrow of the dynasty of the Bourbons, one of the chief movers in that revolution—now only a moderate Reformer—was still the existing minister of France. True, he was so; but he was afraid that he would not be minister so long as was necessary to give stability to the new institutions of the French people. But then, said the noble Lord, "look at Polignac; it was necessary to have a revolution in France, because Polignac endeavoured to impose a censorship on the Press." He (Sir C. Wetherell) deprecated as much as any man any attempt to fix a censorship on the Press, but let us take care that we have no Polignac Press. No man could conceal from himself this fact—that the Press, the Polignac Press, of this country, had contributed largely to the excitement of the public feelings: it was one of those causes, which, acting in unison with the Ministry, had ably and largely contributed to that state of the public mind which all in common joined in deprecating. An attempt had been made, by the terrorism of the Press, to carry the measure of Reform against the wishes of those who had always been attached to the Constitution. That attempt was manifest to all who had witnessed the manner in which the Press had endeavoured to excite the Radical Reformers against every member of the Conservative party. To what limits Ministers intended to let the Press go before they arrested it in its progress, Gentlemen on his side of the House could not know; but this he would maintain, that at no period in the history of either England or France, or the Roman empire, or, indeed, in the history of any State, either ancient or modern, which had ever laboured under a censorship, had there been exercised such a tyranny over men's minds, as was now exercised under the Radical, and Polignac, and tyrannical Press of England. The noble Lord had assumed the proposition that the existence of nomination boroughs was incompatible with the popular feelings, and had said, that all those who admitted the necessity for Parliamentary Reform, concurred in the opinion that such a change in the Representative system as the destruction of these boroughs, must be conceded forthwith, and that nothing less would satisfy the public mind. How the noble Lord could demonstrate this he knew not, and therefore all he should say upon the subject would be, that he did not believe such to be the fact. He would now call the attention of the House to the calculations of the noble Lord, by which he endeavoured to explain to them the number of persons who would be entitled to vote in each of the new boroughs. The noble Lord said, that in those new boroughs only one-third of the adult male population would have the right to vote. These voters had been called an aristocracy of shopkeepers—a term which had gained great currency, and which expressed in apt terms the sentiment which was generally entertained. A third of the adult male population in these boroughs were to vote, and they were to be composed of *10l.* householders. So that this Bill, which was to be at once final and satisfactory to the people at large, came to this—that every man who had not a *10l.* house had no vote. He stated this as a problem, and asserted, that the popular feeling would be more irritated and less gained by the establishment of this exclusive right of voting than it was by the present system of franchise. He asserted that this new right of suffrage was a nomination, which would be far more odious to the public feelings than any nomination which the country knew at present. He contended that the new caste, which this Bill would create in the country, was not compatible with the march of the age. In the religion of Brahma it was a strict rule, that no man should pass from one caste to another, and that a man whose father was of one profession could not migrate into any other. But was such a rule to be introduced now, in the 19th century, into so enlightened a country as Great Britain? This system of Indian castes was not compatible with British feeling, and he was certain that a bill which established it, and which, by establishing it, broke the people into classes and subdivisions hitherto unknown to the British Constitution, and created a local aristocracy of shop-keepers, never would be a favourite with the lieges of this country. But this Bill not content with creating a new right of suffrage, absolutely destroyed the old, for it got rid of the old scot-and-lot right of voting, by introducing, not a plebeian but an aristocratical principle, by which two-thirds of the male population of England were disfranchised. The noble Lord had left completely untouched the objections which had been raised against his plan, of giving so many additional Members to the metropolis and its vicinity. He had slurred those objections over, as if he thought them unworthy of notice, and did not require any answer. As the noble Lord had again alluded to the French Revolution in connexion with this subject, he hoped that he might be permitted to allude to it also. The hon. and learned member for Calne would not allow them to look at foreign history. But the noble Lord had gone to France, and thither he would beg leave to follow him. Let it be recollected, that the Revolution in France was brought to its conclusion by the influence of the elections which took place at Paris. He who, knowing that circumstance, gave eight additional Members to the population of London, must wish to render London as much England, as Paris was said to be France. He would ask the noble Lord a question. When was it that he deemed it fitting to give additional Members to London? In the year 1819 he said nothing of the necessity of having Saffron-hill, with all its delicate Ariels, to vote. If the noble Lord be himself an Ariel, he thought he would not very much approve of canvassing the Sycoraxes of Saffron-hill, of Tower-hill, or of Wapping. There were a few more topics in the noble Lord's speech to which he must now allude. The noble Lord had entered into an enumeration of the number of Members which he had given to the different interests of the country. He had told the House, that as a security for the landed interest, the Bill would give an additional number of Members to the county Representation; and he had further said, that the Representation of the smaller towns would become part of the conservative body, by being generally composed of Gentlemen connected with the landed interest. The noble Lord had alluded to Cromwell's plan of Reform. If the noble Lord were at all acquainted with that plan, he must know that the landed interest had there a proportion of two to one compared with any other. Would the noble Lord give it that proportion at present? The division of counties under the proposed Bill, instead of strengthening, would weaken the landed interest; for, as the inhabitants of boroughs were to be entitled to vote in county elections for the same property which gave them a right of voting in borough elections, there were many counties in which a division of the county must inevitably throw the power of returning the Members of their choice into the hands of the manufacturing towns. The noble Lord, however, persisted in saying, that the landed interest would be benefitted by the Bill. He thought that the noble Lord's calculation was quicker than his facts. He maintained, that a caste of electors, such as this Bill established, would produce a caste of the elected, not indiscriminately returned by a mass of blended electors—some Members would represent the shipping interest, others representing the manufacturing interest, and amongst all these the landed interest would be found in a grievous minority. The preservation of the balance of all the interests of the country in that House was a vital point, on which the harmony and well-being of the whole depended. This was an old constitutional doctrine; but now, like many other constitutional doctrines, it was to be discarded for ever, to make room for new-fangled theories. When he was told, that this Bill would satisfy the country, he could not help asking whom would it satisfy? Would it satisfy the Aristocracy? Certainly not. Would it satisfy the Radical Reformers? Let them hear the answer of the hon. and consistent member for Preston to that question. Would it satisfy the Unions? Would it satisfy the Union of Birmingham? Would it satisfy the Union of Bristol? Would it satisfy the Union of Manchester and other places? The noble Lord had here tripped up the heels of his own theory, for the noble Lord knew that in some of those places an artizan of industry and respectability might live in a room for which he paid, not 10*l.* but 8*l.* a-year. "We have found," said the noble Lord, "a windfall—we have got an *ευρηκα*; we have found out a mathematical formula, which will satisfy the inhabitants of every borough in the country. And what was it? It was not equal employment, it was not equal character, it was not equal education, it was not equal earnings, which entitled these inhabitants to become electors; but if one man lived in East-street, where a house let only for 9*l.*, he has no vote; but if he lived in West-street, where a house of no better quality let for 10*l.*, then he had a vote. Oh, unfortunate East-street! Oh, happy West-street! There it is, that these moral geometricians had found a balm for all the discontent and dissatisfaction of the country. But he would contain himself, otherwise he should have said, a more senseless proposition, a more irrational plan, a more insulting enactment, was never sought to be imposed upon an intelligent and hitherto free community. Then let the House consider who was to settle the value of these 10*l.* houses? Who was to appoint the Surveyors? Were the builders, carpenters, and joiners, who were to value these houses, to be appointed by the Lord Chancellor? Was it necessary that his scanty patronage should be increased, not only by the appointment of the new Judges in Bankruptcy, not only by the appointment of the riding Commissioners—no, he begged pardon, they had got rid of them—not only by the appointment of the Barristers to superintend the registration created by this Bill, but also by the appointment of all the valuations of this 10*l.* franchise? It was a great satisfaction to him to find, that many of the alterations proposed by that side of the House had been adopted: but much as had been said of the change in the 10*l.* qualification, he saw that in principle it was still the same as that in the last Bill. There had now been several editions, he did not know how many, of the Bill, each different from the other, so that he might with justice apply to them the lines of Ovid,

"Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum."

He begged also to call the attention of the House to a matter of dates. The instructions to the State engineer—to the man of science, who was employed to construct a new Constitution, or entirely to remodel the old one—were dated the 24th of November, 1831, only ten days before the meeting of Parliament, so that no longer period was allowed for the formation of the Bill. Instead of postponing the meeting of Parliament until January, the two Houses were required to meet on the 6th December, and within a very few days afterwards was produced that great effort of skill and genius, the new and equally efficient measure of Reform, accompanied by a fasciculus of documents, extending from No. 1. to No. 5; but in which Nos. 3 and 4 were even yet wanting, and which contained, he presumed, a vast mass of this important information unsupplied. The noble Lord had undoubtedly kept his promise of bringing in an equally efficient measure as the last, but when people came to observe the facility with which boroughs were transferred from one schedule to another, they might be apt to compare these rapid changes to something like a game at nine pins, which were set up to be knocked down by children and then set up again. This, although a very pleasant game, ought not to be followed in an affair of such great importance as remodelling the Constitution of the country. He should have felt some surprise at the precipitation of Ministers with the Bill, but for the explanation of the hon. member for Calne, who informed the House, that former Administrations were so slow in respect of Reform, that the present Ministers were obliged to run for it. His hon. and learned friend, the member for Calne, had a style of eloquence so rich and copious, his language was so apposite and forcible, that it was impossible to add any thing to it; but if he (Sir C. Wetherell) were to attempt to improve that part of it which described this race of Ministers towards Reform, he would venture to suggest this addition—that if they had not brought forward this measure of Reform, they must have "cut and run." Undoubtedly they had run for it, and if they had not introduced the Bill, their masters of the Political Unions would have told them that they must cut and run. But in the haste with which their Bill had been concocted, it was found exceedingly defective, and indeed they had been called upon to pronounce upon it before it was ready. The hon. and learned member for Calne had told them, that they should not go to the histories of Florence or of Venice for examples of resistance to public feeling—that they might find it in their own; and he referred them to the period of Charles 1st, in which the Radical party had overturned the government. That was the fact, and he (Sir C. Wetherell) would say, that if this Bill passed, it would have the effect of overturning the government. The hon. and learned Gentleman had told them not to resist excitement, for that resistance to popular excitement had, in the days of Charles 1st, overturned the Church, the Aristocracy, and the Throne; but the hon. Member would permit him to ask, had any circumstances calculated to produce excitement occurred since the accession of the House of Brunswick to the throne of this country, parallel to those of the period of Charles 1st. Was there such a thing as a Star Chamber—had there been any attempt to raise Ship-money? but he would go with the hon. and learned member for Calne to the period of Charles 1st, and if that hon. and learned Member found any thing parallel to the circumstances of the present day, he hoped the hon. Member would learn a lesson of wisdom from it. He would not quote from history, or add any thing from that source to what had been cited by his right hon. friend (Mr. Croker) to shew the feeling of that day against the Aristocracy and the Church. His right hon. friend, in addition to what he had quoted, might have added, that the common term for the Bishops was "malignants," and the Peers were named "individuals." The same cry was set up in the present day. Instead of quoting history, he would quote two lines of a poet—of Butler,—who thus described the cry then raised against the Church: he said,

"When oyster women locked their fish up,
And trudged away to cry 'no bishop.'"

In the same spirit it happened, that at a meeting not long ago, in a place which he would not name, a flag was held up with the figure of a bishop and a mitre—the bishop lying prostrate. Was he surprised at these things? No; they were a very natural consequence of circumstances which had preceded them. He had heard a political prophet in a certain place give, he would not call it a good-natured warning of some such events as had since occurred—but he had certainly given the Bishops a notice to "put their house in order." He believed that in the days of Charles 1st, amongst the malignants, or crops, or Radicals, of that day, there had not been said any thing worse than that of this political prophet, who, when putting forth his balm to soothe the public mind, had given this ominous warning. He gravely told the Bishops to "put their house in order," and in one month from that time the palace of one Bishop was in flames. He did not see the hon. and learned Member—the Ariel of Calne—in his place, or he would remind him of what he had said of the danger of resisting excitement, and ask him, whether he could be surprised at excitement existing in the public mind, when it flowed from a political source from which no drop of excitement ought to issue, from which no spark ought to fall? Talk not to him of excitement amongst the people, if, in the place to which he had alluded, such an expression should have been used: blame not the people; blame not those whose untutored minds were easily influenced—blame them not for excitement, when those by whom they were excited filled such places, and used such language. If any Gentleman opposite should say, "blame not us for excitement, we act in a torrent which we cannot resist, and by which we are borne along," he would answer them by asking, "who had opened the flood-gates through which the torrent poured? He would say to them, "Do not deny the fact, or complain of the excitement which you have raised to carry your own Bill—you made the circumstances which created a necessity for the Bill, and then you meanly skulk under that necessity which you created, to justify your own conduct. The hon. member for Calne had talked of a physical movement being abroad, but who, he would ask, was it that set that physical force in motion? who was it that sought to extort a legislative measure, not by reason, but by intimidation? Several remarks had been made relating to episcopacy, and he did not blame those who were opposed to it, but he thought, that the protection of episcopacy was necessary for the preservation of the national religion. He thought with Pope:—

> "Ev'n in a Bishop I can spy desert;"

and take away the props of religion, religion itself must fall. Reference had been made to the late French Revolution. He begged to ask, whether it was yet finished? the question had, at least, been raised, whether the ancient formula of public worship on the Sabbath should not be abolished. It was a gross error to suppose that the people of this country were not devotedly attached to their religion; and that any attempt to degrade the rank, or assault the property, of the ministers of religion, would not be considered as a personal insult to every Protestant in the country. He did not blame the ignorant man, or the man of impetuous passions, who was hurried on to an erroneous conclusion on these subjects; but he did blame the example set in that quarter from which should come the wish, and the effort, to secure persons and property throughout the country. The very excitement consequent and growing out of such a great change as was contemplated by this Bill, must necessarily tend to create so much fluctuation in trade, that it would be followed by distress to the working classes. It was a folly to tell the people that the Reform Bill would give cheap government, a stimulus to trade, employment to the poor, and every comfort from one end of the kingdom to the other. All this, he contended, was a complete delusion. Look at France; she had her revolution, and her reform, to an extent as great as any Frenchman could wish—she had changed her dynasty, placed a citizen king on the throne, abolished hereditary nobility, and destroyed the right of primogeniture; but had these things produced an enlarged trade, or a greater stimulus to industry, or increased the comforts of the poor? Ask the people of Lyons, and let their conduct be a comment on the delusive hopes held out by the friends of Reform—those *hostes humani generis* who raised those hopes to forward their own political views. He would contend, that all these delusive hopes tended only to aggravate the distress which those who raised them pretended to relieve. He would admit, that Ministers had redeemed their pledge of introducing a Bill equally effective with the last; but when hon. Members opposite took this as complimentary, he wished to explain in what sense he considered it equally effective. Jacobinism was the principle of the late Bill, and Jacobinism was still the principle of the present Bill. When he said Jacobinism was the principle of the Bill, he meant, that principle which superseded all existing privileged classes, which destroyed the balance between the different orders of the State, which constituted a purely and ultra democratic House of Commons—a House of Commons that must trench upon, and ultimately usurp, the independence of the other branch of the Legislature, and which would, therefore, annihilate and sweep away the Constitution, and with it the institutions of the country. The amendments exhibited in the Bill had been spoken of, but he must say, that notwithstanding the alterations it contained, the Government had contrived to transfuse into it, most fully and most successfully, the destructive, radical spirit which pervaded the old Bill. He was not fond of complimenting his political opponents, but he could not resume his seat without offering a compliment to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon the very adroit and ingenious manner in which he had contrived to avoid the arguments adduced in depreciation, or rather utter extinction, of the Bill, by his hon. and learned friend, the member for St. Mawe's, and his right hon. friend, the member for Aldborough. The noble Lord rose to reply to those admirable speeches, and, with the exception of the noble Paymaster of the Forces, was the only Minister who had condescended to essay an answer to the arguments against the measure. The noble Lord's mode of dealing with those speeches was most potent, clever, and adroit. To his hon. and learned friend (Sir Edward Sugden), the noble Lord said, "Oh, your speech is too minute; it goes so much into detail, that it is fit to be answered only in Committee." And to his right hon. friend (Mr. Croker), the noble Lord said, "To your speech I can have nothing to say, for it is by far too general; it travels too much abroad; accustomed to deal with foreign affairs, from having been Secretary to the Admiralty, you cruise too far from home."—So that the noble Lord, from thinking that his hon. and learned friend cruised too much in the chops of the Channel, and his right hon. and learned friend cruised too much on a foreign station, gave no one answer to any of the arguments advanced and sustained in the admirable dissertations which those hon. Members had addressed to the House. That was certainly a clever mode of dismissing opponents, but the example, astute as it was, had not quite been followed by the Paymaster of the Forces. The noble Paymaster had, undoubtedly, attempted to refute some arguments, and to explain some of the many objectionable passages of the Bill, but his attempts had been exceedingly partial, and his success had emulated a similar character. However, what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not done at all, and what the Paymaster of the Forces had very imperfectly effected, might yet be achieved by some other Minister of the Crown; but he asserted, and would maintain, that up to the present time, the principles, and probable consequences, of the Reform Bill, were utterly unexplained, undefended, and unjustified.

Mr. *Stanley* said, that the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Praed) who had that evening informed them that he had been patiently waiting to hear something worthy of an answer, and that he had failed in finding, in the speeches of those who sat on that side of the House, any thing that merited a reply, had yet, after such a pompous introduction, when he attempted to answer one of the most able, brilliant, and convincing speeches that had ever been delivered in that House —when he undertook to reply to the speech of the hon. and learned member for Calne, for at the beginning and at the close of his harangue the name of that hon. Member was to be heard—from his commencement to the end of the observations which he had addressed to the House, partly from himself, and partly from a nameless pamphlet, not a single syllable had he adduced in answer, or in an attempt to answer, the arguments and reasoning of the hon. member for Calne. In rising at that late hour to reply to some observations which had fallen from the late right hon. Secretary to the Admiralty, he should certainly not imitate the example of the hon. and learned Member to whom he had just referred. That hon. and learned Gentleman might, at all events, rest assured, that whatever responsibility devolved upon his Majesty's Ministers for the course which they had pursued, there was one case in which he had done them a great injustice. He begged to assure that hon. and learned Gentleman, on the part of himself, and he believed he might add, on the part of all his colleagues, with the exception perhaps of his noble friend, the Paymaster of the Forces, that the pamphlet to which he had alluded, entitled "Whig Fraud and Popular Friendship," so far from being the tempter, the Satan by whose amusing devices his Majesty's Ministers had been allured into the adoption of the changes which they had made in the Bill, had never reached the eyes of any single one of them. The hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down had paid a somewhat doubtful compliment to his (Mr. Stanley's) noble friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer for not answering what he denominated two of the ablest speeches that had ever been delivered in that House: but such an equivocal compliment—one of those which that hon. Gentleman was in the habit of bestowing —was far better deserved by himself; for throughout his long speech the hon. and learned Gentleman had in no respect replied to the arguments of his noble friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and those who supported the Bill on that side of the House.

In the course of the observations which he was about to address to the House, he should feel it his duty, as he had already intimated, to notice some points in the speech which had been last night delivered by the late right hon. Secretary to the Admiralty—a speech which, however it might be distinguished for eloquent language and powerful declamation, the last compliment that he thought could possibly be paid to it was that bestowed upon it by the hon. and learned member for Boroughbridge—namely, to praise it for its extreme accuracy. In noticing that speech, and some of the arguments which had been urged in it, he should not go into those details which in no way bore upon the question of Reform, and which, nevertheless, took up more than an hour and a quarter out of the two hours and ten minutes that the right hon. gentleman had occupied in his address to the House. That right hon. Gentleman had taken occasion to attack his Majesty's Ministers, in a manner of which they had reason to complain, upon a variety of topics wholly unconnected with the question of Reform. Of the tone and temper of that speech he would say nothing beyond this—that amongst those Political Unions which the right hon. Gentleman had denounced, or of those radical meetings which he had so vehemently condemned,—that in none of those assemblies which he appeared to hold in so much abhorrence, had more vituperative language ever been used than that in which the right hon. Gentleman had himself indulged. With regard to the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, in their endeavour to maintain the peace and tranquillity of the country, if the right hon. Gentleman had any charges to prefer against them upon that score, why did he not bring them manfully forward in that House in the shape of a specific motion of condemnation upon the conduct of his Majesty's Government? or, if the right hon. Gentleman should say that in that House, he could have no chance of obtaining justice from a pledged majority, then he would tell the right hon. Gentleman to call upon some of his noble friends to step forward as their accuser in the other branch of the Legislature. Let the right hon. Gentleman pursue such a course as that, and either in that House, or in the other House of Parliament, have an open and distinct accusation preferred against them, instead of confining himself to secret insinuations and unworthy taunts, which it was not possible to answer or to repel. Let the right hon. Gentleman do that, and in that House, or in any other place, his Majesty's Ministers would be ready to meet his charges with an open and an honest answer. He knew not what right the hon. Gentleman had to arraign the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers in the manner that he had done; still less, what right he had to take upon himself to accuse the Members of that House of being "the tame mutes of a despotic Government"—of a Government which, according to him, besides being despotic, were not their own masters. He would acknowledge, that he never felt a deeper indignation, and that he never had a greater inclination to call upon that right hon. Gentleman to retract the words which he had thus employed, than he felt at the moment when the right hon. Gentleman so slandered the Government to which he was attached.

To turn, however, from the unfounded and uncalled for aspersions to the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman, he would venture to allude to one or two of the topics which he had touched upon. When the right hon. Gentleman had referred in a triumphant manner to the principles of Reform, which had in former years been advocated by his noble friend the Paymaster of the Forces, and had charged his Majesty's Ministers with being the authors of the present excitement, by bringing forward a measure which he described as ruinous to the best interests of the country, and when he asked why they had not pursued the course which that noble Lord had recommended in 1819, his (Mr. Stanley's) answer to that question was, that this was 1831, and not 1819. He would tell him, that had the motion of his noble friend been acceded to in that year, it was probable that by slower means they might have attained, a little later, the objects of the present Bill. Were his Majesty's present Ministers to be taunted with being the authors of the excitement now prevailing throughout the country, because his noble friend (Lord John Russell) had been for the last twelve years struggling to force the question of Reform upon a reluctant Government, the members of which over and over again asserted, that the country cared nothing about Reform; who, so far from being favourable to any degree of Reform, refused to accede to his motion for leave to bring in a bill to give Members to Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham—nay more, who, when that noble Lord moved the resolution about three years ago, that it was expedient that the Representation of the people should be placed upon a more extensive basis, met that proposition with a direct negative? Was it fair, under such circumstances, and after such conduct on the part of the late Government, for the right hon. Gentleman, echoing the sentiments which had been already expressed by the right hon. Baronet, the member for Tamworth, to lay at the door of his Majesty's present Ministers the excitement that existed throughout the country? What! were they to be charged with that excitement? Were they to be taunted with the state of the country? Were they to be told that the metropolis was not safe? What! were such charges to be preferred against them, when hardly one year had gone by since that fatal declaration came forth from the head of the King's Government, that all the people's hope should be met, not by any delusive gratification, but by one decided negative, and that they should have no Reform? Did that declaration produce no excitement? Was not a state of things then produced so alarming, that his Majesty was told by the first Minister of the Crown, that he durst not trust his person in the city of London? Were his Majesty's present Ministers to be taunted with having caused that excitement? Were they to be told that, forsooth, they had disturbed the tranquillity of the metropolis of the country? Well, then, suppose the hon. Gentlemen opposite, who, whether they would give any Reform, or a little Reform, or no Reform, it was impossible to foretell from their declarations—suppose they should succeed in throwing out this Bill, and in overturning the Government, he would ask them boldly, what were they prepared to do? Were they prepared with a measure of Reform themselves, or would they abide by the negative? Let the country understand their answer to that question, let the country know it, and let them have the benefit of it, whatever that might be. Did they mean to say that there should be no Reform now? Why, the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just addressed the House, had that night admitted, that he began to see reason for some Reform. He really felt for his hon. and consistent friend the member for the University of Oxford, whose horror he well remembered witnessing when he heard, in another place, the head of the Church of England admit, that some Reform might be necessary. That was the "unkindest cut of all," and coming too from a Prelate—nay, from an Archbishop. He really felt, he repeated, for his hon. and consistent friend, but what must now be his sensations of horror and astonishment at finding his hon. and learned friend beside him turning round upon him with the timid and—in his eyes—most dangerous admission, that there might be some change necessary? He greatly pitied the distressing situation of the hon. Baronet, thus abandoned and left alone in his desperate fidelity to the cause of Anti-reform. He would ask the hon. Gentlemen opposite, would they give no Reform, or were they ready to play over again the game which they had played before on another great question, and after having continued to fight against this measure to the last, were they ready to take the places of those whom, should they succeed in defeating in that measure, they expected to be called upon to supersede, and would they then adopt it to the full extent? Let the country know whether they were prepared to do that? But he would tell them, that if they did so, and if they even carried their measure to the full extent of the present one, neither they nor their measure would obtain or deserve the confidence of the country.

But his Majesty's Ministers were told by their opponents, that instead of proposing the present measure of Reform, they should have proceeded gradually, and have given Members to the large towns by disfranchising such boroughs as should be proved to be corrupt and delinquent. If they had proceeded in that way, it was possible that, somewhere about the year 1890, Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester would have had Representatives bestowed upon them. It might be that some years ago a gradual Reform of that description might, at least for the time, have satisfied the public, but it was not a Reform suited to the present period; and if his Majesty's Ministers had brought in a Bill less extensive than the present one, they might have conciliated some of their present opponents, but they would not have obtained for such a measure the support of the country.

The Ministers were also told, that they had not explained the principle of this Bill. They had not gone, it was true, into that question largely now, because they did not consider it necessary to do so, and notwithstanding the complaint of the hon. and learned member for Boroughbridge on that point, he should not go at large into the principle of the Bill; because he considered that that had been fully determined already by two votes of that House in separate Sessions of Parliament, and by the opinion of the country, and because he looked upon the general question as settled beyond all discussion—nay, to the loathing of discussion—that "a Reform of Parliament the Commons of England would and must have." The hon. and learned Gentleman has said, that the present Bill was of the same family as the former one, though they were not completely alike, applying to them the lines of Ovid—

"Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen qualem debet esse sororum ;"

but of them he begged to say,

"Matre pùlchrâ filia pulchrior."

Whatever alterations had been made in the Bill, were improvements in accordance with the general principle of the late Bill. It was curious to observe the various objections which were urged against the details of the present Bill. Some hon. Members complained that it was more democratic than the last Bill, while others said that it was just the same. The fact was, that Ministers had introduced some alterations into the Bill in order to meet the objections which had been made to some of the details in the former Bill, but in no respect had they deviated from the great leading principle and the important features of that Bill. The extent of disfranchisement in schedule A was still the same; for though they had made some alterations with regard to the boroughs in that schedule, they had carefully maintained the principle of the former Bill, by swelling that schedule, through the substitution of other boroughs, precisely to the same extent. Then as to the principle of enfranchisement; the enfranchisement of great towns was carried to a greater extent, and the 10*l.* franchise remained inviolable. They were now told, that they had taken no intelligible rule to guide them as to the disfranchisement of the boroughs in schedule A. It had been over and over again imputed to them in the discussion on the late Bill, that in their choice of the boroughs to be disfranchised they had been influenced by private motives, looking to individual interests. In the present instance they had been exposed to a different attack. They had been charged with producing at the meeting of Parliament the papers that were to be laid before the House, and that they were not then prepared to say what number of boroughs were to be disfranchised according to the calculations to be founded on those returns. Now that matter stood thus. In the former Bill, population had been taken on the readiest and the best test for ascertaining the relative importance of boroughs. It having, however, been objected to that test, and with some degree of reason, that it was an insufficient one, and that it introduced a principle which it would be dangerous to follow up to its full extent, they abandoned that test, and they adopted a different test, and a different census, which were not liable to the same objections, to guide them in the disfranchisement of the boroughs in schedule A. Now, what was the result of the application of the new test of combined rateage and population ?—that fifty-one out of the fifty-six boroughs formerly in schedule A were still there, and notwithstanding all that had been said last Session as to the injustice done to Saltash, that borough, tried by the combined tests of the population in 1831, the taxes which it paid, and the number of 10*l.* houses in it, was still found worthy of a place in schedule A.

There was another objection which they had endeavoured to remedy in this Bill, without departing from the principle of the measure. It had been said, with regard to schedule B in the former Bill, that it was not desirable to extend the principle of single Representation, and objections had been also taken to the reduction of the number of Members in that House. Now what did Ministers do? So far as it was necessary to enfranchise the great towns and populous districts, they yielded to that objection, and they filled up the numbers of the House, so as to maintain a fair balance between the boroughs in schedule B, and the towns to be enfranchised; thus meeting the objection as to single Representation, and doing away with it in twenty-two places. As to the 10*l.* franchise, that was not the time for discussing it, as it would be more conveniently and fitly discussed in the Committee; but he would say this of it, that of all the parts of the Bill which had been altered, it had been most improved. It extended in its present shape, as far as it could be extended consistent with the safety of the country, the right of Representation to the lowest class of property; and, without going as far as the hon. member for Westminster, who maintained that it was the natural right of all to be represented, he (Mr. Stanley) would say, that it was the duty of every Representative government to extend the right of Representation to as low a scale of property as would be consistent with the safety of the State. The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite said, that this part of the Bill would not satisfy the Unions in Birmingham and Leeds; and he made the statement, he said, upon information which he had received. He (Mr. Stanley) would like to know whence the hon. and learned

Gentleman had derived his information? [Sir *Charles Wetherell:* From correspondents.] Oh! no doubt the hon. and learned Gentleman's correspondents at Boroughbridge would be exceedingly dissatisfied with it. The objections which had been urged by hon. Gentlemen opposite to this part of the Bill were so different, and so self-contradictory, that he did not well know what arguments to employ in refuting them. It had been described by one as a 10*l.* aristocracy—by another, as an oligarchy of shopkeepers—by a third it had been characterised as an unrestrained democracy—while a fourth said that it led at once to Universal Suffrage; and the crowning climax of the whole was, the objection taken to it by the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just spoken, and who had said that it was a system of nomination. Good God! a system of nomination, in which every man holding a 10*l.* house was to have a vote! A system of nomination on the one hand, and universal suffrage on the other! Such were the characteristics, according to hon. Gentlemen opposite, of the 10*l.* franchise. Was it possible for absurdity to go further? In fact, in their arguments against this clause, hon. Members opposite had fallen quite foul of each other, until it came to the hon. and learned Gentleman's turn, and he must say that he had fallen foul of himself.

The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Croker), in his speech last night, adverting to the haste in which he said this Bill had been brought in, said, that it required but ten days to frame the British Constitution. Now the real fact was, that the whole of the information on which they were to act having been obtained by the Government, and the tables of returns being before them, ten days were considered sufficient to be given to Lieutenant Drummond to cast up the tables and to make those numerical calculations, upon which the principle of the clause disfranchising the boroughs would entirely depend. So much for that point of the right hon. Gentleman's speech.

"The late right hon. Secretary to the Admiralty," continued the right hon. Gentleman, "in his attempt to refute the convincing arguments of my hon. and learned friend, the member for Calne, had, from the beginning to the end of his speech, misrepresented and misquoted history, and travelled through a variety of things to which it was impossible at the moment to give an extempore answer. In the course of his extraordinary misrepresentation of the history of the country, he has given us events for causes, and causes for events, and the fact is, that that which he has described as the consequence has actually preceded what he has represented as the cause. He appealed, in a tone of no moderate triumph and exultation, to the period of 1640, and he said, 'Look to what the first instance of concession led to then, when Charles 1st for the first time yielded to the wishes of his Parliament—when he offered them for the first time triennial Parliaments, which was the first step in that bloody progress of Reform which was in the next year followed by the impeachment of Strafford, and by the assembling of that Parliament to which the name of the Long Parliament was given.' Now I must say, that from a Gentleman who has examined Hume on this subject—and the right hon. Gentleman took care to tell us that he had done so—from one who had come down to this House to answer the hon. and learned member for Calne, with his quotations ready and his facts extracted—from one that had done that, I must say, that a more singular instance of a misrepresentation of history has never been heard in this House; and when I add to that, that the whole of the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman were founded on facts so quoted and so misrepresented, I should feel myself inexcusable if I did not, even at this late hour, advert to them. Does not the right hon. Gentleman know, or knowing does he not shrink from stating it, that when, in 1640, Charles called his Parliament, it was the first meeting of a Parliament for eleven years, the longest period that has occurred in British history without Parliament having been assembled, during which time that monarch had violated the fundamental laws of the country, by creating oppressive monopolies in defiance of Acts of Parliament —by levying Stamp-duties and Ship-money —by carrying further than ever they had been stretched in any former reign the high prerogatives of the Crown, and, as the hon. member for Calne had truly said, by thinking that a prince of the House of Stuart ought to act like a prince of the House of Tudor? At length, when he endeavoured to force episcopacy upon Scotland —when he had ruined the finances of the country—when extortion could go no further—when he found himself baffled in all his schemes by the spirit of that people whom he could no longer oppress, and when he had reduced his Exchequer to beggary, as a last resource he was compelled to call together that Parliament which he had for so many years endeavoured to dispense with, and which he had trampled upon and spurned, while ever he had the power to do so. When he called them together——for obliged to call them together he was—what did he do? He made lavish use of soft words and vague professions; but they knew him too well to put any trust in him. When they spoke of grievances to be redressed, he spoke only of subsidies to be supplied! and when they properly refused them, without better security than promises the insincerity of which they were convinced of, he had recourse to a prompt and abrupt dissolution, and thus added wanton insult to continued injury. He was soon again compelled to call them together; again he thought to temporize, and again he met the same resistance; and his tyranny ended, as I hope tyranny ever will end—in base, and timid, and degrading concession." This was the Long Parliament, and it was this—not the first short Parliament, as the right hon. Gentleman wished the House to believe—that passed the Triennial Act; and the right hon. Gentleman, in showing how exact his parallel was, had read an extract to show how these concessions had been made, and with what spirit on the part of the King.

But the right hon. Gentleman omitted the passage in Hume which immediately preceded his extract, and which was in these words—"During long intermissions of Parliament, grievances and abuses, as was found by recent experience, would naturally creep in; and it would even become necessary for the King and Council to exert a great discretionary authority, and by Acts of State to supply, in every emergence, the legislative power, whose meeting was so uncertain and precarious." Then the right hon. Gentleman had gone on to show what Charles had conceded, and what had afterwards become so fatal. But how did he follow this up? By reading a passage from another bill which did not pass till twelve or thirteen months later. But then the right hon. Gentleman had also said, that this Bill had met with great opposition from the Lords, who considered it as violating and trampling on their privileges. What, however, was the fact? and what had both Hume and Clarendon said upon it? Why, "that the Bill passed rapidly through both Houses, but had met with difficulties on the part of the King"—difficulties, no doubt, easily to be explained by the doctrines of the right hon. Gentleman. It was true that as time went on, when the people found oppressions multiplied, and that their Monarch was only cajoling them, while all the wrongs they complained of were still continued, then true it was, that the House of Commons had broken out into excesses which no man could justify, and which God forbid should ever be renewed. But when was that? Not until the King had intrigued and procured the army to subscribe a declaration that they would come and protect him; that they would guard him against the Parliament—that is, that they would overawe that House; and not, too, until five Members of the House had been actually seized: nay, more, until the rights and privileges of the House had been grossly violated by the King himself. When these things had been done, could any one wonder at what had afterwards occurred? He was of opinion that nobody could be surprised at what took place, and whenever the Monarch ceased to respect the privileges, and dared to violate the sanctity, of the House of Commons, was there any man in England who could suppose that the prerogatives of the Crown would not be attacked?

Now for the completion of the right hon. Gentleman's parallel. There was one passage which he wished to trouble the House with, before he concluded with the marvellous exposition of our history, given by the right hon. Gentleman. The parallel of the right hon. Gentleman, which was about as flattering as that which he drew between the state of this country and that of France, when he had said the people possessed a free Constitution, a liberal and Reforming Ministry, adding, with a sneer, a patriot King. He did not know what the right hon. Gentleman might mean by this, but it was just as true as the comparison he had attempted to draw between the state of things and the feelings of the people in 1640, and what was passing in the present times; but whatever the right hon. Gentleman might have meant, he had clearly shown that it was the same with inaccurate reading as with a little learning—a dangerous thing. But why, he would ask, were we to have parallels if not for the purpose of natural and rational deductions, and where was the use of reading were it only to be directed to institute parallels, which must be incorrect if not made between periods somewhat similar? If such were the object, then they ought not to be confined to the period between 1640 and

1645 alone; but if an exact comparison was desired, it should have been taken from 1627 to 1640, and then compare that period, and the events growing out of it, with the delay that had taken place between 1819 and 1831; and what was the deduction to be drawn from the history of this country upon these points? That the concessions which time, and reason, and justice, and the progress of the spirit of the age required, ought to have been granted, for although they might have been violations of the supposed prerogatives of the Crown, they were also the best securities for the liberty of the subject, and the happiness of the people. At the period to which he referred for an example, the Monarch endeavoured to crush the rights of the people. His concessions had only been forced from him by the iron hand of necessity; and when he had been compelled to concede, it was by basely truckling to the power he had in vain endeavoured to destroy. The passage he was about to read was one which, although unwilling longer to trespass on the House, he felt it necessary to detain them with, inasmuch as it bore out the deduction he drew from his reading—namely, that there was great danger in delay, and much wisdom in timely concession. After the dissolution of the first Parliament, and when the King had been again obliged to summon a new one, Clarendon said, "There was observed a marvellous change in the countenance of many of the Members since they before met together in the House; the same men who, six months before, were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, without opening the wound too wide, and exposing it to the air, and rather to cure what was amiss, than too strictly to make inquisition into the causes and original of the malady, talked now in another dialect, both of things and persons, and said, that they must now be of another temper than they were the last Parliament; that they must not only sweep the House clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul House hereafter." A lesson this, which we in our days might read if we chose to profit by that which had been written for our learning. There was no man, whatever his opinion of the danger to result from this Bill might be, who would say that this danger was one which would not be aggravated much by a delay of one, two, or three years, and that it would be possible to carry on the Government, persevering in that delay, without using compulsion, which no reasonable Administration would venture to employ. He thought that his hon. and learned friend (the member for Calne) had been hardly treated by the right hon. Gentleman, who had condemned him for making use of the argument, no less eloquent than true, that as society went on, and the march of intelligence proceeded, and excelled that of centuries gone by, so governments must conform themselves to the times in which they lived; and that the temper of these times, and the wishes of the people, rich, intelligent, and active as they were, were not to be considered as the movements of an engine which they could stop. He was, however, far from saying that this machine was one which moved with resistless force, and that those who were to guide it must yield to its onward motion, or be carried away with it. But what did the right hon. Gentleman say? That they who wished to forward this machine were only the creatures of the mob, hurried forward by a force which they could not resist, and of which they were but the passive instruments. He utterly denied the fact, while he, at the same time, could not agree that the passions of the mob were the proper criterion of either principle or necessity. His hon. and learned friend (Mr. Macaulay) had truly said, that it would be as dangerous for the House of Hanover now to govern on the principles of the first of their line, as it was for Charles 1st to suppose that the men of the age in which he lived, were to be swayed by the same rules of action and of thought which had prevailed in the days of the House of Tudor. He agreed in the assertion, for the change of times made all the difference, and, "God forbid," said the right hon. Gentleman, "that we should not have sufficient prudence to go forward, not with the mob, but with the country; to remedy evils and complaints which, as they are not to be suppressed, and cannot be concealed, so must they finally prevail. For who is there of opinion that a change is not demanded? Who is there that can doubt but that delay must be dangerous? Who is there that does not clearly see that we have now the option, whether this change, so necessary, and so demanded, shall be effected in a peaceful and quiet state, or whether it shall occur amid scenes which I shall not venture to depict, and which God forbid any one here should ever live to witness."

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that at that late hour of the night, and in that stage of the debate, when so short a time was left for discussion, unless that discussion were (contrary to the usual practice) protracted into the morning of Sunday, he should have desired at once to address himself to those arguments in favour of this measure which remained unanswered, without referring to any matters of a private or personal nature. But the speech of the learned member for Calne—who, for the fourth time, had thought it desirable to introduce topics unconnected with the merits of the question, and who had addressed himself in a manner purely personal to him—compelled him to adopt a different course; for he should be unworthy of the situation which he held in that House, if he permitted the debate to close without reference to those topics. He thought, that the learned Gentleman, having already, in the three speeches he had made in favour of Reform, taunted him on the subject of the Catholic Question, might have left that subject at rest. But the learned Gentleman again returned to the charge, bursting with all the "sweltering venom" which had been collecting during the days and nights that had passed since the last attack.

The hon. Member had charged him with having been guilty of ingratitude towards the present Ministry in the course he had been pursuing. The hon. Gentleman said, "When you proposed the Catholic Question, they who had before brought it forward, handsomely gave you their cordial support; and when they bring forward the Reform Bill, why do not you return the compliment, and support Reform?" What exalted notions of public duty the learned Gentleman must have! He makes it a matter of courtesy and civility; a sort of interchange of compliments. But the learned Gentleman overlooked the essential difference in the two cases. The Gentlemen opposite supported the Roman Catholic Relief Bill when brought forward by him (Sir R. Peel) because they had always supported it. Had he supported Reform? No, never; and yet the learned Gentleman contended that he ought to support it now, not from conviction but from gratitude.

The learned Gentleman's charge amounted to a charge of gross and corrupt apostacy. He accused him (Sir R. Peel) of having brought forward, first, the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and secondly, the Roman Catholic Relief Bill—not from a sense of public duty, but from the mere love of the power or emoluments of office, and the desire to appropriate to himself the credit which was due to others. He had long been silent under these charges—in the first place, because he did not think that the time had come when he could properly make the necessary disclosures, and in the second place, because he was conscious of having acted from pure motives, and because he felt assured that the time must come when those motives would be justly appreciated.

Now to begin with the first of these charges. He met it with a positive denial of the fact. He had not undertaken, as a Minister, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. As a Minister of the Crown he had opposed it, and he was beaten. When the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell) had brought forward the question, the Ministers had been left in a minority, and having been so left, he had not made any attempt to deprive the noble Lord of the honour due to his success; but convinced, after what had occurred, that something must be done towards the settlement of the question, he had privately and unostentatiously laboured all in his power to effect an amicable settlement. "But," said the hon. and learned Gentleman, "why, having opposed this while in office, did you not resign when you found your opposition unavailing?" The hon. Member, with his usual discretion, seemed to wield a two-edged sword, which equally wounded friends and foes. Was it a matter of inevitable necessity that Ministers should resign when they could not carry into effect a measure to which they were favourable? If it was so, then why did not the present Ministers resign when the House of Lords rejected the Reform Bill? He made no charge against them for not resigning; on the contrary, he contended, that it was not fair to infer improper conduct, because Ministers did not at once resign when they were defeated in their attempt to oppose or to carry a particular measure.

What were the circumstances under which he, having failed in his opposition to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, continued in office? On the 9th of January, 1828, he was called on to form part of the Ministry. There had been three recent changes of the Government; the last, the Administration of Lord Goderich, having existed eight weeks only. There were three parties in the State; the Tories, the Whigs, and the friends of Mr. Canning. In the government of Lord

Goderich, two of these parties had been united, and yet that Government came to an untimely end, from its own intrinsic weakness, before a blow was struck—before even Parliament was assembled. In the month of January, the Duke of Wellington was called on to form an Administration. The Duke and himself were obliged to postpone the meeting of Parliament till the 29th of January, and on the 26th of February, one month after his noble friend and he had taken office, the noble Lord (Lord John Russell) brought the subject of the Test and Corporation Acts forward, and Ministers were beaten on the question. Was there any Gentleman who would have had them abandon the King, one month after a signal proof that no other party, nay, no combination of other parties, could make a permanent, or even a decent Government? This he considered a sufficient answer to the charge that, having failed in resisting a certain measure, he had not forthwith resigned office.

He now came to the heavier charge, to that connected with the Catholic Question. For several years he had taken an active part in resisting concession to the Roman Catholics. He had taken that part from a serious doubt, whether, viewing the state of property in Ireland—the state of the Protestant Church—the state of society in a country wherein the religion of the great majority was not, and could not be, the established religion of that country, the concession of equal political power to the Roman Catholics would extinguish its religious discord, and lay the foundation of ultimate repose. But a combination of circumstances had concurred to convince him that exclusion was no longer maintainable—that there was greater risk to the peace of Ireland, and to the security of the Protestant establishment and Protestant interests, in attempting to prolong that exclusion, than in the removal of every existing disability under which the Roman Catholic laboured. When he had declared that his opinions were unchanged on the Catholic Question, what did he mean? Simply this—that his apprehension of the consequences of concession—his fears that it would not produce satisfaction and harmony, remained the same; but still there was a certain, and impending evil, which could only be averted by incurring the remoter hazards of concession, an evil which would, after desolating Ireland, leave the question of concession where it found it, or rather, with a diminished prospect of any satisfactory settlement.

Into some of the reasons for entertaining these opinions he could not then enter; but the events of the Clare election shewed that matters could no longer rest where they then were—that there must be either a settlement of the Catholic Question, or the elective franchise must be modified. But in a House of Commons recently elected, the Roman Catholics had an actual majority. There was, in truth, so large a mass of Protestant influence, and Protestant opinion ranged on the side of the Roman Catholics, encouraging their vehemence, and defeating the efforts to restrain it, that further opposition to a settlement of the Catholic Question became, in his opinion, equally mischievous and impracticable. With that opinion, what course was he bound to pursue? Was it his duty to consult his own personal interests, to maintain his own personal consistency, by continuing and encouraging resistance—or to say, as he had said, to the King of whom he was the Minister—"On the balance of public evils there is, in my opinion, less of hazard in concession than in continued and fruitless resistance, and therefore I advise concession?" — The Question, so far as any charge could be justly preferred against him, was this. In giving that advice to the King, was he influenced, as the learned Gentleman insinuated, by any desire of office, any wish to usurp honour or credit due to others, or by any base and interested motive of any kind?

He trusted he should be able now to vindicate himself for all time to come from any charge, or any suspicion, on that head.

After the discussions in the two Houses of Parliament on the Catholic Question, in the Session of 1828—frequent communication took place between himself and the Duke of Wellington respecting the position of that Question—and each of them had come to the conclusion, that it could not safely be left in the position in which it had stood for so many years—the members of the King's Government having no opinion in common upon it, and the two Houses of Parliament coming to opposite decisions.

He left town shortly after the close of the Session, and the communication to which he referred was continued with the Duke of Wellington, in a confidential and most unreserved correspondence, from which he should quote those passages which would explain his own personal views and wishes in regard to the mode of settling the Catholic Question. In the Month of August, 1828, he wrote a letter to the Duke of Wellington, which, after entering fully into the general policy of attempting a final adjustment of the Question, proceeds in these terms:—

'I have thus written to you without reserve upon the first, and great Question of all; the policy of seriously considering this long-agitated question, with a view to its adjustment. I have proved to you, I trust, that no false delicacy in respect to past declarations of opinion—no fear of the imputation of inconsistency will prevent me from taking that part, which present dangers, and a new position of affairs, may require. I am ready, at the hazard of any sacrifice, to maintain the opinions which I now deliberately give—that there is upon the whole less of evil in making a decided effort to settle the Catholic Question than in leaving it as it has been left—an open Question, the Government being undecided with respect to it, and paralyzed in consequence of that indecision upon many occasions peculiarly requiring promptitude and energy of action.

'I must at the same time express a very strong opinion that it would not conduce to the satisfactory adjustment of the Question, that the charge of it in the House of Commons should be committed to my hands.

'I put all personal feelings out of the question. They are, or ought to be, very subordinate considerations in matters of such moment, and I give the best proof that I disregard them, by avowing that I am quite ready to commit myself to the support of the principle of a measure of ample Concession and Relief, and to use every effort to promote the final arrangement of it.

'But my support will be more useful, if I give it with the cordiality with which it shall be given, out of office. Any authority which I may possess, as tending to reconcile the Protestants to the measure, would be increased by my retirement. I have been too deeply committed on the Question—have expressed too strong opinions in respect to it—too much jealousy and distrust of the Roman Catholics—too much apprehension as to the immediate and remote consequences of yielding to their claims—to make it advantageous to the King's service that I should be the individual to originate the measure.'

The letter from which he was quoting concludes thus: 'Consider these things well. If the question is to be taken up, there is clearly no safe alternative but the settlement of it. Every consideration of private feelings and individual interests must be disregarded.

'From a strong sense of what is best for the success of the measure, I relieve you from all difficulties with respect to myself. I do not merely volunteer my retirement at whatever may be the most convenient time—I do not merely give you the promise, that I will, out of office (be the sacrifices that I foresee, private and public, what they may) cordially co-operate with you in the settlement of this question, and cordially support your Government; but I add to this, my decided and deliberate opinion—that it will tend to the satisfactory adjustment of the Question, if the originating of it in the House of Commons, and the general superintendence of its progress, be committed to other hands than mine.'

He trusted that he had thus shewn, that, when he originally concurred in the course which was afterwards adopted, he had not been swayed by any considerations but those of public duty. He remained until the month of January, 1829, retaining a decided opinion that the Government ought to bring forward the Roman Catholic Relief Bill without delay, but in the earnest hope and belief, that his support to that measure would be given by him in a private capacity. But in the course of that month it was proved to him to demonstration, that his retirement from office would aggravate the difficulties with which the Duke of Wellington had already to contend to such a degree as to make them insuperable. He had, therefore, written to the Duke of Wellington a letter, which bore date the 12th January. He repeated, in that letter, that his retirement from office was the only step which he could take which would be at all satisfactory to his own feelings; he deprecated, in the most earnest manner, the necessity that he should be the person to bring forward the Question in the House of Commons; but he concluded that letter by the following declaration:—'But I will have no reserve with you. I know all the difficulties of your situation. I know how those difficulties have been recently increased, as well by the communications which have taken place with the Bishops, as by the necessary recall of Lord Anglesey.

'You will do justice to the motives of

'the declaration which I am about to 'make, and you will take no advantage of 'it unless it be absolutely necessary.

'If my retirement should prove, in your 'opinion, after the communications which 'you may have with the King, and with 'those whom it may be necessary for you 'to consult—an insuperable obstacle to the 'adoption of the course which I believe 'to be unavoidable; in that case you shall 'command every service that I can render 'in any capacity.'

On this letter of the 12th January he found the following endorsement, written at the time:—'When I wrote this letter, 'the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop 'of London, and the Bishop of Durham, had 'had an interview with the Duke of Wellington, and had declared to him that they 'were finally resolved to give their decided 'opposition to the proposed measure for the 'relief of the Roman Catholics.'*

The circumstance referred to in that memorandum, and the earnest appeal made to him by the King, not to shrink from proposing a measure which, as a Minister, he advised the King to adopt, left him no alternative, consistent with honour and public duty, but to make the bitter sacrifice of every personal feeling, and himself to originate the measure of Roman Catholic Relief. Could he, when the King thus appealed to him, when the King referred to his own scruples—to his own uniform opposition to the measure in question—When he said, "You advise this measure—you see no escape from it—you ask me to make the sacrifice of opinion and of consistency—will you not make the same sacrifice," what answer could he return to his sovereign but the one he did return, viz. that he would make that sacrifice, and would bear his full share of the responsibility and unpopularity of the measure he advised? So much for the part he had taken on the Catholic Question, and the motives by which he had been swayed.

While he totally abjured the doctrine of the learned Gentleman, that he was bound to support Reform because the advocates of Reform had supported the Catholic Question, he would never retract the opinions he had expressed with regard to those who, being politically opposed to him, had supported most zealously the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. He must repeat now what he had before said, that the conduct of those Gentlemen who had given him their support on the Catholic Question, was dictated by the purest and most honourable motives, and entitled that party to his respect and gratitude. He said so at the time; but did the hon. and learned Member, therefore, think that with "bated breath and whispering humbleness," he should shrink from offering opposition to this Bill? Was he not at liberty boldly to say, that he thought the King's Ministers were in error, if he thought them so? If he considered he was disqualified from taking the most decided part on Reform, he would abdicate his functions, and not stand there to offer weak opposition to the measure. He would assert, however, that he was at liberty to offer this opposition, and without any compromise of principle, or rendering himself liable to any charge of ingratitude or inconsistency, to resist to the utmost of his power the extensive measure of Reform proposed by the Ministers.

A great part of the speech of the hon. Gentleman turned upon the question, not whether this measure was for the permanent advantage of the country, but who were the parties that caused the present excitement. The assumption was, that to the pressure of external force we must give way, and that we had no alternative but that of satisfying the craving of the people. The hon. Gentleman had said, "How is it that we can have eyes and not see, ears and not hear, legs and not walk; how is it that all our senses do not convince us that Reform must be conceded?" Would he ask the same question of the Marquis of Lansdown, who had eyes, and ears, and legs; but who had neither seen, nor heard, nor walked, having for years opposed Parliamentary Reform? The hon. Gentleman was very severe on all doubt and indecision in matters of public concern. How was it then that the hon. and learned Gentleman was himself still undecided on that important point, the ballot? How did it happen that, like a certain animal (to which he meant by no means to compare him) between two bundles of hay, the hon. and learned Gentleman remained still balancing, and unable to decide, between two series of arguments? He had been accused of obstinately resisting the popular demand for Reform, and he felt that from many, the majority, of the members of the present Reform Government, such an accusation fell with a particularly ill grace. Had hon. Members forgotten the events of the year 1827?

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* *The above are faithful copies of the Letters referred to, and are here published correctly for the first time.*—H.

Did they recollect, that in that year the Marquis of Lansdown, Lord Palmerston, and the two Mr. Grants, and other hon. Gentlemen opposite, took office under Mr. Canning?—Mr. Canning, the uncompromising foe of all Reform; and who emphatically declared in that House (and that, too, be it remembered, after these noble and right hon. Gentlemen had joined his Administration), that he would oppose Reform to the last hour of his life. Perhaps it might be said, that though these were Mr. Canning's personal feelings with respect to this particular question of Reform, it, like the Catholic Question, might be open to every member of the Government to speak and vote as he pleased without affecting its integrity. His noble and right hon. friends had not this resource; for Mr. Stapylton's recent "Life of Mr. Canning" placed the fact beyond doubt, "that Mr. Canning was not only determined to resist Reform himself, but that he would not acquiesce in any member of his Government supporting that question. According to Mr. Stapylton, there was a written record of the principles on which Mr. Canning's Government was formed, in which were these words—"That the inconvenience of having one open question in the Cabinet, made it more necessary to agree that there should be no other; that all the then acting members of the Cabinet were united in opposing the question of Parliamentary Reform, and could not acquiesce in its being brought forward and supported by any member of the Government." Thus it appeared that public men, differing upon other questions—actuated by no dishonourable motives—taking what are supposed to be enlarged and comprehensive views of the interests of this country, did dread the agitation of that question of Parliamentary Reform. Why did he state these facts? Not, be assured, for the purpose of condemning the inconsistency of his noble and right hon. friends, who had joined with Mr. Canning, and were now Reformers, but to inculcate this lesson—that if so recently as 1827 these eminent, noble, and right honourable Gentlemen saw no reason against their joining an Administration pledged to the death against Reform, he, who then as now was opposed to all such schemes of Reform as the present, might see reasons—other than mere party obstinacy—for persisting in the same course in the year 1831. If his noble and right hon. friends shrunk from opening the question in 1827, surely it was not so very remarkable but that he might remain impressed with the same feelings of apprehension a few years longer? Why censure him for not being immediately convinced of the necessity of Reform, when Lord Lansdown and the other members of Mr. Canning's Cabinet—those very persons by whom it was now advocated in both Houses of Parliament—had, up to this time, remained unconvinced? They knew the decided opinions of Mr. Canning upon the question, for in 1827 he refused to transfer the franchise of Grampound to Leeds, and yet he believed that Mr. Tierney was the only member of Mr. Canning's Cabinet who stipulated for liberty to support the question of Reform. The learned Gentleman said, that pertinacious resistance to moderate Reform was the cause and the justification of the present measure. Could he be surprised at resistance to the principle of Reform, however moderate the shape it might first assume? Did he recollect the triumph of the noble Lord, the author of this Bill? Did he recollect his address to the most moderate of all Reformers? Said the noble Lord, "You have conceded the whole principle, when you agreed to transfer the franchise of Grampound to Manchester. How, then, can you stop there? To you who admit the principle, but refuse to go its lengths, I say, in the words of Cromwell, 'the Lord has delivered you into my hands.'" If, then, to make the slightest concession be a "delivering into his hands," what resource had the opponents of extensive Reform, but to oppose the principle altogether? He had been complimented by the learned Gentleman for having, on the first night of this discussion, sung his *palinode*——

Mr. *Macaulay:* I did not mention you; the term was directed to the right hon. ex-secretary of the Admiralty. All that was meant was, that the right hon. Baronet's party took the whole credit to themselves of measures for the improvement of our systems of jurisprudence, commercial laws, and foreign policy, which had been forced on their reluctant conviction by the party now in office.

Sir *Robert Peel:* True, the hon. Gentleman did not mention him by name, but the sarcasm was not the less pointed on account of the omission of the name. In introducing improvements into the commercial jurisprudence of the country, he had never arrogated to himself the praise that belonged to Sir Samuel Romilly; but what was to prevent him from effecting substantial reforms, supposing such reforms though contemplated by others remained unexecuted? The learned Gentleman represented him as having taunted the Government on the evening in which the present Bill was introduced. So far from taunting Ministers with their amendments of some of the details of the Bill, as so many adoptions of the principles advocated on the Opposition side of the House, as so many concessions to the wisdom of their opponents' policy, he stated, that he did not regard the alterations in the light of concessions, for that the essential principles of the measure remained wholly unchanged, and, therefore, equally objectionable. He added, at the same time, that he thought the country was in a better situation now for a deliberate consideration of the Bill than when that of last Session was under their notice—and therefore that the House and the country ought to feel grateful to the House of Lords for that decision, which afforded them an opportunity of reconsidering the fatal consequences of the former Bill. He, for one, heartily rejoiced at that decision. He was confident that it would tend to the permanent advantage of the country. It was necessary to that calmness and deliberation fitting the Legislature, and essential to the satisfactory discussion of the great question at issue, that the excitement which prevailed throughout the country with respect to the Ministerial plan of Reform should abate—that the public mind should be cooled somewhat from the fervour into which it had been artfully thrown—that some short time should be afforded

> ———"requiem spatiumque furori,"

and that opportunity, and that interval, and that *requies*, were furnished them by the decision of the House of Lords. Indeed, no persons should feel better pleased with that decision than Ministers themselves, inasmuch as it had enabled them to lick somewhat into comeliness and grace another bantling of the same family. The right hon. Secretary for Ireland seemed quite enamoured with this new offspring, vaunting much of the symmetry of its features, telling them, in the well known

> "O matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior,"

that the daughter far exceeded in beauty her lovely parent. Without presuming to offer an opinion on the delicate question of female beauty, while he complimented the right hon. Gentleman's gallantry and good taste in embracing the daughter in preference to the mother, he wished he could contemplate with any satisfaction the future progeny of Reform. He wished that it might not prove degenerate in itself, and, in the words of the same Horace,

> ———"mox datura
> Progeniem vitiosiorem."

After what they had heard in the course of this debate, it was but fair to presume, that they should no longer hear this Bill defended on the ground of the Constitution. The noble Paymaster appeared to dissent from this; but had he not himself said that evening, that if it had been his fortune to have lived at the period of the Revolution, he would have voted for the exclusion of Catholics from political power, and also for the maintenance and continuance of the small boroughs? But surely, if these small boroughs were now contrary to the first principles of the Constitution, they were equally so at the time of the Revolution. The noble Lord had, in the course of the Debates, cited that part of the Bill of Rights which declared that "elections should be free." Now, it would not become him to question the historical and constitutional knowledge of the noble Lord; but when he quoted these words as an argument in favour of the present Bill, particularly that part of it which disfranchised the small boroughs, it became necessary to remind the House of the true meaning of the words "elections shall be free," and of the intention with which they were inserted in the Bill of Rights. Those words were introduced into the preamble of the Bill of Rights to meet a particular specific grievance, which had no connexion whatever with small boroughs or the reduced number of electors. The grievance to be redressed was, the direct and repeated interference of James 2nd in the election of Members of Parliament. That monarch was then deeply engaged in his design of restoring the Catholic worship to its pristine supremacy; and, for that purpose, he had issued orders to the several Sheriffs to make out lists of electors and candidates who would vote for the repeal of the Test Act—the barrier against the admission of the Catholics into Parliament and public office. Without entering into a minute history of James's proceedings, he would cite one anecdote in point: it was told by Sir John Reresby, in his *Memoirs*.* It appeared that the King requested the writer to stand for York. "If your

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* Published by Jeffery and Son, Pall Mall.

Majesty so please it," replied Sir John, "I will, but it can only be on one condition." "Name it," "Simply, that your Majesty will so order it that none of the Corporation shall vote but those I may choose." The King gave the order, and Sir John was returned. And it was to meet this, and similar gross violations of corporate rights, that it was declared in the Bill of Rights, that "elections shall be free," evidently showing, that there was not the remotest connexion whatever between that declaration, and the disfranchisement of small boroughs.

One word with respect to what had fallen last night from the hon. member for Calne; if, indeed, it was not something worse than superfluous, to offer any additional observations, after the unanswerable and matchless speech of his right hon. friend (Mr. Croker) beside him. The hon. Member dwelt much on the necessity of the Legislature evincing, what he called an *animus*, for adapting its enactments to the growing wants, and intelligence, and spirit, of the age. He was ready to admit, that if there did not exist an elastic spirit in the Constitution, expanding itself to meet the temper of the times, that there was something imperfect, something that required alteration; and he would further admit, that if the boroughs were made of such iron stuff, that they would not yield to the impression of improvement, that their doom ought to be from that moment sealed. But would any one, after looking at the acts of the Legislature, and of late years in particular, say, that the *animus* of this House lagged behind the improvement of the times? Was it not rather in advance of the spirit of the times in what it did on the Catholic Question, and on that of free trade? In what instance, during the last five years, would the hon. Member point out, that that House had not kept pace with the growing improvement of public opinion? or, if the hon. Gentleman preferred the phrase, with the "spirit of the age?" If the hon. Gentleman could not point out any; it was most unwise to attempt, by precipitate means, and rushing on blindly in the dark, to effect a change which was silently and gradually in operation, and which violent interference on our part could only obstruct and retard. Had hon. Members duly considered the effect of the proposed change in our Constitution, upon our immense colonial possessions? If it were said, that the population of India was of so low a grade of intellect, as not to understand the nature of good government, he thought that was an additional reason for caution in unsettling a dominion which had its foundation in the feelings, in the habits and prejudices connected with established usage, and the prescriptive exercise of authority? Then, to look nearer home, let them consider the effect which their freely and cavalierly destroying the smaller boroughs must inevitably have upon the minds of the people. If there was any feeling which, more than another, should be cherished in this country, it was that of regard—scrupulous regard—for the interests of property, and for the preservation of those political rights which were the birthright of freemen. Was the feeling cherished, by destroying small but honourable boroughs, merely because they were small?—for no effort was made by Ministers, to distinguish merely the small from the nomination boroughs, though the distinction was as practicable as it was just. It might be very well to say, that the nomination boroughs must be got rid of, but why not destroy the principle of nomination, by extending the constituency, and reserve the elective right to the borough? This was the very course pursued in the case of some boroughs. Take Midhurst for example—the mound Midhurst; they had been told, over and over again, that the Representation of that place belonged to a hole in a wall; but, after all, that very hole in the wall was to retain its right. It was true that the constituency was enlarged, and why not apply the same principle to other boroughs, at least equally admitting of its application? The noble Lord confessed that this great and immediate change in the Constitution could not be made without peril, and his noble colleague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, added, if he thought it would have the effect of injuring the landed interests, he would, instead of forwarding the measure, oppose it. This remark of the noble Lord seemed to imply some latent doubt as to its working, but the noble Paymaster had not distinctly described the nature of the peril he anticipated. Was it to be found in the great extension of the franchise? The noble Lord said, that by giving a vote to 10*l.* householders, it would be conferred on a class of persons of intelligence, who could not be easily led astray by those whose interest or whose wish it might be to deceive them—a class of persons who could not be deceived into a belief, as the electors of Preston had been, that the Civil List for the exclusive use of the Sovereign, and for his individual purposes, amounted to 1,000,000*l.* a year. He could not concur with the noble Lord in opinion that 10*l.* householders were a class qualified to draw profound conclusions on the intricate questions of commerce and legislation, or exempt from the bias of party violence, or deaf to the delusions and exaggerations by which they would be assailed. He had been favoured with the copy of a manifesto, addressed by the Walsall Political Union to the new constituency of that embryo borough; and if that manifesto contained the appeals and arguments best suited to their taste and capacity, he could not consent to any compliment paid to them at the expense of the electors of Preston. The House, however, might judge for themselves, for he would read an extract from this document:—"The reign of oppression is nearly at an end; the fiat of the people of England has gone forth, and the decree has been confirmed by our patriot King, that might shall no longer triumph over right. The Bill of Reform must pass; and our future destinies will be placed in the hands of upwards of a million of Englishmen, whose true interests are identically the same with those of the still greater body of their unrepresented fellow-countrymen. You, fellow-townsmen, will have an important trust to perform in the great work of national regeneration. Reform in Parliament will matter little to us, if we do not send men there who will do the business of the people; we entreat—we implore you, then, in the name of our common country, to look well to the character and political principles of the men who may offer themselves as candidates for your suffrage. Do not vote for any man who will not pledge himself to insist upon the most rigid economy in the expenditure of the public money, as well as to vote for the repeal of all taxes which press with peculiar weight upon the poverty and the industry of the nation; especially the iniquitous corn-laws, the assessed taxes, and all acts imposing taxes or restrictions upon the circulation of political knowledge—those odious and oppressive imposts whose only effects are, by inducing ignorance, to lead to the commission of crime, and to hide from the public gaze the open profligacy and the insidious workings of corrupt and tyrannical governments. The abolition of the monopoly of the East-India Company—the instant and utter extinction of that abominable traffic in human flesh and blood, denominated negro-slavery—an earnest endeavour to procure for the honest electors of Great Britain, the protecting shield of the Ballot—and the limitation and duration of Parliaments to a period not exceeding three years—on each and all of these important questions, the man who desires to be your Representative ought to give distinct and positive pledges that he will act in accordance with your opinion and feelings; or, if his own opinion shall come into collision with these, that he should then resign the trust which you shall have delegated to him, and thus afford you an opportunity of choosing some other person whose political opinions shall be more congenial with your own." He did not mean for a moment to question the right of the workmen of Walsall to urge their opinions on these difficult and most complicated questions, nor did he mean to say, that all which they did was not very honestly intended; but what he was afraid of was, that when the country got a popular Parliament, it would jump to conclusions—conclusions that might be right abstractedly, but which, from the great variety of interests they embraced, required the nicest caution and consideration in their management. In the same way with respect to property: he had no fear of its destruction by confiscation; but he was afraid that some popularity-seeking Chancellor of the Exchequer might be forced by a democratic assembly to propose the repeal of taxes, and to adopt steps the ultimate tendency of which would be, to shake the confidence of the country in the security of property; and that confidence once shaken, there would be an end to the chief stimulus to productive industry, the foundation of all our wealth, power, and eminence. Let them look to the present state of France. France, after her glorious revolution—France, relieved from the load of an hereditary peerage, and an established religion—France, with her popular king, whose only occupation it would seem was to run about seeking the *vive le roi* of his enthusiastically devoted subjects. And what was the state of this favoured country, which had so far outstripped us in the race of Reform, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of our Reform Ministers? Let hon. Members, anxious for the solution of the question, read the foreign correspondence of *The Times*, a journal above all exception as a witness in this case, being an advocate for Reform, and distinguished for the ability of its foreign correspondents—what is their account of the state of France in respect to the employment and happiness of the industrious classes, whose especial benefit is to be promoted by Reform—"Every post," says the French correspondent of *The Times*, "brings fresh intelligence to Paris from all those departments where any considerable portion of the inhabitants depend for their support on the prosperity of their trade or commerce, of the extreme state of misery and depression to which they are reduced ; as an instance, you may take that portion of the French territory which is nearest to the shores of England. The towns of Arras, Bethune, and Hesdin, including the whole line of coast from Calais to Etaples, are described to be in a state of privation bordering on famine." This was the condition of a country with a decreasing revenue, a declining commerce, and a daily increasing army. Was it to be inferred from his stating these facts, that he thought that the French were not justified in resisting the illegal exercise of power? No such thing. But he said, that the effect of all such rash and precipitate changes in government was, to suspend commerce, to derange industry, to put a stop to credit, and injure almost to death the manufacturing and labouring classes. His object was, to show that any violent change in the constitution of a country, exposed to hazard its dearest interests, and that no such change could be advisable, unless under the pressure of a necessity, the existence of which in this country he utterly denied. "I oppose the Bill," said the right hon. Baronet in conclusion, "not that I expect to be successful here in my opposition, but because I will enter my solemn protest against incurring the responsibility of making one of the greatest and most precipitate changes in a Constitution, which was the very best that ever existed in the annals of history. You should well consider the ultimate effects of the change you are about to accomplish on the three parts of the empire. You are about to disturb those proportions which were settled at the respective periods of the Union, and to add to the already existing causes of discontent and excitement in Ireland, new sources of jealousy and complaint which it is wholly unnecessary to open. It is not in the spirit of hostility, but from the common interest which I take with the Ministers in the welfare of the country, that I implore the Government not to suffer this House to separate for the Recess, without publicly proclaiming the course they mean to pursue with respect to the proportions of Representation for the different parts of the empire, particularly Ireland. If you are determined upon not adding to the number of the Irish Representatives, say so; but if you are not so determined, and feel that you must ultimately concede, I say give way at once, and by doing it graciously and in time, make the merit and favour your own. I offer no opinion on the justice or expediency of the concession, but call upon Ministers to at once avow their intentions. Do you, or do you not, mean to yield to the demands of the Irish Members? I repeat, Sir, my opinions are decidedly opposed to the Bill. I expected that the present Ministers would bring in a Reform Bill on their acceptance of office; but I believe, in my conscience, that the concessions made by them to the popular demands have been far more extensive than was at all necessary. I was not prepared for so extravagant a measure, still less could I have thought that they would have ventured to bring in so large a measure of Reform within three months after they had taken office, and while the country was yet agitated by the events of the French Revolution. No issue of this discussion can be satisfactory, for, decide as we may, there must be much irreparable evil. I may be obliged to submit by necessity to a plan of Reform which I cannot successfully oppose, but believing, as I do, that the people of this country are grossly deceived, grossly deluded, in their expectations of the practical benefits they will derive from Reform, I shall not be precluded from declaring my opinion, and opposing that Reform as long as I can. My opinions being thus wholly opposed to Ministers on the question of Reform, I am precluded from taking any part whatever in the settlement of the question. I am satisfied with the Constitution under which I have lived hitherto, which I believe is adapted to the wants and habits of the people. I deplore a disposition which seems too prevalent, to innovate unnecessarily upon all the institutions of the country. I admit, that to serve the Sovereign and the public in an office of honour and dignity, is an object of honourable ambition, but I am ready to sacrifice that object, rather than incur the responsibility of advocating measures which, I believe on my conscience, will tend to the destruction of the best interests of the country. I will continue my opposition to the last, believing, as I do, that this is the first step, not directly to revolution, but to a series of changes which will affect the property, and totally change the character of the mixed Constitution of this country. I will oppose it to the last, convinced, that though my opposition will be unavailing, it will not be fruitless, because the opposition now made will oppose a bar to further concessions hereafter. If the whole of the House were now to join in giving way, it will have less power to resist future changes. On this ground I take my stand, not opposed to a well-considered Reform of any of our institutions which need reform, but opposed to this Reform in our Constitution, because it tends to root up the feelings of respect, the feelings of habitual reverence and attachment, which are the only sure foundations of Government. I will oppose to the last the undue encroachments of that democratic spirit to which we are advised to yield without resistance. We may make it supreme—we may establish a republic full of energy—splendid in talent—but in my conscience I believe fatal to our liberty, our security, and our peace.

Mr. *Hunt* said, he rose to defend himself against a charge of having told a meeting of the working classes in Lancashire which he addressed, that a million a year was given on the Civil List for the King's personal expenses: he had never made any assertion of the kind. The meeting he addressed did not deserve the character of rabble, as the noble Lord the Paymaster of the Forces had represented them to be. There was scarcely a man in it but was as clean and well looking and intelligent as any man in that House, and there were very few present whose clothes were not as well made and as good as those of the dandy First Lord of the Admiralty. The people of England would not and ought not to be satisfied with the present Bill. Notwithstanding the noble Lord had said, it would give a share of the Representation to a large proportion of the people, he would contend that the words "Representation of the people" ought not to be used in connexion with this Bill; for only those who occupied 10*l.* houses, and all above that value would be represented by it. The great majority of the working classes would be excluded. As the hon. and learned member for Calne expected to represent Leeds when the Bill had passed, he would tell him that he did not know the feeling of the people in that town. There was one factory in which 130 men were employed, only three of whom would have a vote, and in another not one of the operatives would be entitled to the franchise. In point of fact, the great body of manufacturers and artizans would be excluded; he therefore told the House in plain and distinct terms, this Bill would not satisfy the working classes.

The House divided on the question that the Bill be read a second time. Ayes 324; Noes 162;—Majority 162.

Bill read a second time.—Adjourned till January 17th.

LIST OF THE DIVISION.

AYES.

ENGLAND.

Adeane, Henry John .. *Cambridgeshire*
Althorp, viscount .. *Northamptonshire*
Anson, sir George .. .. *Lichfield*
Anson, hon. George .. *Yarmouth*
Astley, sir J. Dugdale, bt. .. *Wiltshire*
Atherley, Arthur .. *Southampton*
Baillie, John Evan .. *Bristol*
Barham, J. .. .. *Stockbridge*
Baring, sir T. B., bt. .. *Wycombe*
Baring, F. T. .. *Portsmouth*
Barnet, Charles J. .. .. *Maidstone*
Bayntun, S. A. .. .. *York*
Beaumont, Thomas W. *Northumberland*
Benett, John .. .. .. *Wiltshire*
Bentinck, lord George .. *King's Lynn*
Bernal, Ralph .. .. .. *Rochester*
Blake, sir Francis, bt. .. *Berwick*
Blamire, William .. *Cumberland*
Blount, Edward .. .. *Steyning*
Blunt, sir R. Charles, bt. .. *Lewes*
Bouverie, hon. P. P. .. *Downton*
Bouverie, hon. Dunc. P. *New Sarum*
Briscoe, John I. .. .. .. *Surrey*
Brougham, William .. *Southwark*
Brougham, J. .. *Winchelsea*
Buck, Lewis W. .. .. .. *Exeter*
Buller, James W. .. .. *Exeter*
Bulwer, E. L. .. .. *St. Ives*
Bulwer, Henry L. .. .. *Coventry*
Bunbury, sir Henry E. .. *Suffolk*
Burdett, sir F., bt. .. *Westminster*
Burrell, sir C. M., bt... *New Shoreham*
Buxton, Thos. Fowell .. *Weymouth*
Byng, George .. .. .. *Middlesex*
Byng, captain .. *Milborne Port*
Byng, sir J. .. .. .. *Poole*
Calcraft, Granby H. .. *Wareham*
Calley, Thomas .. .. *Cricklade*
Calvert, C. .. .. .. *Southwark*
Calvert, Nicolson .. *Hertfordshire*
Campbell, John .. .. *Stafford*
Carter, J. B. .. .. *Portsmouth*
Cavendish, Chas. C. *Yarmouth, I. of W.*
Cavendish, Henry F. C. .. *Derby*
Cavendish, lord .. .. *Derbyshire*
Chaytor, W. R. C. .. .. *Durham*
Chichester, John P. B. .. *Barnstaple*
Clive, Edward B. .. .. *Hereford*
Cockerell, sir C., bt. .. *Evesham*
Coke, Thomas Wm. .. .. *Norfolk*
Colborne, Nich. W. R. .. *Horsham*
Cradock, Sheldon .. .. *Camelford*
Crampton, P. C. .. *Milborne Port*
Creevey, Thomas .. .. *Downton*
Currie, John .. .. *Hertford*
Curteis, Herbert B. .. .. *Sussex*
Davies, T. H. H. .. .. *Worcester*
Denison, J. E. .. *Nottinghamshire*
Denison, Wm. Joseph .. .. *Surrey*
Denman, sir Thomas .. *Nottingham*
Dundas, hon. Thomas .. *York*
Dundas, sir R. L., bt. .. *Richmond*
Dundas, hon. John C. .. *Richmond*
Easthope, John .. .. .. *Banbury*
Ebrington, viscount .. *Devonshire*
Ellice, Edward .. .. *Coventry*
Ellis, Wynn .. .. .. *Leicester*
Etwall, Ralph .. .. *Andover*
Evans, de Lacy .. .. .. *Rye*
Evans, William B. .. .. *Leominster*
Evans, William .. .. .. *Leicester*
Ewart, W. .. .. .. *Liverpool*
Fazakerley, J. N. .. *Peterborough*
Fellowes, H. A. W. .. *Andover*
Ferguson, sir R. C. .. *Nottingham*
Fitzroy, C. A. .. *Bury St. Edmund's*
Fitzroy, lord James .. .. *Thetford*
Foley, John H. H. .. .. *Droitwich*
Foley, hon. Thomas H... *Worcestershire*
Folkes, sir W. J. H. B., bt. .. *Norfolk*
Fordwich, lord .. .. *Canterbury*
Fox, lieut.-colonel .. .. *Calne*
Gisborne, Thomas .. .. *Stafford*
Glynne, H. .. .. .. *Flint*
Godson, Richard .. .. *St. Alban's*
Gordon, Robert .. .. *Cricklade*
Graham, rt. hon. sir J. R. G. *Cumberland*
Graham, sir Sanford .. *Ludgershall*
Grant, rt. hon. Robert .. *Norwich*
Greene, T. G. .. .. *Lancaster*
Grosvenor, lord Robt. .. *Chester*
Guise, sir B. W. bt. .. *Gloucestershire*
Gurney, Richard H. .. *Norwich*
Handley, W. F. .. .. *Newark*
Harcourt, G. G. V. .. *Oxfordshire*
Harvey, Daniel W. .. .. *Colchester*
Hawkins, J. H. .. .. *Tavistock*
Heathcote, sir G., bt. .. *Rutlandshire*
Heathcote, Gilbert J. .. *Boston*
Heneage, George F. .. .. *Lincoln*
Heywood, Benjamin .. *Lancashire*

Hobhouse, sir John Cam	*Westminster*
Hodges, Thomas L.	*Kent*
Hodgson, John	*Newcastle-upon-Tyne*
Horne, sir W.	*Newtown*
Hoskins, Kedgwin	*Herefordshire*
Howard, Philip Henry	*Carlisle*
Howard, Henry	*Shoreham*
Howick, lord	*Northumberland*
Hudson, Thomas	*Evesham*
Hughes, colonel	*Grantham*
Hughes, William H.	*Oxford*
Hunt, Henry	*Preston*
Ingilby, sir W. A., bt.	*Lincolnshire*
James, William	*Carlisle*
Jerningham, hon. Hen. V.	*Pontefract*
Johnstone, sir J. V. B.	*Yorkshire*
Jones, J.	*Carmarthen*
Kemp, Thos. Read	*Lewes*
King, Edward B.	*Warwick*
Knight, Henry G.	*Malton*
Knight, Robert	*Wallingford*
Labouchere, Henry	*Taunton*
Langston, James H.	*Oxford*
Langton, W. Gore	*Somersetshire*
Lawley, Francis	*Warwickshire*
Leigh, T. C.	*Wallingford*
Lefevre, Charles S.	*Hampshire*
Lemon, sir Charles	*Cornwall*
Lennard, Thomas B.	*Maldon*
Lennox, lord William P.	*King's Lynn*
Lennox, lord Arthur	*Chichester*
Lester, Benjamin Lester	*Poole*
Littleton, Edward John	*Staffordshire*
Loch, John	*Hythe*
Lumley, John S.	*Nottinghamshire*
Lushington, Dr.	*Ilchester*
Maberly, W. L.	*Shaftesbury*
Maberly, John	*Abingdon*
Macaulay, Thomas B.	*Calne*
Macdonald, sir James, bt.	*Hampshire*
Mackintosh, sir J.	*Knaresborough*
Mangles, James	*Guildford*
Marjoribanks, Stewart	*Hythe*
Marryatt, Joseph	*Sandwich*
Marshall, William	*Beverley*
Mayhew, W.	*Colchester*
Milbank, Mark	*Camelford*
Mildmay, Paulet St. John	*Winchester*
Mills, J.	*Rochester*
Milton, lord	*Northamptonshire*
Moreton, hon. H. F. G.	*Gloucestershire*
Morpeth, viscount	*Yorkshire*
Morrison, James	*Ipswich*
Mostyn, Edward M. L.	*Flintshire*
Newark, lord	*East Retford*
Noel, sir Gerard N., bt.	*Rutlandshire*
North, Frederick	*Hastings*
Norton, hon. Charles F.	*Guildford*
Nugent, lord	*Aylesbury*
Offley, Foster C.	*Chester*
Ord, William	*Morpeth*
Owen, sir John, bt.	*Pembrokeshire*
Owen, Hugh O.	*Pembroke*
Paget, sir Charles	*Caernarvon*
Paget, Thomas	*Leicestershire*
Palmer, Charles	*Bath*
Palmer, C. F.	*Reading*
Palmerston, visct.	*Bletchingly*
Paine, sir Peter, bt.	*Bedfordshire*
Pendarvis, Edw. W. W.	*Cornwall*
Penleaze, John S.	*Southampton*
Penrhyn, Edward	*Shaftesbury*
Pepys, C. C.	*Malton*
Petit, Louis H.	*Ripon*
Petre, hon. Edward R.	*Ilchester*
Phillipps, sir R. P., bt.	*Haverfordwest*
Philips, George Richard	*Steyning*
Phillips, Charles M.	*Leicestershire*
Polhill, Frederick	*Bedford*
Ponsonby, hon. J. B.	*Higham Ferrars*
Powell, W. E.	*Cardiganshire*
Poyntz, W. S.	*Ashburton*
Price, sir Robert, bt.	*Herefordshire*
Protheroe, Edward	*Bristol*
Pryse, Pryse	*Cardigan*
Ramsbottom, John	*Windsor*
Rickford, William	*Aylesbury*
Rider, Thomas	*Kent*
Robarts, Abraham W.	*Maidstone*
Robinson, sir George, bt.	*Northampton*
Robinson, George R.	*Worcester*
Rooper, John B.	*Huntingdonshire*
Rumbold, Charles E.	*Yarmouth*
Russell, lord John	*Devonshire*
Russell, Lord	*Tavistock*
Russell, Robert G.	*Thirsk*
Russell, William	*Durham County*
Russell, Charles	*Reading*
Sandon, viscount	*Liverpool*
Sanford, E. A.	*Somersetshire*
Schonswar, George	*Hull*
Scott, sir Edward D.	*Lichfield*
Sebright, sir J. S., bt.	*Hertfordshire*
Skipwith, sir Gray	*Warwickshire*
Slaney, Robert A.	*Shrewsbury*
Smith, John Abel	*Chichester*
Smith, John	*Buckinghamshire*
Smith, Vernon	*Northampton*
Smith, hon. Robert J.	*Wycombe*
Smith, George R.	*Midhurst*
Smith, Martin T.	*Midhurst*
Spence, G.	*Ripon*
Spencer, hon. F.	*Worcestershire*
Stanhope, R. H.	*Dover*
Stanley, J.	*Hindon*
Stanley, hon. Edw. G. S.	*Windsor*
Stanley, lord	*Lancashire*
Stephenson, H. F.	*Westbury*

STEWART, P. M.	*Lancaster*
STRICKLAND, George	*Yorkshire*
STRUTT, Edward	*Derby*
STUART, ld. Pat. J. H. C.	*Cardiff*
STUART, lord Dudley C.	*Arundel*
SURREY, earl of	*Horsham*
TALBOT, Christ. R. M.	*Glamorganshire*
TAVISTOCK, marquis of	*Bedfordshire*
TENNYSON, C.	*Stamford*
THICKNESSE, Ralph	*Wigan*
THOMPSON, William	*London*
THOMSON, rt. hon. Charles P.	*Dover*
THROCKMORTON, R.	*Berkshire*
TORRENS, Robert	*Ashburton*
TOWNLEY, R. G.	*Cambridgeshire*
TOWNSHEND, lord C. V. F.	*Tamworth*
TROUBRIDGE, sir E. bt.	*Sandwich*
TUFTON, hon. H.	*Appleby*
TYNTE, Chas. K. K.	*Bridgewater*
TYRELL, Charles	*Suffolk*
UXBRIDGE, earl of	*Anglesey*
VENABLES, William	*London*
VERE, Jas. J. Hope	*Newport, I. of W.*
VERNON, hon. George J.	*Derbyshire*
VILLIERS, Frederick	*Saltash*
VILLIERS, T. H.	*Bletchingly*
VINCENT, sir Francis, bt.	*St. Alban's*
WAITHMAN, Robert	*London*
WARBURTON, Henry	*Bridport*
WARRE, John A.	*Hastings*
WASON, Rigby	*Ipswich*
WATERPARK, lord	*Knaresborough*
WATSON, hon. Richard	*Canterbury*
WEBB, E.	*Gloucester*
WELLESLEY, hon. Will. P. T. L.	*Essex*
WESTERN, Charles Callis	*Essex*
WEYLAND, John	*Hindon*
WEYLAND, major R.	*Oxfordshire*
WHITBREAD, Wm. Henry	*Bedford*
WHITMORE, Will. Wolr.	*Bridgenorth*
WILBRAHAM, George	*Cheshire*
WILDE, Mr. Serjeant	*Newark*
WILKS, John	*Boston*
WILLIAMS, John	*Winchelsea*
WILLIAMS, William A.	*Monmouthshire*
WILLIAMS, sir Jas. bt.	*Carmarthenshire*
WILLIAMSON, sir Hedw.	*Durham*
WILLOUGHBY, sir H.	*Yarmouth, I. of W.*
WINNINGTON, sir T. E., bt.	*Droitwich*
WOOD, colonel	*Breconshire*
WOOD, Matthew	*London*
WOOD, John	*Preston*
WOOD, Charles	*Wareham*
WRIGHTSON, W. B.	*Hull*
WROTTESLEY, sir J., bt.	*Staffordshire*
WALROND, Bethel	*Saltash*
WARRENDER, sir G.	*Honiton*

SCOTLAND.

ADAM, admiral	*Kinross, &c.*
AGNEW, sir Andrew, bt.	*Wigtonshire*
CAMPBELL, Walter F.	*Argyleshire*
FERGUSON, Rob. C.	*Kirkcudbright*
GRANT, rt. hon. C.	*Inverness-shire*
JEFFREY, rt. hon. F.	*Forfar*
JOHNSTON, Andrew	*Crail*
JOHNSTON, James	*Inverkeithing*
JOHNSTONE, John J. H.	*Dumfries-shire*
LOCH, J.	*Kirkwall*
MACKENZIE, J. A. S.	*Ross-shire*
M'LEOD, R.	*Sutherlandshire*
ROSS, Horatio	*Aberdeen*
SINCLAIR, George	*Caithness-shire*
STEWART, sir Mich. S. bt.	*Renfrewsh.*
STEWART, Edward	*Wigton*

IRELAND.

ACHESON, visc.	*Armaghshire*
BELFAST, earl of	*Antrimshire*
BELLEW, sir P.	*Louthshire*
BODKIN, John J.	*Galway*
BOYLE, hon. John	*Cork*
BRABAZON, lord	*Dublinshire*
BROWNE, J. D.	*Mayo*
BROWNE, Dominick	*Mayo*
BURKE, sir John, bt.	*Galwayshire*
CALLAGHAN, Daniel	*Cork*
CLIFFORD, sir A.	*Bandon Bridge*
COPELAND, Alderman	*Coleraine*
DOYLE, sir J. M.	*Carlowshire*
FRENCH, Arthur	*Roscommonshire*
GRATTAN, James	*Wicklowshire*
HILL, lord Arthur	*Downshire*
HILL, lord George A.	*Carrickfergus*
HORT, sir J. W., bt.	*Kildare*
HOWARD, R.	*Wicklowshire*
HUTCHINSON, John H.	*Tipperary*
KILLEEN, lord	*Meathshire*
KING, hon. Robert	*Corkshire*
LAMB, hon. George	*Dungarvon*
LEADER, Nicholas P.	*Kilkenny*
MUSGRAVE, sir Richard	*Waterfordshire*
O'CONNOR, Don	*Roscommon*
PARNELL, sir H. B., bt.	*Queen's County*
PONSONBY, hon. George	*Youghall*
POWER, Robert	*Waterfordshire*
RUSSELL, John	*Kinsale*
SHEIL, R. L.	*Louthshire*
WALKER, Charles A.	*Wexford*
WALLACE, T.	*Drogheda*
WESTENRA, hon. H. R.	*Monaghansh.*
WHITE, colonel	*Dublinshire*

TELLERS.

DUNCANNON, visc.	*Kilkenny Co.*
RICE, rt. hon. T. S.	*Limerick*

PAIRED OFF.

Bainbridge, Edward T.	*Taunton*
Bernard, Thomas	*King's County*
Blackney, Walter	*Carlowshire*
Boyle, lord	*Corkshire*
Dundas, Charles	*Berkshire*
Ferguson, Robert	*Dysart*
Fitz-Gibbon, hon. Rd.	*Limerickshire*
Gillon, William D.	*Lanark*
Grattan, H.	*Meath*
Hodgson, F.	*Barnstaple*
Jephson, C. D. O.	*Mallow*
Kennedy, Thomas Francis	*Ayr*
Lambert, Henry	*Wexfordshire*
Lopez, sir R. F., bt.	*Westbury*
Macnamara, William N.	*Clare*
Nowell, Alexander	*Westmoreland*
O'Connell, Daniel	*Kerry*
O'Ferrall, Richard M.	*Kildareshire*
O'Neil, hon. J. Rd. B.	*Antrimshire*
Ossory, earl of	*Kilkennyshire*
Oxmantown, lord	*King's County*
Pelham, hon. C. A. W.	*Lincolnshire*
Portman, Edw. Berkeley	*Dorsetshire*
Thompson, Paul B.	*Wenlock*
Trail, George	*Orkneyshire*
Vernon, hon. G. H.	*East Retford*
White, Samuel	*Leitrimshire*
Wyse, Thomas	*Tipperary*

NOES.

ENGLAND.

A'Court, Edw. Henry	*Heytesbury*
Alexander, J. Dupré	*Old Sarum*
Antrobus, Gibbs Crawf.	*Plympton*
Apsley, lord	*Cirencester*
Arbuthnot, colonel	*Tregony*
Ashley, lord	*Dorchester*
Ashley, hon. John	*Gatton*
Attwood, M.	*Boroughbridge*
Bankes, William John	*Marlborough*
Bankes, George	*Corfe-Castle*
Baring, Alexander	*Thetford*
Baring, Henry B.	*Callington*
Beckett, sir John bt.	*Haslemere*
Best, hon. William S.	*St. Michael*
Boldero, H. G.	*Chippenham*
Brudenel, lord	*Fowey*
Burge, W.	*Eye*
Burrard, George	*Lymington*
Buxton, John Jacob	*Bedwyn*
Capel, John	*Queenborough*
Chandos, marquis of	*Buckinghamshire*
Cholmondeley, lord H.	*Castle Rising*
Clinton, Clinton J. F.	*Aldborough*
Cockburn, sir G.	*Plymouth*
Cooke, sir Henry F.	*Orford*
Cooper, hon. A. A.	*Dorchester*
Courtenay, rt. hon. T. P.	*Totness*
Croker, rt. hon. J. W.	*Aldeburgh*
Curzon, hon. Robert	*Clitheroe*
Cust, hon. Edward	*Lostwithiel*
Cust, hon. Peregrine F.	*Clitheroe*
Dawkins, James	*Wilton*
Dawson, rt. hon. G. R.	*Harwich*
Dick, Quintin	*Maldon*
Douro, marquis of	*Aldeburgh*
Dowdeswell, John Edm.	*Tewkesbury*
Drake, Thomas T.	*Agmondesham*
Drake, colonel	*Agmondesham*
East, James B.	*Winchester*
Eastnor, viscount	*Hereford*
Eliot, lord	*Liskeard*
Encombe, viscount	*Truro*
Estcourt, Thos. G. B.	*Oxford Univ.*
Fane, colonel	*Lyme Regis*
Fane, hon. Henry S.	*Lyme Regis*
Farrand, Robert	*Hedon*
Fitzroy, hon. H.	*Great Grimsby*
Forbes, sir Chas., bt.	*Malmesbury*
Forbes, John	*Malmesbury*
Forester, hon. G. C. W.	*Wenlock*
Fox, Sackville L.	*Helleston*
Freemantle, sir Thos., bt.	*Buckingham*
Freshfield, James W.	*Penryn*
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.	*Cambridge Univ.*
Graham, marquis of	*Cambridge*
Grant, sir Colq.	*Queenborough*
Grimstone, visct.	*Newport, Cornwall*
Hardinge, sir H.	*Newport, Cornw.*
Herbert, hon. Edw. C. H.	*Callington*
Herries, rt. hon. John C.	*Harwich*
Holmes, William	*Haslemere*
Hope, Henry T.	*East Looe*
Hope, John T.	*Okehampton*
Inglis, sir R. H. bt.	*Oxford Univers.*
Irving, J.	*Bramber*
Jenkins, Richard	*Shrewsbury*
Jermyn, earl	*Bury St. Edmund's*
Jolliffe, sir William G. H.	*Petersfield*
Jolliffe, H. J.	*Petersfield*
Kearsley, J. H.	*Wigan*
Kenyon, hon. Lloyd	*St. Michael*
Kerrison, sir Edward, bt.	*Eye*
Kilderbee, Spenser H.	*Orford*
Knight, James L.	*Bishop's-castle*
Lovaine, lord	*Beeralston*
Loughborough, lord	*Great Grimsby*
Lowther, John Henry	*Cockermouth*
Lowther, hon. Henry C.	*Westmorland*
Luttrell, John Fownes	*Minehead*

Lyons, W.	*Seaford*
Mackillop, James	*Tregony*
Mackinnon, William A.	*Lymington*
Mahon, visct.	*Wootton Basset*
Maitland, viscount	*Appleby*
Malcolm, sir J.	*Launceston*
Mexborough, earl	*Pontefract*
Miller, W. H.	*Newcastle-under-Line*
Mount, William	*Newport, I. of W.*
Nicholl, sir John	*Great Bedwyn*
Peach, Nathaniel Will.	*Truro*
Pearse, John	*Devizes*
Peel, right hon. sir Robt.	*Tamworth*
Peel, William Yates	*Cambridge Univ.*
Peel, Jonathan	*Huntingdon*
Pelham, John Cresset	*Shropshire*
Perceval, Spencer	*Tiverton*
Phipps, hon. Edmund	*Scarborough*
Pigott, George G. W.	*St. Mawes*
Pollington, lord	*Gatton*
Pollock, Frederick	*Huntingdon*
Porchester, lord	*Wootton Basset*
Praed, W. M.	*St. Germain's*
Rose, rt. hon. sir Geo. H.	*Christchurch*
Rose, George P.	*Christchurch*
Ryder, hon. G. D.	*Tiverton*
Sadler, Michael T.	*Aldborough*
St. Paul, sir H.	*Bridport*
Scarlett, sir J.	*Cockermouth*
Sibthorp, C. D. L.	*Lincoln*
Smith, Samuel	*Wendover*
Smith, Abel	*Wendover*
Stewart, Charles	*Penryn*
Stormont, viscount	*Woodstock*
Sugden, sir Edward B.	*St. Mawes*
Taylor, George Watson	*Devizes*
Thynne, lord John	*Bath*
Thynne, lord Henry F.	*Weobly*
Townshend, hon. G. P.	*Whitchurch*
Trench, Fred. William	*Cambridge*
Ure, Masterton	*Weymouth*
Vaughan, John E.	*Wells*
Villiers, viscount	*Minehead*
Vyvyan, sir R. R.	*Okehampton*
Wall, B.	*Weymouth*
Walsh, sir John	*Sudbury*
Wetherell, sir Chas.	*Boroughbridge*
Williams, Thomas Peers	*Marlow*
Williams, Owen	*Marlow*
Worcester, marquis of	*Monmouth*
Wortley, hon. John S.	*Bossiney*
Wrangham, Digby C.	*Sudbury*
Wyndham, Wadham	*New Sarum*
Yorke, J.	*Riegate*
Yorke, C. P.	*Reigate*

SCOTLAND.

Arbuthnot, hon. H.	*Kincardineshire*
Dalrymple, sir A.	*Jedburgh*
Douglas, Wm. R. K.	*Dumfries, &c.*
Gordon, hon. William	*Aberdeenshire*
Grant, hon. Francis W.	*Elginshire*
Lindsay, James	*Fife*
Maitland, hon. Anthony	*Berwickshire*
Murray, rt. hon. sir Geo.	*Perthshire*
Ogilvy, hon. D.	*Forfarshire*
Pringle, Alexander	*Selkirkshire*
Scott, Henry F.	*Roxburghshire*

IRELAND.

Brydges, sir J. W. H., bt.	*Armagh*
Castlereagh, viscount	*Downshire*
Clements, John M.	*Leitrimshire*
Cole, viscount	*Fermanagh*
Coote, Eyre	*Clonmell*
Corry, hon. Henry T. L.	*Tyroneshire*
Ferrand, Walker	*Tralee*
Gordon, James E.	*Dundalk*
Ingestrie, viscount	*Dublin*
Jones, Theobald	*Londonderryshire*
Meynell, Henry	*Lisburne*
Pusey, P.	*Cashel*
Rae, sir William, bt.	*Portarlington*
Rochfort, Gust.	*Westmeath*
Shaw, F.	*Dublin*
Tullamore, lord	*Carlow*

TELLERS.

Clerk, sir Geo., bt.	*Edinburghshire*
Ross, Charles	*St. Germain's*

PAIRED OFF.

Alexander, Josias	*Old Sarum*
Archdall, Mervyn	*Fermanaghshire*
Atkins, John	*Arundel*
Balfour, James	*Haddingtonshire*
Bateson, sir Robert	*Londonderryshire*
Beresford, sir J. P. bt.	*Northallerton*
Beresford, Marcus	*Berwick*
Blair, William	*Ayrshire*
Clive, viscount	*Ludlow*
Clive, Henry	*Montgomery*
Cole, hon. Arthur H.	*Enniskillen*
Dering, sir E. C. bt.	*Romney*
Dugdale, William S.	*Bramber*
Forbes, viscount	*Longfordshire*
Gordon, colonel	*Weymouth*
Hope, hon. sir Alex.	*Linlithgowshire*
Kemmis, Thomas A.	*East Looe*
Lascelles, hon. W. S.	*Northallerton*
Lefroy, T.	*Dublin University*
Maxwell, Henry	*Cavan*
Penruddock, John H.	*Wilton*
Perceval, colonel	*Sligoshire*
Ramsay, William R.	*Stirlingshire*
Severn, John C.	*Fowey*
Seymour, Horace B.	*Bodmyn*
Trevor, hon. Arthur	*Durham*
Wynne, John	*Sligo*

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, January 17, 1832.

MINUTES.] Parliament met after the Adjournment.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of the Duke of RICHMOND, the Receipts and Expenditure of all the Turnpike Roads in the Kingdom.

Petition presented. By the Duke of RICHMOND, from the Glove Manufacturers of Milborne Port, Somerset, against the importation of Foreign Gloves.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, January 17, 1832.

MINUTES.] New Writ ordered for Tewksbury, in the room of JOHN MARTIN, Esq., deceased.

Bills brought in. By Mr. Alderman WOOD, to regulate the Navigation of Steam Vessels on the River Thames. By Mr. SADLER, to regulate the Labour of Children in Mills and Factories.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. HUME, of the Population of Merthyr Tydvill, according to the Census of 1831, of the amount of Houses in that Town, of the Assessed Taxes paid by it, and of its relative importance on the principle and scale adopted in the lists of Lieutenant Drummond:—On the Motion of Mr. GOULBURN, the Income and Expenditure for the year 1831:—On the Motion of Mr. CROKER, an account of the Assessed Taxes and Population of the Counties, according to the Census of 1831:—On the Motion of Mr. Alderman WOOD, the Reports presented to the Corporation of London, relative to the Stability of the New London Bridge:—On the Motion of Mr. CRESSET PELHAM, the Charges incurred relating to the Sewers of the County of Sussex, during the last fifty years:—On the Motion of Lord JOHN RUSSELL, an account of the Population of each County distinguishing the Population of each City and Town within such Counties which sends Members to Parliament:—On the Motion of Mr. CROKER, relating to the ten first Boroughs in Lieutenant Drummond's List.

Petitions presented. By Mr. SHEIL, from the Town of Louth (Ireland), for regulating Church Property in Ireland. By Mr. BERTRAM EVANS, from a Congregation in Sloane-street, praying for a General Fast. By Lord MORPETH, from several Medical Practitioners, and others, Inhabitants of Wakefield, for an alteration in the Law as to Dissection for Anatomical purposes. By Mr. LEADER, against the Tithe system in Ireland, from the Labourers of the Parish of Tankerstoun in the County of Limerick; from Whitchurch, from certain Paper Manufacturers, and from a Parish in the West of Ireland to establish Fisheries. By Mr. HUME, from Saxmundham, Suffolk, and from Hetherington, in the Isle of Ely, against the Tithe Laws. By Mr. SPRING RICE, from the Physicians and Surgeons of Limerick, complaining of the Laws for regulating the admission of Medical Men to County Infirmaries of Ireland. By Mr. EDWARD L. BULWER, from certain Medical Practitioners, praying for the removal of the existing impediments to the cultivation of Anatomy. By Mr. SPRING RICE, from the Catholic Free Burgesses of Galway, for a Provision in the Irish Reform Bill for the peculiar Franchise of that place; and from the Chamber of Commerce in Limerick, for the re-enactment of certain Laws relating to the Inspection of Flax Seed.

FEES ON RENEWING COMMISSIONS (IRELAND).] Mr. *George Dawson*, in moving for a return of the number of warrants for the Commission of the Peace which had been issued in Ireland since the 1st of January, 1831, up to the latest period that the said return could be made out, and for a return of the fees payable upon the same, said, that though he did not see the right hon. the Secretary for Ireland in his place, he would take the liberty of asking an hon. and learned Gentleman connected with the Government of that country (the Solicitor General) one or two questions on the subject. A general order, it seemed, had been issued for making out new Commissions of the Peace for every Magistrate in Ireland. He, therefore, wished to know, first, upon what authority that order had been issued; and secondly, what was the intention of his Majesty's Government with respect to the fees payable to the Lord Chancellor's Secretary upon the renewal of those Commissions? He saw that, by an Act of George 2nd., the Secretary was entitled to a fee of 2*l.* 6*s.* upon each warrant for a new Commission, but he did not see why he should receive that fee for 1,500 or 1,600 Commissions, where there was a general remodelling of them. If that were the case, the Lord Chancellor's Secretary would put 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* in his pocket by this lucky windfall. He was sure that this was not intended by the law; or, if such was the effect of the existing law, it ought to be remedied by a short Act. If it became necessary to renew these Commissions, in consequence of the Act appointing Lord-lieutenants of counties in Ireland, this charge ought not to fall upon individuals. The exaction of this fee had occasioned a great outcry in that country, and he wished to ascertain what measures the Government were disposed to take to remove the evil complained of.

Mr. *Crampton* said, that if he had been aware of the right hon. Gentleman's intention, he should have taken care to provide himself with full information on the subject. He could answer one of the right hon. Gentleman's questions; namely, upon what authority of law the order was issued —the authority was that of the Crown, growing out of the necessity of the case, and the Common-Law of the country. By the demise of the King, all commissions were entirely at an end at the expiration of six months after such an event, and it was only under the sanction of an Act of Parliament that Magistrates were continued in office. It had therefore, now become necessary to issue new Commissions. The right hon. Gentleman said, he believed correctly, that there was a cry in Ireland against the Government on account of the fees charged upon the new Commissions. He could only state, that the fees, whatever their amount, were payable by law, and not according to the pleasure of the Lord Chancellor, or of any other officer in Ireland. They were payable under a law, which was made the law of the land, not by the present Administration, but by those who preceded them; and these fees had in fact been reduced from about 10*l.* to less than 3*l.*—so that there never was a more unjust or unfounded cry against a Government than this one. As to what might be the intention of his Majesty's Government relating to a short Bill, he was unable to answer the right hon. Gentleman's question on that point.

Mr. *Spring Rice* said, his hon. and learned friend had accurately described the necessity that had arisen for the issue of the new Commissions. As to the amount of fees charged upon them, he begged to inform the House, that a correspondence had taken place between the Treasury and the right hon. the Secretary for Ireland, which had led to those fees being very much reduced in amount. Their legality having been once admitted, the parties claiming them had a right to compensation.

Mr. *Hume* complained of the partial and oppressive operation of the regulations made by the late Government with respect to fees. The intention of the Bill to which allusion had been made, the intention of his motion, and the understanding of the House were, that no fee ought to be charged beyond what would pay for the parchment and the expense of transcription; but the late Government had, notwithstanding, sanctioned the exaction of heavy fees. If one person more than another was to blame for that, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dawson), who had been a member of that Government, was the person. As a proof of what he had asserted, he must refer to a statement made during the last session, by which it appeared that the Yeomanry of the Guard were compelled to pay 3*l.* 15*s.* for the transcript of a Commission of the size of a common sheet of paper. However, that did not warrant the present charge; and he hoped that the Ministers would not follow a particular course because it had been adopted by their predecessors. The gentlemen who were compelled to take out these Commissions ought to resist the payment of such fees: the Act of Parliament would give them ample protection. They should meet together, and combine and resist the payment, and let the question be decided in a Court of Law.

Mr. *Leader* was astonished at the attempt to charge the present Government with having encouraged the exaction of these fees, when their endeavours had really been directed to allay the disgust which had been caused by their previous exaction. That this was the real state of the question, was fully made out by a resolution published by the Magistrates of the county of Cork which declared them to be an unreasonable imposition.

Mr. *George Dawson* said, that he was told by the hon. and learned Gentleman, that it was necessary these fees should be paid, as they were sanctioned by Act of Parliament, but he thought they were abolished by the Act alluded to. All he asked was, that the Magistrates in Ireland should be placed on the same footing with the English Magistrates. He was informed that the latter paid a fee only of 5*s.* He would take an opportunity of bringing the question regularly forward.

Mr. *Mackinnon* said, that he had qualified himself as a Magistrate in the county in which he resided in the country, and also at Westminster. He had paid no more than 5*s.* in the one place, and 7*s.* 6*d.* in the other.

Mr. *O'Connor* said, the hon. Member who had just sat down, stated that he was a Magistrate for two counties in this country, and that for the renewal of his commissions he had to pay but 5*s.* each. Now, I take leave to state, on the other hand, that I am a Magistrate for two counties in Ireland, and that for the renewal of my two commissions I am required to pay between 5*l.* and 6*l.*, though I paid originally 17*l.* for them, in the reign of George 4th.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, the hon. member for Middlesex had forgotten the words of his own Act of Parliament. The hon. Gentleman said, the meaning of the Act was, only to allow the expense of writing and transcribing the document, but in fact, the Act really stated, that other charges incident to the preparation, examination, and signature of the commissions were to be charged. He must further assert, that the late Administration did not deserve the reproaches which the hon. Member had directed against it. If the hon. Member thought proper to bring forward any charges in a regular manner, he (Mr. Goulburn) should be fully prepared to meet them.

Returns ordered.

DORSETSHIRE ELECTION.] Lord *Ashley*

said, that a Petition had been presented against his return for the county of Dorset, which he felt that it would be impossible for him to resist, without entailing upon himself expenses which he might find it inconvenient to discharge. In retiring from the Representation of that county he felt it necessary to observe, that he did it, not from any fear of the result of an examination before an election Committee, but from a fear of the pecuniary inconveniences to which that examination might render him liable. He was not afraid of any attacks that could be made, either upon him or upon his return. He would declare, upon his word of honour as a gentleman, that he believed his return to be as good a return as ever had been made to that House; and he was convinced, that if he were to resist the petition presented against him, he could make that point clearly out to the satisfaction of all who heard him. But as that would involve him in expenses which he could not conveniently discharge, he felt that the best thing which he could do was, to yield to necessity, for it was necessity, and nothing else, that drove him, on this occasion, from the field. He had been informed that the county intended to intercede for him, but of that he knew nothing. With the permission of the Speaker he would move that the paper, which he then handed in should be read to the House.

The paper read as follows:—

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled:

"I, the Honourable Anthony Ashley Cooper, commonly called Lord Ashley, the sitting Member, elected and returned a Knight of the Shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Dorset, do hereby declare and notify to your Honourable House, that it is not my intention to defend my election or return against the petition of John Fisher, Thomas Brown, William Daniel Champ, William Mortlock, Thomas Stevens, and James Loveridge, which was presented to your Honourable House on the 7th day of December last; and I do hereby acknowledge this to be my declaration, subscribed by me, and delivered at the Table of your Honourable House, pursuant to the provisions of an Act passed in the ninth year of the reign of his late Majesty, King George IV, intituled 'An Act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the trial of controverted elections or returns of Members to serve in Parliament.'

"As witness my hand, this 17th day of January, one thousand eight hundred and thirty two.

"ASHLEY."

The order for submitting this petition to an Election Committee on the 24th of January, was then discharged. On the question that it be taken into consideration on Thursday, the 1st of March,

Mr. *Hume* said, that never since he had been in Parliament had he heard any statement which more clearly and forcibly proved the necessity of a Reform in Parliament than the statement which had just come from the lips of the noble Lord. The county of Dorset was divided in opinion. The noble Lord had stated upon his word of honour, that if he had the means he could prove the justness of his return, and defend himself from the petition to which his declaration referred, but that he dared not encounter the enormous expense of doing so. If ever there was an unanswerable argument for Reform, this was one. He called on the opponents of all Reform to say, whether the statement just now made by their noble colleague did not imperiously call for some Reform to be made, lessening the expense of contested elections, and by enabling counties to continue in their seats the men whom they deemed best fitted to act as their Representatives. If the present Reform Bill did not embrace this point, he hoped that Ministers would see from this transaction, that it was necessary for them to prepare forthwith a bill which would enable them to accomplish that object.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* observed, that the memory of the hon. member for Middlesex served him as treacherously upon this subject as it had done a few minutes ago upon the Act which he had introduced to abolish the payment of fees upon Commissions from the Crown. If the hon. Member would take the trouble of looking into the Bill, he would find that it did contain provisions on the subject. As it was so soon to come before the Committee, he did not see the necessity of alluding to the Reform Bill on a question relative to the Dorsetshire election. He had been convinced, long before the Reform Bill was introduced, of the necessity of some measures for diminishing the expenses of elections. On that point he was nearly as strong a Reformer as the hon. member for Middlesex himself. But, because there was one principle which the most decided Anti-reformers never opposed, the hon. Member's logic would infer that the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill, must be a good Bill, because there was an agreement between all parties as to the necessity of diminishing the expense of county elections. Upon another point the hon. Member's recollection was not so accurate as it generally was. He did not seem to recollect, that under the Reform Bill there would be no counties left; there would be only parts and divisions of counties.

Mr. *Hunt* said, the hon. Member ought to point out where the Reform Bill would lessen the expense of elections. He hoped the Government would introduce a clause for that purpose, for in his honest opinion, unless that was done there would be more contested elections and greater expense under the Reform Bill than by the existing system.

The order for the consideration of the Petition on the 24th of January discharged.

GENERAL REGISTRY BILL.] Lord *Morpeth* presented several Petitions from Yorkshire against the Registry Bill, which he would take that opportunity to assure the House were only a prelude to many others likely to be sent up with the same prayer.

Mr. *John Campbell* said, although these petitions were against the Registry Bill particularly, he did not understand the petitioners were opposed to the principle: they only desired that Yorkshire should be excluded from its operation, as they had a local register for that county.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* assured his hon. and learned friend, that there was a very strong feeling against his Bill. He daily received communications from all parts of the country, enclosing petitions against it, and requesting him to offer every opposition to the measure. It was regarded with very general alarm, and he, therefore, hoped his hon. and learned friend would withdraw the Act altogether.

Mr. *John Campbell* said, he was fully convinced that the general feeling of the country was very different from the representations made by his hon. and learned friend. He was sure that, at the proper time, he should satisfy the House of the expediency of the Bill, and therefore he was determined to proceed with it.

Sir *George Warrender* said, he must confirm the statement of his hon. and learned friend, the member for Boroughbridge. He had received several communications, urging him to resist the measure, from several parts of the country. It was generally looked upon as a most obnoxious Bill, and had created much alarm.

Petitions to be laid on the Table.

THE REFORM BILL—RETURNS.] Mr. *Croker*, on presenting a Petition from the Corporation of Helstone, praying that that borough might be struck out of schedule B in the Reform Bill, thought it his duty to call the attention of the House to the state of its information on the subject. The allegations contained in the petition had reference to the probable effects of the present Reform Bill, both with respect to that and to other boroughs. He would take on himself to say, that the results at which the petitioners had arrived, appeared to him to be in all respects correct. They complained of the absurd mode in which Lieutenant Drummond had proceeded in his calculations. He would not enter on that subject at present, but would defer his remarks until the motion was put for the Speaker's leaving the Chair. He must, however, now be permitted to say, that the scale on which his Majesty's Ministers were about to proceed, was the most complicated and absurd that could be imagined, and they were pursuing their course in the absence of all authentic information. On the last night of their sitting, when the noble Lord moved the adjournment of the House, he (Mr. Croker), feeling no desire for any considerable delay, had expressed his conviction, that it would be impossible for the necessary information to be laid before the House in sufficient time to enable them to meet on the present day, in a condition to enter on the consideration of the details of this measure. The noble Lord had immediately said, that he saw his way clearly through that objection, and that there would be no difficulty whatever in producing the necessary information in time; and both the noble Lords were good enough to state to him, privately, that there would be no want of information, as 400 sets of the explanatory documents would be ready for delivery on the ensuing Thursday, and the remainder on the Monday following: in other words, that the first delivery would take place on Thursday, the 22nd, and the second on Monday, the 26th, of December last. Satisfied with these assurances, he had made no objection to that course; but he certainly had reason to complain that, up to the present hour, the information thus promised had not been produced; indeed, so far from the promises made by the noble Lords having been fulfilled, the papers which might have been produced three weeks ago, were not all yet before the House; and although they were now coming to the discussion of one of the most complicated schemes that ever was devised, they were still without the information which the noble Lords had assured him should be placed in their hands without delay. Since that time two papers had been produced, marked Nos. 5 and 8; the one marked No. 5 was delivered in a few days after the House met, in the beginning of the Session. Now, he was sure that the noble Lords would not willingly mystify or insult the House, by withholding information which it was in their power to produce. He was sure that they would be as much surprised as he was, when he informed them of what seemed like a most studious concealment of the information sought for. In this paper marked No. 5, which is the appendix to Lieutenant Drummond's scale, and which was delivered to Members on the 16th December, 1831, he found an observation to the effect, that there was an error in another return respecting the borough of Malton, which was therein stated to pay taxes to the amount of 1,300*l.*, whereas the figures ought to be 1,030*l.*, and that, therefore, the borough was placed in a wrong position on the list. He (Mr. Croker) was struck by this extrordinary error, and, on examining both the papers closely he found, that the one, No. 8, which was referred to as containing the error, was not produced until the 17th of January, whereas it must have been actually in print on the 16th of December; or rather, it must have been in print some days before that date, as the typographical error which it contains was mentioned and corrected in the paper No. 5, which was produced on that day; therefore, some person or other must have withheld from the House for a whole month, information which had been ordered, and which was actually in print, and ought to have been produced, on the 16th of December. If only one error had been committed—if only one document had been kept back—he should attribute the mistake, or the delay, to haste, to accident, and the novelty and difficulty of the calculations; but, when he saw all the information so withheld, he was forced to suspect, that there was some one connected with the preparation of the papers, who desired to keep back from the House, as much as possible, the information which had been called for. But that was not all. One of the clauses of the Bill provided that certain counties, containing more than 150,000 inhabitants, should be divided into two parts, and return four Members; and his Majesty's Ministers had very properly undertaken to furnish the House with correct information as to the population of those counties; but what would the House think when he showed, that the accounts respecting them were made up so artfully, that no man could ascertain from them the amount of the population of those counties, without making arithmetical calculations, of which surely the House might have been spared the trouble? The total population of no one county was given; indeed, there was no total whatever given. The various divisions of the several counties had been taken, and the population of each local division, such as hundreds, wapentakes, &c., given, and all still in separate items, although assuredly the professed purpose of the Returns was, to show the total amount of the population in each county, and the total amounts which were to be allotted to each division. What had been laid before the House *looked* like information, but was in fact the very reverse.

He, therefore, submitted to the House the necessity of not going into Committee upon the Bill, until sufficient time should have been allowed for the examination of the accounts, which had not yet been completed, and which were indispensable for a full understanding of the Bill. He thought that a week or two, at least, would be necessary for that purpose; particularly as it had been previously promised by the noble Lords, that the documents should be distributed full three weeks before the committal of the Bill; but he had heard that it was still intended to go into Committee on Friday night. He hoped, however, that that intention would not be persevered in. He had spent many anxious hours in the consideration of the papers which had been already furnished, and he was desirous of a little further time to elucidate them, for, from what he could observe, he was convinced that the details of the new Bill were extremely complicated, and the principle involved in them was of greater importance than it appeared at the first glance. In the meantime, he trusted the noble Lords opposite would hasten the production of the remaining papers. He concluded by presenting a petition from the inhabitants of Helstone, Cornwall, praying that that borough might be taken out of the schedule in which it stands in the new Reform Bill.

Lord *John Russell* said, he had observed, when the former Bill was under consideration, that though something might be gained by proceeding on the new population

Returns, they would nevertheless lead to long and difficult calculations. He was not, therefore, surprised, when they came to specify parishes and boroughs, and the towns belonging to them, that the inquiry should be attended with considerable difficulty, and that some of the calculations should be erroneous. But though that difficulty or inconvenience was foreseen, still it was deemed better for Parliament to assemble before Christmas, than to delay the measure entirely, while the necessary corrections were in progress. If Gentlemen would look to Lieutenant Drummond's reports, they would find in that list, that there were certain places yet under consideration, and that there was some incorrectness in the papers already given. He had, however, hoped that a number of correct copies of the Returns, relative to the boroughs inserted in the schedules, would have been ready in the week after Parliament had adjourned. He had unfortunately been disappointed; and he was sure that all those who were concerned in the production of those documents, regretted that they could not be got ready so soon as had been expected. Some of the tables were then under consideration, and others had been laid before Parliament previous to the recess. It was, however, considered useless to produce a number of papers, some of which, it appeared on examination, would have to be corrected by others. Therefore, when Lieutenant Drummond told him that it would be necessary to make corrections in some of the papers, he at once said, that it would be better to keep back the documents, in order that the corrections should be properly made. The papers were now ready, and would, in the course of the week, be placed in the hands of Members. As to the Returns which the right hon. Gentleman had referred to, respecting the population of certain counties, they were not prepared for the purpose of showing the population of the counties at large, because that had been already ascertained in other Returns before the House, but with a view to the division of the counties. The object was, that the House, by having the population of the hundreds severally before it, might be better able to make an equal division. There had been no unnecessary delay in producing the information required by the House; and, as he had already said, sufficient time would be given for the examination of the documents. He could not consider that any reasons had been advanced for the postponement of the Committee; but he thought that, as the papers were voluminous, and required attention to particular places, it was desirable they should be some time in the hands of the Members; and if it were deemed advisable, those parts of the Bill, respecting boroughs to which the papers particularly referred, might be postponed, whilst other portions of the Bill were proceeded with. By adopting this course, sufficient time would be afforded to Gentlemen for the examination of those documents. He and his noble friend were perfectly ready to make any arrangement for that purpose which might accommodate hon. Members opposite. He might take that opportunity of reminding the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Croker) that he had pledged himself to prove the ignorance of Lieutenant Drummond, and to show that the same results as to the relative value of the boroughs set down in the schedules, could be obtained by the simple addition of the population and the taxes, as had been arrived at by Mr. Drummond's more elaborate calculation. Now he (Lord J. Russell) thought, that if the right hon. Gentleman would not incur the imputation of ignorance which he cast upon Mr. Drummond—an imputation which might be thought not a little presumptuous, especially as that gentleman was known only for his great learning in that particular department of science—if the right hon. Gentleman could not make good his charges he would certainly seem liable himself to his own imputation of ignorance.

The petition was read. On the Motion that it be laid on the Table,

Mr. *Croker* rose to answer the challenge of the noble Lord. He would first remind the House of what passed on the occasion referred to; he had in his hands only the letter of Lieutenant Drummond to the Secretary of State, explanatory of the principle on which he had formed a certain list of boroughs, but he had neither that list itself, nor the amounts of population and taxes on which it professed to be calculated; and undoubtedly, from that explanatory letter he was induced to say, what he now, on the same evidence, repeated, that taking Lieutenant Drummond's principles from that letter, and judging of them by the *examples* therein given, that gentleman had made the most complicated and absurd calculations which had ever fallen under his notice, and that the simple addition of the numbers would have produced the same results exactly as Lieutenant Drummond had arrived at by a long combination of decimal fractions. His authority for that assertion was the statement of Mr. Drummond himself, who acknowledging, in that same letter to Lord Melbourne, that the calculation was somewhat complicated, thought it right to lay before the noble Secretary *examples* of the manner in which he had proceeded. For this purpose he took five boroughs, calling them A, B, C, D, E, and setting down to each whatever numbers he chose, he exhibited his mode of calculation, and it so happened, that, in all the five instances thus selected by Mr. Drummond himself as examples, the results given by his operose calculations were precisely the same as would be produced by the simple addition of the original numbers: for, upon adding them, although the numbers so produced differed in amount from those produced in the more complicated operation of Mr. Drummond, yet they were precisely the same in order, and the relative value of the places was similarly ascertained. The noble Lord, indeed, might say, that although it was the same when five boroughs were taken, it would not be so when there were 120 boroughs in the calculation. But that was no answer to him (Mr. Croker). He spoke from the document in his hands, and from the information as it stood when he addressed the House; but did not the noble Lord also know, that if the number was increased to 200, the difference occurring in the former case might be removed? for, by a slight difference in the proportion of the houses to the taxation in the different boroughs, which might be obtained by increasing the number of the boroughs taken into the calculation, the inequality might be redressed. But the House would bear in mind, that when he spoke upon the subject, he knew only of the five boroughs given in Mr. Drummond's illustration; and in that example there was no difference in the results of the simple addition and his complicated fractional process. But since the delivery of the list itself, he found that it was liable to still more serious objections. It was formed on arbitrary assumptions, and liable to be seriously affected by the caprice or partiality of the calculator: for example, by the addition of the ten boroughs at the top of the list, the returns relative to which Lieutenant Drummond had chosen to exclude—Lord knows why—from his calculations, and by that of the ten others at the bottom, equally, and without any assigned reason, excluded also, it might be found that a great difference was made in the relative positions of the intermediate boroughs. That would depend alone on the proportion which might be made to appear between the number of houses and the amount of the taxation in the whole of the selected boroughs. All this looked very like unfairness, and he could not but complain that the noble Lord had not been so good as to forward him the amount of population and taxes on these ten excluded boroughs, as he had requested by a note written several weeks since, which the noble Lord, though he had had the courtesy to promise, had not yet, agreeably to that promise, performed. He had a strong feeling that the House ought to be put in possession of the cases of these ten boroughs, for he had bestowed much attention on the principles of Lieutenant Drummond's plan, and he believed that he should be able to show the House, that a less satisfactory means of obtaining the desired result could not well have been resorted to. Until he had the whole information, however, before him, and knew the respective cases fully, he could not tell how differently the two different modes of calculation might affect the list, as the whole relation might be altered by the additional boroughs taken into the account.

Lord *John Russell* said, that the reason assigned by Lieutenant Drummond for omitting those boroughs out of the list upon which his calculations had been founded, was, that they were so insignificant and so exceedingly various — some having few houses and paying a considerable portion of assessed taxes, while others had a great many houses and paid but a small proportion of taxes—that their omission from that list would make no material alteration in the calculations founded upon it. He was sorry that he was not at present able to furnish the right hon. Gentleman with the information as to those ten boroughs which he asked for. He had spoken to Lieutenant Drummond on the subject; but he had been so engaged that he was not able to produce it. However, he could assure the right hon. Gentleman, that he should have it forthwith. With regard to one of those boroughs — namely, Old Sarum — there had been no answer returned; but if the right hon. Gentleman thought that there were any houses in that borough, or that it had paid any taxes, it was open to him to move for a return on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman had laboured to show that the addition of those ten boroughs would alter the principle on which the calculations of Lieutenant Drummond were founded, and in doing so the right hon. Gentleman had reminded him of those Turkish mathematicians who, when asked how many right angles there were in a triangle, replied, that that would depend upon the size of the triangle. The fact was, as he understood it from Lieutenant Drummond, that the including those smaller boroughs in the list would make little or no difference in the calculations which he had made out.

Mr. *Warburton* said, the rule on which the right hon. Gentleman made his calculations was erroneous, inasmuch as he considered that the numerators of portions might be added together, although the denominators were different: thus the right hon. Gentleman added the numerators of two fractions, one of which had a denominator of 432, and the other a denominator of 545. Nothing could be more simple than the arithmetic of Lieutenant Drummond, and nothing could be more complicated than that of the right hon. Gentleman. They had both to add a number of fractions having different denominators, and the right hon. Gentleman was content with adding the numerators only, leaving the denominators as he found them; whilst Mr. Drummond took the much more simple and rational method—reducing all his fractions to others having a common denominator. He believed, that if the right hon. Gentleman would only refresh his memory a little, by looking into "Cocker," or any other of the vulgar Treatises on Arithmetic for the use of children, he would find the method which Lieutenant Drummond had followed, was there set forth and exemplified, but no mention was made of the process which the right hon. Gentleman preferred.

Mr. *Croker* had thought that the question was complicated, but certainly not so much so as he now suspected that it must be, as the ingenious Gentleman who had just sat down clearly showed that he did not understand it. In his (Mr. Croker's) proposition, there was no question about numerators or denominators, nor was it a question of fractions, vulgar or decimal: he asserted, that the simple addition of the original numbers would, in the five instances given by Lieutenant Drummond as *examples*, produce the same result as his complicated calculation; that was what he said, and that was undeniably true; so true that the hon. Gentleman himself had, in private conversation after the former debate, admitted to him, that as far as regarded Lieutenant Drummond's letter, and Lieutenant Drummond's examples, he (Mr. Croker) was clearly in the right. He would now further observe, that if instead of 100 boroughs, the Ministers had taken either eighty-six, the whole number in both schedules, or sixty, the number which were placed in peril of schedule A, the last eleven of those sixty would quite alter their position in relation to the others. And he need not remind the House, that the numbers from fifty to sixty contained the critical part of the list—that part through which the line of disfranchisement was to pass; and what he complained of was, that the calculation was so planned, that the fatal line might fall just where the calculator, by the arbitrary addition or exclusion of boroughs, might choose. But then the noble Lord said, that the first ten boroughs on the list were comparatively unimportant, as regarded both the number of houses, and the amount of assessed taxes. The same objection might apply to the twenty boroughs that occurred afterwards in the list. It was not, however, for the noble Lord or Lieutenant Drummond to determine whether they were unimportant places or not, but the greatest attention ought to have been paid to have the whole calculations made with the utmost fairness and accuracy. He, therefore, thought the figures which applied to these boroughs ought to be furnished without delay, for he was at a loss to discover on what principle they had been omitted in the calculation.

Lord *John Russell* would not say whether, in the case supposed by the right hon. Gentleman, the list would be so affected or not. But he had already explained, that Mr. Drummond was of opinion, that if those boroughs had been added, the list would not be so fair as it was by leaving them out.

Petition to be laid on the Table. On the motion that it be printed,

Mr. *Warburton* observed, that the great difference between the calculations of Lieutenant Drummond and those of the right hon. Gentleman were, that the right hon. Gentleman founded an universal rule upon five boroughs, while Lieutenant Drummond founded his upon the whole, or at least a great majority of the boroughs. He would admit, that in the case put by the right hon. Gentleman, the result would be the same as regarded the order in which the boroughs in question were placed. His objection to the assumption of the right hon. Gentleman was, that his calculation only applied to a particular case, and could not be regarded as a general rule.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, that his right hon. friend was fully justified in applying the language he had used on a previous occasion, in reference to the cases of the five boroughs as given by Lieutenant Drummond. At that time the whole of the list had not been seen by his right hon. friend, and the natural inference was, that the whole would have shared the same result that a portion did, if a fair specimen of the rule had been given; but, leaving these minor details for the present, the great question to be considered was, whether the House was to go into the Committee on the Bill on Friday next, without having the necessary information to proceed upon. It was impossible for them to go into Committee on the Bill until they had laid before them information as to the limits of the several boroughs upon which the amount of their houses and taxes had been calculated. He trusted that the noble Lord would feel no difficulty in postponing the Committee on the Bill for a few days, in order to give them an opportunity of having that information in their possession.

Lord *Althorp* remarked, that on going into Committee, it would not be necessary to take the discussion on either of the schedules in the commencement, and therefore, that there would be no reason for postponing the Committee on the Bill altogether until the information with regard to the boroughs was before them. He need not remind the right hon. Gentleman of the length of time which the other parts of the Bill took in Committee on a former occasion; and as it appeared to him that all the enacting parts of the Bill would be as well discussed in Committee without the information in question, he could not consent to a postponement of the Committee on the Bill from Friday next.

Mr. *Croker* begged to remind the noble Lord, that the noble Secretary of State for the Home Department, in a communication to Lieutenant Drummond, stated to him, that his Majesty's Government were determined to found the Reform Bill "upon a new basis." Were they, he would ask, to go into Committee on the Bill without having that basis before them?

Mr. *Goulburn* maintained, that they could not be properly guided as to the propriety of going into Committee on the Bill, without having the basis upon which it was founded before them.

Petition to be printed.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE.] Lord Duncannon moved the Order of the Day for the House resolving itself into Committee on the Land Revenue Bill.

Mr. *Cresset Pelham* said, he rose to protest against expending 75,000*l.* towards completing this palace. He entertained very serious doubts whether that sum would be sufficient for the purpose, after the experience they had had of the excess of the sums required beyond the estimates furnished, and the equivocal statement that a further sum would be wanted for the providing state apartments. It was, therefore, upon general principles, as well as from local knowledge, that he objected to this proposed outlay, as a wasteful expenditure of the public money, upon a building, the extent and taste of which he might afterwards have reason to condemn. He thought it would be more satisfactory to leave this building as it was, until some ulterior measure might be adopted, by which the whole case would be fully before them.

Mr. *Hume* wished to know, whether the sum of 75,000*l.*, which the House was now called upon to vote for this building, would be sufficient for its final completion, and if not, whether the Commissioners would be at liberty to advance a further sum, as the vote had expressly stated this sum was for the completion of Buckingham Palace. If, therefore, it was not sufficient for that purpose, not one shilling ought to be expended, until the House had been supplied with full information, that no deception, might be practised as to the amount that would finally complete the building.

Lord *Duncannon* said, that, according to the estimate which had been laid before the House, this sum would be sufficient to complete the palace, independent of the state apartments. The present estimate had been formed in compliance with the plan which had been submitted to the Committee, and the greatest care had been taken to have as accurate a calculation as the subject would admit of. He was fully persuaded the sum would be found sufficient for the purpose intended.

Mr. *Hume* would like to know upon what authority the pledge of the noble Lord was given. They had, on a former occasion, a pledge given to them on this subject by a Chancellor of the Exchequer, which turned out to be worth nothing. There was scarcely any part of the plan for the repair of the building which had not been repeatedly altered. The expenditure for building and repairing palaces had much occupied public attention, and great indignation had been manifested at the apparently wasteful expenditure. Before this sum was voted, and the bill was passed, he hoped, therefore, that the public would be satisfied.

Lord *Duncannon* said, that he could only answer the question according to the estimate which had been prepared. According to the plan which had been laid before the Committee, he could assure the House that no further sum would be demanded from the public for this purpose.

Mr. *Hume* wished to know, whether the completion of the building had been contracted for, so that the public might rest satisfied that this sum would be sufficient?

Lord *Duncannon* replied that it had been contracted for as far as it was possible to do so.

Mr. *Briscoe* said, he had serious doubts whether the sum of 75,000*l.* would be sufficient to complete this building. He, however, was glad to find this sum was not to come directly out of the pocket of the public, but out of the produce of the sale of Crown lands. He wished to have the whole sum stated specifically which it would take to render the palace habitable as a residence, because the architect, Mr. Blore, had stated in his report last summer, that if this object were to be accomplished, it would require some houses to be bought up in the neighbourhood, "of unascertained extent and value." This alarmed him, particularly when he recollected that the first estimate for the repair of the palace was 252,000*l.* In the following year it was stated that 331,000*l.* would be required for that purpose, the third estimate amounted to 432,000*l.*, and the fourth to 496,000*l.* and he believed, if the case was fully investigated, that the actual sum already expended on this building exceeded 600,000*l.* He was aware that the proposed outlay was to be made, in conformity with the report of a Select Committee, to save any further expense in respect of St. James's Palace, but as Buckingham Palace had no state apartments connected with it, a large additional sum would be required for the erection of such rooms and a still further and larger sum would be wanted for fixtures, decorations, and furniture. He wished, therefore, to have a full statement of the whole amount that would be necessary to complete all these objects before they proceeded further. The public had a right to know all the probable cost for such matters, or they might be led gradually to an interminable and endless expense.

Lord *Duncannon* remarked, that Mr. Blore had made two reports—the first, as to the estimate necessary to complete this building, and to fit it up as a royal residence: and he had distinctly stated, that 75,000*l.* would be a sufficient sum for that purpose. The second report referred to the probable cost of state apartments, and that gentleman had therein stated that his attention had not been particularly directed to that subject, but that, if such a plan was in contemplation, it would be necessary to purchase a number of houses in the vicinity of the Palace, the value of which he had no means of ascertaining. With reference to furniture, he begged leave to observe, that there was a large quantity in store, which it was proposed to place in the new Palace.

Mr. *Hunt* saw little reason for the hon. member for Surrey to congratulate himself and the country on the saving to the public, by the mode Government proposed to raise the money to finish this building. Was it not the same if the property of the public in Crown lands was sold, and the public revenue thereby diminished, as if it were taken away by direct taxation? By taxation, of course, they must supply the deficiency in the usual annual receipt of Crown land revenue.

Lord *Athorp* said, that this was the estimate of the architect for the building: Mr. Blore was that architect; and from what he knew of him, he believed that the building would be completed for the amount given in the estimate: undoubtedly, the fixtures and furniture were not included, but as his noble friend had already explained, he hoped there would not be a very heavy charge on those accounts, from the quantity of furniture now in hand. It was quite true that the Crown lands were under the control of Parliament, and no difference could be made between them and other public property, but it was considered the present was the most convenient way of meeting the expense.

The Order of the Day read, and the House went into Committee.

Lord Duncannon moved that the first clause of the Bill be agreed to.

Mr. *Goulburn* objected to the principle of taking the Crown lands to defray the expense, and he hoped the Committee would not sanction the adoption of such a measure.

Mr. *Hume* thought, the right hon. Gentleman was the last person who ought to have made such an objection, as the building of the Palace had been carried on by the late Government, and a certain portion of the expense had been provided for by the sale of Crown lands, during the time he had been in office.

Mr. *Courtenay* observed, that it might not be convenient to defray this cost out of the taxes, but certainly the Crown lands ought not to be alienated for the purpose. It would be better, in his opinion, to make them chargeable for the amount for a certain number of years.

Sir *Robert Inglis* regretted to hear the hon. member for Surrey promulgate a doctrine which was, in effect, saying, that the property of the Crown was the property of the public, whereas that property was as much the individual property of the Sovereign on his coming to the Throne, as was the estate of any gentleman on his duly arriving at the possession of it. It was, however, a matter of arrangement between the Sovereign and the two Houses of Parliament, whether he would change it for another species of revenue of adequate value. Another observation of the hon. Member was still more important—he seemed to look to the Crown lands as the source from which the Palace was to be completed, not considering that every alienation of them must be made up to the Sovereign from some other fund on a future occasion.

Mr. *Briscoe* said, the Bill could not pass into a law without the consent of the Crown itself, and that was, of course, an answer to the hon. Baronet's objection.

Mr. *Hunt* said, the public knew full well that the charges for the Civil List came out of the produce of the taxes, and therefore they would have no objection to see these Crown lands alienated, instead of the produce of them given to the favourite Minister of the day.

Lord *Althorp* begged to remark, in reply to the hon. member for the University of Oxford, that he was fully aware that the Crown lands could only be considered as belonging to the public during the life of the Sovereign with whom the bargain had been made for the exchange of such lands against the grant of the Civil List.

Mr. *Courtenay* said, the objection to the Bill was, that it would be found a wasteful means of providing for the expense. A total alienation of the lands ought not to be tolerated, although it might be advisable to charge them with the expense for a term of years.

The House resumed.

SCHOOLS OF ANATOMY.] Mr. *Warburton*, in moving the Second Reading of the Bill for regulating Schools of Anatomy, said, that he should not feel it necessary to detain the House at this stage upon a Bill, the principle of which had been recognized and acted upon by a former House of Commons.

Sir *Robert Inglis* thought, that something more was due to the House than the brief announcement of the hon. Gentleman, that a Bill of a similar character had been already before them, as there were several objections to the principle of this Bill, which required to be obviated before it could have his assent. On a former occasion he had endeavoured to introduce a clause into that Bill without success—which, however, he was glad to observe, was a distinct enactment in the present Bill, and separated dissection from the crime of murder. He considered it inexpedient that such a penalty should remain on the Statute Books, while they were endeavouring to procure subjects to facilitate the study of anatomy, from poor-houses and hospitals. This was undoubtedly an improvement—but there were also omissions. One was, that no provision was made for the decent interment of the remains of those persons who had been the subjects of anatomical investigation. But the great principle to which the hon. Member ought to have directed the attention of the House was, the paramount necessity of procuring the means to facilitate the study of surgery. He believed the science of anatomy could not at present be legally followed. He was satisfied that the study of that science was necessary for the successful practice of medicine, and that, therefore, some means must be taken to remedy the present state of the law. He had ascertained, that during last year there were only eleven bodies which could be legally disposed of as subjects, and these were to supply 800 students of medicine, who ought to have obtained, at least, for the necessary completion of their education, one or more subjects, each. He did not mean to say that this Bill would not remedy that deficiency, but what he complained of was, that the operation of the clause which went to provide subjects would chiefly fall upon the poorer classes. The Bill provided, that any person "having the lawful custody of a body" might permit it to be anatomized. These words would include the keeper of a workhouse, or the head of an hospital. In the former Bill a provision had been introduced, allowing persons to dispose of their bodies after death; perhaps that provision might be improved upon by a registry of such sales being kept, which should state the sum paid, and all other particulars. A party should also have the power of rescinding such a contract by repaying double the amount. This would prevent frauds upon the purchasers. But the great point he desired to establish was, that poverty should not necessarily subject its unhappy victim to the knife of the anatomist. Prisoners, also, who died in gaol, ought not to be exposed to dissection without the consent of their relatives. These were points he wished to see amended in the Bill, and he was fully satisfied that some measure of the kind was necessary.

Mr. *Cresset Pelham* felt satisfied that while men, from sordid motives, could be induced to commit such crimes as those which had lately excited so much horror in the metropolis, none but the strongest measures could be effectual to prevent a repetition of them. He did not take the present Bill to be one of that kind; and, therefore, if upon that ground only, he should be disposed to object to it. Perhaps it might be necessary to inflict some punishment upon the receivers of bodies as well as those who obtained them unlawfully. He was not so impressed with the indispensable necessity of procuring subjects as some other hon. Gentlemen appeared to be. In time of war the field of battle furnished enough of subjects, and there surgeons might obtain a competent knowledge of anatomy. He considered the Bill to be surrounded by serious difficulties. On the one hand it could not be overlooked, that the present high price of subjects operated as a bounty on unlawful means of obtaining them; and on the other, by confining the operation of the Bill, in a great degree, to the poorer classes, it must tend to perpetuate existing prejudices against a practice, which the usage of devoting the bodies of murderers only for the purpose of dissection had invested with the most ignominious associations. He did not conceive dissection to be so absolutely necessary to the advancement of science, as that the feelings of individuals, indeed of the country at large, should be shocked by the means necessarily resorted to to procure a sufficient supply of subjects. But, at all events, considering that the present Bill would give a legal encouragement to the traffic in human blood, he would decidedly oppose it.

Mr. *Hume* said, the hon Member could not have attended to the evidence given by the highest medical authority, that only about ten or twelve bodies could be legally had during the year, while 1100 or 1200 were wanted, and of which 900 were actually obtained. The inducement to murder for the sale of the body of the victim resulted from the high price which could be obtained for subjects for anatomy. The effect of the present Bill would be to reduce that price, and consequently to lessen the premium, if not entirely to remove the inducement to murder. The hon. Member who spoke last must have forgotten, when he alluded to the facilities which were afforded to the study of anatomy in time of war, that those to whom those facilities were afforded were men who must previously have completed their surgical education. The object of the measure now proposed was, to give some facility to the study of anatomy to those who had yet to learn. Thirty years ago, subjects could be procured for 2*l.* or 3*l.*, but now they could not be had for less than 10*l.*: was not the Legislature, therefore, bound to guard against the repetition of such atrocious crimes as had been lately committed, by reducing the temptation to commit them? There might be some difference of opinion with regard to the details of the Bill, but he trusted, that in the Committee these might be so improved as to give general satisfaction. He had been informed by a medical gentleman, that he had found it necessary to prohibit wholly any subjects being brought to his dissecting rooms, for fear of giving any encouragement to the horrid practices of assassination which had recently prevailed. The study of surgery must necessarily suffer from such impediments and difficulties. No person could be more anxious than he was to prevent individual feelings from being lacerated, and he hoped that that was guarded against, by the provision introduced into the Bill, that the body of no person should be dissected without his consent being previously obtained, or that of his nearest relative. He should, therefore, vote for its being read a second time.

Mr. *Perceval* thought, that after the crimes which had lately been perpetrated, some measure should be introduced which would effectually prevent a recurrence of them. To this end, he thought it would be wise to bring in a temporary measure, which should make the possession of a body obtained for the purposes of anatomy, an offence liable to the same penalties as those inflicted for felony. A bill of that kind, operating for a particular period—for instance, for two years—would he conceived, be the best check to the horrible and revolting crime which had taken its name from Burke. The absolute necessity of dissection for the space of two years could not be argued, because every one must feel convinced that there were at the present moment in this country enough of medical men, perfectly skilled in the science of anatomy, to meet any emergency that might occur within that period. Those who were anxious to gain experience and expertness in the use of the knife (and it was to that that the attention of many young men was materially directed) might find in the dissection of animals nearly all the advantage which could result from the mere mutilation of human bodies. Looking upon the present Bill as one which would lead to the violation of one of the feelings most strongly implanted in our nature, without, at the same time, offering a strong and decided check to the crime to which he had alluded, he should certainly feel himself bound to oppose it.

Mr. *Frederick Pollock* differed from the hon. Member who had just sat down. As every surgeon had frequent occasion to perform on the living subject operations necessary for the preservation of life, cessation in the practice of qualifying himself for such operations for two years would materially impair his efficiency. He, therefore, approved of the principle of the Bill, although he conceived some of its provisions to be unnecessary, as only going to legalize that against which there was no law. It was provided, for example, that it should be lawful with his own consent, or the consent of his nearest known relative, to permit the body of any person to undergo anatomical examination. That power already belonged to executors. Another clause made it lawful for a medical man to examine a body after death, provided he had the consent of the party in whose lawful custody it was. This would appear to throw a doubt upon the present ability of medical persons legally to examine the body after death. The Bill also assumed, that no medical student had a right to be in possession of any part of a dead body, although it was very doubtful if such a law was in existence. Every one, he thought, must feel the necessity of some provision being made for the supply of subjects for anatomy, since it was a manifest absurdity that surgeons who were considered civilly—nay, often even criminally—guilty of crime, if they committed a mistake in their practice, should be debarred, from the only means of attaining a competent knowledge of their profession. He admitted, that if public horror was excited, by the manner in which the study of anatomy was practised, it ought to be put down, but where it was conducted in privacy, he did not see why it should be unlawful for a medical practitioner to be in possession of a subject. Bodies were frequently imported from foreign countries, and this Bill presumed, that it was already unlawful to be in possession of such bodies, or even of mummies. At the same time, he wished that every care should be taken to prevent the bodies of even the humblest classes from being disposed of without the full consent of their relatives, as a feeling of affection for the remains of their friends was very prevalent among such persons, and he was the last man to think of trifling with their feelings in that respect.

Mr. *Hunt* said, he was most anxious that the hon. Member who had introduced the Bill, should have given his reasons for bringing forward such a measure, as it was evident from the observations of the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down, that it would be found perfectly inoperative, seeing that the only two clauses authorizing parties to possess and dispose of bodies, gave no more power for such purposes than already existed. This Bill gave a power to persons to dispose of bodies, but they were persons who ought not to have that power; for not only, as had been said by the hon. member for the University of Oxford, might work-house-keepers dispose of dead bodies under its enactments, but gaolers, also, who had the custody of persons who died in debt, and undertakers, likewise, for both of these might have lawful possession of bodies. But whatever might be the nature of a Bill to be passed for such purposes, its operation would principally fall upon the poor. He was not such a Goth or Vandal as to wish to impede the study of surgery and anatomy, but he held it as a matter of great regret that some bill had not been brought forward to prevent the practice of "Burking;" a practice which had been carried on of late to such an extent, that he was surprised it had not come under the special notice of Ministers. The legal price to be given for dead bodies would, under this Bill, act as a premium to needy people to neglect their relatives. What would be much more beneficial than anything contained in this Bill, would be to throw open the hospitals throughout England, instead of suffering them to be monopolized as they now were. He himself knew, some years ago, and he had been recently again informed upon the best authority, that the conduct of the young students in the dissecting-room was too often perfectly disgusting—too disgusting to be described even in an assembly like that, composed as it was entirely of men. He regretted, that the Mover of this Bill had not been able to devise a better plan to accomplish his object, for there were many clauses in the Bill which he should feel bound to oppose. They ought not to be satisfied with saying that the relative of a party might give his body up for dissection if the party himself had not forbidden it, but they ought to insist upon the party's mark or signature, made in the presence of two witnesses, to prove such assent; for there could be no doubt that the poverty-stricken wretch, who would wish to dispose of the dead body of a relative, would take care not to let his expressed desire to the contrary be known.

The *Attorney General* thought, that the hon. Gentleman was mistaken in supposing that his hon. and learned friend opposite could have meant to say that this Bill did not give executors greater powers than they now possessed. He recollected a case in which a party was convicted and brought up before the Judges of the King's Bench, and punished for having part of a dead body in his possession. The hon. member for Preston appeared to require some new law to be passed to prevent the practice of "Burking;" but what kind of law would he have? "Burking" was murder, the punishment for which was as great as possible. The difficulty with respect to "Burking" was its detection; it was generally found, that the more severe was the punishment for an offence, in the same degree was the difficulty in detecting it. The obvious and only mode of preventing this crime was, to take away the motive or inducement to it; and that could only be done by diminishing the price of subjects. At present, medical men must pay for the murder as well as for the corpse; but by making the corpse, in future, easily procurable, all temptation to murder would be removed. At any rate, whatever might be the mischief likely to arise from the legalized sale of dead bodies, the prejudice against it must be removed by reflecting on the still greater mischief of not endeavouring, at least, to put a stop to the frightful practices which had lately prevailed in London.

Mr. *Warburton* said, he should very shortly reply to some of the observations which had been made on the present occasion, without going into any detail with respect to the principle of the measure. He had heard it remarked, that he had brought forward this Bill in thin Houses, but hon. Members must know how difficult it was, except upon matters of great public or political interest, for any individual, bringing forward a measure, to obtain a large assembly of Members; and when those matters of public interest were brought forward, they engrossed and absorbed the whole time of the House; so that, unless advantage were taken of such evenings as the present, it was vain for any private individual to attempt to originate a legislative enactment. The hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Inglis) had said, that he had made no introductory statement with respect to the Bill; but this had been done when it was first introduced, and he had then fully explained the principal clause—which allowed permission to be given for the anatomical examination of a body, except where the party himself desired that such an examination should not take place, or the nearest known relative of the deceased should refuse his consent to such dissection. He did not think that he could go further towards consulting the wishes and feelings of individuals; and these clauses, it must be remembered, applied to the rich as well as to the poor; although, no doubt, the bodies of the poor would be more numerous than those of the rich, because the poor were in greater numbers than the rich; but the principle of the Bill applied equally to both. Although he had not been successful in founding a Bill upon the Report of a Committee of 1829, he was happy to observe that the labours of that Committee had not been entirely useless; for the Representatives of the free Republican States of Massachusetts having appointed a Committee to inquire into the subject, that Committee had quoted largely from their report, in that which they themselves had made; and, ultimately, a bill was founded upon their report, without its being considered that injury was done to the feelings of any part of the community by provision being made for this want of subjects. People talked of science as a matter of curiosity—for the mere gratification of those who had leisure, rather than as one of the noblest and most beneficial acquirements of man; they talked as if surgery were like astronomy, or mathematics, and as if it were not a matter of absolute necessity that means should be provided for curing the wounds and injuries to which the bodies of the poor were liable as well as the rich. The latter would always be able to pay for the very best treatment; and if it were necessary that a medical student should go to France or Germany to complete his anatomical education, they could defray the expense consequent upon his so doing; but if the wounds and injuries of the poor were to be cured, the means by which those who are to attend them are to acquire their knowledge must be rendered cheap and accessible. He would beg leave to conclude the few observations he had thought it necessary to make, in reply to what had fallen from hon. Gentlemen, with this general remark, that, as long as the Judges found it necessary to inflict punishment for transactions such as those which had been adverted to in the debate, so long would it be necessary for the Members of the Legislature to consider whether the evils arising out of the law could not be remedied by enactments of their own.

Question put that the Bill be read a second time.—There not being forty Members present, the House adjourned.

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HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, January 19, 1832.

MINUTES.] Petition presented. By the Duke of RICHMOND, from Milborne Port, a second Petition against the Importation of Foreign Gloves.

INDIA — LAWS RELATING TO PROPERTY.] Lord *Bexley* presented a Petition from the Ministers of the Presidency of Bombay, praying for an alteration in the administration of the Hindoo and Mohammedan laws of property and inheritance; the prayer of which, he considered particularly deserving the attention of their Lordships. He was aware that notice had been already drawn to this subject, inasmuch as the matter had been brought before the Committee which sat upon the affairs of India about two years ago; and in consequence of the report which emanated from that Committee, a representation was made to the Court of Directors, and instructions were sent out by them to the government of India, recommending the abolition of these laws. He had no doubt, therefore, that due attention would be paid to the subject by the present Governor-general. Should, however, the object for which the petitioners prayed, not be attained in consequence of what had already passed upon the subject, the question might be brought before their Lordships when the great question respecting the renewal of the Company's Charter came under their consideration.

Lord *Ellenborough* did not rise to oppose the prayer of the petition; but he thought it was within the power of the local government of India to do all that the petitioners required. It was particularly desirable, in his opinion, that every question which it might be necessary to discuss, with reference to the production of ultimate benefit to India, should be considered separately, and not be deferred until they came to consider the greater question of the Charter; as he was fully convinced, that in determining what should be the future system of government with regard to India, and the nature of our management respecting the China trade, their Lordships would have subjects, in themselves sufficiently important, to occupy their undivided attention.

Lord *Bexley* did not wish to defer the consideration of this question until the subjects of the Charter and the China trade should come under the consideration of their Lordships; indeed, he had stated, that he understood orders had been already transmitted to the local government on this question. All he intended to say was, that in the event of the prayer of the petition not being attended to in the meantime, the subject might be brought forward on the occasion alluded to, should it be found necessary.

Petition to lie on the Table.

TREATY FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF BELGIUM.] The Earl of *Aberdeen* said, their Lordships would, no doubt, recollect, that on the opening of the present Session, his Majesty in the Speech from the Throne had stated, that a Convention had been concluded between the five great Powers, for the arrangement of the affairs between Holland and Belgium, and that it should be laid upon the Table of the House so soon as ratifications were exchanged. The Convention was dated the 15th of November, and it was now a matter of the most perfect notoriety that no ratifications had been, up to that moment, exchanged; although such ratifications ought to have taken place on the 15th of the present month. It was also well known, that his Majesty's Government had agreed to extend the time for that expected change of ratifications, but he must be permitted to say, that he felt some satisfaction that such an event had not taken place, for he entertained the strongest objections to the principle upon which that Convention was founded, and he had no doubt, that if carried into effect, its operation would be attended with injustice. It was therefore with much pleasure that he observed, there was still time to express an opinion upon the terms of that Convention, and should then give notice that on that day week he would submit a motion to their Lordships on the subject.

SLAVE TRADE.] Viscount *Strangford* called the attention of the House to that part of his Majesty's Speech which related to our foreign policy, and referred to a Convention which had been entered into between this country and France for the abolition of the Slave-trade, copies of which were likewise to be laid before the House. Parliament met on the 6th of December, and by a strong figure of speech it was said, they met for the despatch of business. Why they had been called together at so unusual a time, he confessed he did not know, unless it was in obedience to the mandates of the Press and the Political Unions. However, during the time the House sat before Christmas, its proceedings were neither so numerous nor so important, as to prevent their taking into consideration a subject of so much importance as that to which he alluded, yet nothing of the sort had been done, nor any reason given, why the Convention was not laid on the Table of the House. He wished, therefore, to learn from noble Lords opposite, how soon they might expect to have that document, for it was one upon which he was desirous of submitting his views to the House? He would now, however, say thus much, that we ought to pause before we formed new engagements with France, while the old remained unfulfilled; and he could not but confess himself one of those who doubted the utility of treaties with France relative to maritime and commercial affairs; and he, for one, founded this doubt upon the non-execution of all the articles and stipulations contained in that which, by a misnomer, was designated the Treaty of Reciprocity—a treaty which he was sure would be regarded by the French only so long as their interests required its aid. He would give notice, that he would on an early day, move for some Returns which would direct their Lordships' attention, not to the whole of that momentous subject, but to that portion which wrought, and was likely to work so much injury, and be productive of so many grievances to the shipping interest in this country. He would some day next week bring the subject under the consideration of the House.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, January 19, 1832.

MINUTES.] Bills brought in. By Mr. SPRING RICE, more effectually preventing Embezzlement by Public Servants, and to Consolidate the Laws relating to Permits. By the LORD ADVOCATE, for the making Provision for the Despatch of Business in the Scotch Exchequer Court.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. CROKER, the Amount of Assessed Taxes paid in different Counties; and the registered Shipping of the different Ports of the United Kingdom:—On the Motion of Mr. SPRING RICE, of all Exchequer-bills issued between 5th January, 1831, and 5th January, 1832; and for all such to be issued, charged on the Supplies of 1832; an account of all Half-pay Pensions, and Allowances to be paid by the East-India Company to his Majesty's Forces serving in India between 5th April, 1832, and 5th April, 1833; an account of Money in the Exchequer, and remaining to be received, to complete the year accounts up to 5th January, 1832:—On the Motion of Mr. CROKER, a comparative statement of the Population of each County in the United Kingdom, and the number of Members to be sent by each according to the Reform Bill and a Return of the last year's Revenue for England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, respectively, distinguishing the Customs, Excise, Stamp, and Assessed Taxes for each, and an account of the Custom duties collected in, and the amount of registered Shipping, belonging to the several Ports of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, who were to return Members by the Reform Bill:—On the Motion of Mr. HERRIES, Copies of all Communications between the Governments of this country and the Netherlands relating to the payment of the Russian Loan:—On the Motion of Mr. Alderman THOMPSON, of the Expenses incurred in equipping his Majesty's Ships *Romney* and *Ceylon*, for Troop Ships, and the comparative Estimate of their maintenance with hired Ships of the same tonnage.

Petitions presented. By Mr. CRAMPTON, from the Catholic Tradesmen, and Catholic Householders of Galway, for a provision in the Irish Reform Bill to preserve the peculiar franchise of that place. By Mr. HUNT, from the Members of the North-western Metropolitan Political Union, for the Repeal of the Assessed Taxes.

GENERAL REGISTRY OF DEEDS.] Mr. *Strickland* presented a Petition from Hedon, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, against the Registry Bill, which the petitioners alleged would create great expense and its operation be attended with considerable risk and delay. They particularly complained of that provision in the Bill, which prevented the officers of the Registry being personally liable in cases of mal practices. He could distinctly affirm, that public opinion in the counties of York and Somerset, was decidedly opposed to the whole machinery of the proposed Bill.

Sir *Edward Sugden* hoped, that his hon. and learned friend, the member for Stafford, would postpone the further consideration of this Bill, until the House had disposed of the Reform Bill. Whilst the Reform Bill was under discussion he was certain that this Bill could not undergo a sufficient discussion.

Mr. *Campbell* could not consent to postpone the further progress of this Bill. He was most anxious for a full and early discussion of it, for it had been strangely misunderstood. He considered it to be a subject which called for the early consideration of the House.

Mr. *Cresset Pelham* hoped that the hon. and learned Gentleman would not persevere in pressing this Bill at present on the House.

Mr. *Hume* expressed a contrary hope. He trusted that his hon. and learned friend would press this Bill forward on all fitting occasions.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* advised his hon. and learned friend to press forward the Bill, notwithstanding the admonition of his hon. and learned friend, the member for St. Mawes. It was not to be tolerated that the Reform Bill should be made to stop all the other business of the country.

Mr. *Daniel Whittle Harvey* said, the Bill ought to undergo a thorough investigation before it was adopted, but as it was the parent of all the other bills to effect improvements in the laws relating to real property, he hoped that it would be carried forward without delay.

Sir *Edward Sugden* said, he was only anxious for so much delay as would enable the country gentlemen fully to understand and appreciate the nature of a Bill which particularly affected them. It ought not to be exclusively left to lawyers to argue it, nor should the laws of the land be altered without having as much information as could be procured upon every subject. The hon. member for Colchester was in error, in saying, this Bill was the parent of other bills; it really had very little connexion with them.

Petition to be printed.

GLOVE TRADE.] Mr. *Crampton* presented a Petition from the Glove Manufacturers of Milborne Port, against the importation of French Gloves. The petitioners stated, that since that importation had been permitted, the English glove manufacturers were reduced to a state of unprecedented distress. The trade had suffered so much depression during the last year, that prices had fallen from twelve to fifteen per cent; in consequence of which the present prices were scarcely adequate to pay for the bare manufacture of the articles. The petitioners represented, that their trade was one of a domestic nature, and was carried on in such a way as to prevent the necessity of children being separated from their parents. The petitioners attributed the depression of their trade, entirely to the importation of French gloves; and they considered this country was not able to undersell the produce of foreign markets. They further stated, that unless the Legislature afforded them some protection, they must leave the country or be reduced to the last extremity. The gentlemen whose names were affixed to the petition, employed not less than 500 persons each; and he was sorry to state, that within a very short period they had been obliged to diminish their work by at least one-third; the consequence of which was, that a number of persons were thrown out of employ, many of whom were already in the workhouse. The petitioners concluded by praying, that the importation of foreign gloves might be prohibited. This was a subject of great difficulty; but he certainly hoped, that some measure might be devised, to afford these petitioners relief, and which at the same time, might be compatible with those great principles of unshackled commerce, which had been for some time pursued, and he further trusted, that such relief might be given without detriment to the public revenue.

Mr. *Hunt* regretted, that he did not see the hon. members for Worcester and Woodstock in their places as he wished to address them particularly, because he was constantly receiving letters from those places, and from Yeovil, complaining of the distress under which the glove trade laboured. Unhappily, these towns, which for so many years, had ranked among the most prosperous in England, had now become the most miserable, and he had, therefore, hoped, the Members of the two former places at least, would have attended on this occasion.

Mr. *Hume* hoped, that the petitioners would not allow themselves to be led away by the representations which had been made to them, as to the cause of their present condition. He would ask them, when they complained of the pressure under which they laboured, to say, what branch of our manufactures was not in a distressed state. His great object was, to direct their attention to the proper cause of their distress, and to remove from their minds the impression, that if this trade were thrown open to-morrow, it would in any degree aid their return to a more prosperous condition. With the sentiments which he entertained on the subject, he did hope the House would suspend their opinion for the present; because, when the persons interested in this trade, brought the matter fully under the consideration of the House, he conceived they were bound to make out a case to shew that what they complained of had been created by the free-trade system. He was satisfied, that no alteration which could be effected in our present commercial policy would benefit the glove-trade and that the cause of its present stagnation did not originate in the adoption of the system of free-trade.

Mr. *Warburton* had been requested by persons interested in the glove-trade at Yeovil to support the prayer of the petition; and, so far as it prayed for relief, he had no objection to do so. But he apprehended, that no Gentleman in that House, whatever interest he represented—whether agriculture, manufactures, or commerce—would support a proposition for extending relief to one body of persons exclusively, to the prejudice of the general interests of the country. The whole of the manufacturing interests were suffering under pressure—for instance, the iron trade. This country exported her iron to the whole world, in various shapes; and yet no branch of her commerce suffered greater distress. The petitioners ought not to delude themselves by erroneous conjectures as to the origin of their present depression, and ascribe it to free-trade: because, before the present system was introduced, smuggling had been carried on to an immense extent. What the circumstances were which had led to the existing depreciation of our trade, he would not stop to explain; but he was persuaded that, so far from the distress of the petitioners being removed by the adoption of a prohibitory system, such a course would only aggravate the evil.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* felt it to be impossible to allow one observation of the hon. member for Middlesex to pass unnoticed, as that hon. Gentleman had said, that a case could not be made out by the petitioners, to show that the prevailing system of free-trade had been the cause of their distress. But it was a notorious fact, that a very large quantity of French gloves was imported into this country, and he apprehended, that it was not for the petitioners to make out a case, but for hon. Gentlemen who supported the principles of free-trade, and who upheld the system which had permitted this large foreign importation, to prove that the present policy operated beneficially to the home manufacturers.

Mr. *Sanford* was glad to hear the observations which had just been made by hon. Gentlemen who had spoken on the petition; because, during the last Session, the hon. member for Worcester had moved for a Committee to inquire into the causes of the distress under which the glove-trade laboured, which had not been granted, and he regretted this, as he was sure many persons could be found competent to prove whether the country had been benefitted or not by the present system. The present condition of the manufacturers was such as to force the consideration of the different systems upon the attention of the Legislature.

Mr. *Spring Rice* said, he had the honour of recently receiving a deputation of gentlemen connected with the glove-trade, who had stated the great difficulties under which they laboured, and had endeavoured to convince him that no other remedy could be devised to lessen their distress than the prohibition of foreign gloves. They had asked, whether there existed any insuperable objection to revert to the old system? Then a doubt arose, whether it would be possible to put down smuggling to such an extent as to protect the manufacturer? Or whether it was possible to prevent the continual intercourse between the dealers in the two countries in England and France; upon this view of the case, the gentleman suggested schemes to protect themselves by. To all their suggestions, the utmost attention was given, and many communications took place in consequence, between them and the Government, and the ultimate result was, he believed, that the parties were satisfied that any prohibitory system, instead of lessening would only aggravate the evils they laboured under, because smuggling would, of necessity, increase to an amazing extent. With regard to stamping gloves, it was made quite clear, that forged stamps would speedily be fabricated, and thus the invention would become useless. He had only to add, that there existed on the part of

Government, every disposition to receive communications from the glove-trade, and adopt any suggestions, that were likely to lead to a beneficial result.

Mr. *Daniel Whittle Harvey* thought it curious to observe, upon every discussion in which the subject of free-trade was introduced, how careful hon. Gentlemen were, to avoid all sort of reference to that which was the real remedy of these evils. The petitioners felt the effects of a system which, although it might be sound in theory, must, under the existing circumstances, press heavily on them; and he asked any man—whether he was a glove manufacturer, or a manufacturer of any other articles—whether he could (generally speaking) compete with foreign markets? There was but one remedy for the evil, and that was, to relieve the productive industry of the country from an unjust, excessive, and partial taxation, which weighed down the millions of unrepresented Englishmen, until this was removed, it was in vain to have learned disquisitions on free-trade or prohibitive systems.

Petition to be printed.

Mr. *Crampton* then presented another petition, with the same prayer from Milborne Port. He felt himself incompetent to enter on the great question of free trade, but he could assert that the petitioners were in such a distressed state that he did hope some remedy would be found to mitigate it.

Mr. *Robinson* had unfortunately not been in the House when the last petition was presented; he, therefore, gladly availed himself of the present occasion to say, that if Government were determined to continue the free trade system, the manufacturers of gloves must give up their business, and the trade would thereby be totally lost to this country. He understood that his hon. colleague had certain propositions to make, with reference to the glove trade, and he should reserve himself, to enter minutely into the business, for that occasion, but he had hoped such a course would have been unnecessary, as he expected Ministers would have made up their minds, either to propose some remedy or allow of the appointment of a Committee to investigate fully the hard case of the glove manufacturers, to see if any legislative enactment could improve their condition.

Mr. *Weyland* regretted, that the free trade system had been introduced, as he was fully convinced that it was impossible for our manufacturers to compete with those of foreign countries, so long as we were oppressed with such heavy taxes. With respect to this particular trade which employed so many women and children, and was quite a domestic occupation, some relaxation of these principles ought to be immediately made in its favour.

Petition to be printed.

PETITIONS FROM POLITICAL UNIONS.] Mr. *Hunt* presented a Petition from the United Political Unions of Manchester, in favour of the principle of the Reform Bill, but complaining of that clause which made an invidious distinction between the renter of a house of 10*l.* a year and one who paid a shilling less.

The *Speaker* asked how the petition was signed.

Mr. *Hunt* said, it was from the members of the Political Union at Manchester, in public meeting assembled, and signed on behalf of the meeting by Henry Graves, their Chairman.

The *Speaker:* There is nothing to disqualify Mr. Graves from signing a petition, in his being a member of a Political Union, but the House cannot receive a petition signed by one individual on behalf of a body of men, except that individual be the legally recognized organ of that body. Where a petition is presented from several individuals, it must be signed by those individuals, except in cases of a corporation or chartered body.

Mr. *Hunt* begged to withdraw the petition.

Petition withdrawn.

POPULATION RETURNS (IRELAND).] Mr. *Leader* wished to know, from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stanley) opposite, whether he would be prepared at an early day to lay the population returns of Ireland before the House, and whether, in the mean time, he would have any objection to lay on the Table a comparative abstract of the returns of 1821 and 1831?

Mr. *Stanley* said, he was afraid that the returns to which the hon. Member referred would not be ready for some time. But if it were a satisfaction to the hon. Member to know the whole amount, he would refer him to a paper which had been presented, showing that the whole amount was 7,734,000, being an increase of 13½ per cent. on the census of 1821; while the average increase of the population of England during the same period was between fifteen and sixteen per cent.

Mr. *Leader* moved for the abstract, which was ordered.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—BILL FOR IRELAND—FIRST STAGE.] Mr. *Stanley* rose to move for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Representation of Ireland. He said it was not expedient for him to enter into the various subjects which would naturally suggest themselves in the progress of the Bill, and the less so, as, in the first place, he had reason to believe that the House would not refuse him leave to bring in the Bill, which had been introduced in the last Session of Parliament; and, secondly, that the principles on which it rested were such as could not be affected by local circumstances. They were such as were connected with reason and justice, and the Constitution of the United Empire. Neither was it, on this occasion, necessary for him to enter upon the discussion of principles which had been already recognized for England, and which must be held to apply equally to Ireland, unless some specific reasons could be shown why the same rules should not apply to both countries. He trusted it would not be disputed that the House had acknowledged, that nominal Representation was contrary to the spirit and intention of our Constitution, and that the return of Members by individuals was no longer to be tolerated. The House had admitted that the members of a small corporation should not enjoy the monopoly of the Representation of a town, to the exclusion of the great body of the inhabitants—they had admitted, that residence in a town should be a necessary qualification for voters in boroughs, and they had also admitted, that certain qualifications as to property should become the foundation of the right of voting in certain cases; and unless they were prepared to contend, that what was true with respect to England was false when applied to Ireland—unless there were hon. Members prepared to maintain, that the reality of Representation should apply to England while only the mockery should be continued in Ireland, on them must rest the onus of proving their statements: but unless they did so, it must be admitted, that the same general principles of Representation applied to both countries. It would devolve on those who held the opposite opinion to prove why the principles of Representation to be applied to the one country should not also be carried into operation in the other. He was aware that he might be met, by many disposed to concur in the proposition that the same principles of Representation ought to apply to the two countries, with the question, and that by no means a contemptible one—suppose the general proposition to be correct, was this the time when it could be safely applied? Was this a proper period to extend the principle of popular Representation in Ireland, when disorder and discontent were spread so widely in that country—when people were found in so many instances openly resisting the power of the law—and when agitation was carried on in so many places? To this he would answer, that he was well aware of the disorders and difficulties to which he had adverted; he was aware of the conduct of those who called themselves the friends of Reform, yet whose minds were bent on exciting agitation and discontent through the country, and by that and every other means in their power, were doing all they could to embarrass a Reforming Government. With a full knowledge of all these circumstances, he would say, that if the proposed changes in the system of Representation were called for by justice in both countries, they were bound by the principles of justice to apply them equally to each, and in the case of Ireland, to make them applicable, not because, but in despite of, agitation. He was also aware that it was not necessary to carry the principle of Reform in the Representation to the same extent in Ireland as in England; because much of what was to be done in this country had been already effected in Ireland. Much less remained to be done in that country, because so much had been done already. If they looked to the Representation of Ireland, faulty as it was at the present time, and compared it with the description given of it by Mr. Grattan in 1793, it was impossible not to observe that a real and substantial progress had been made in the cause of Reform in that country. In Ireland there were no Gattons nor old Sarums; no boroughs, in short, which had not a respectable number of voters. The Reform, then, which would be necessary for Ireland, was only an application of the principle to a certain extent which had been adopted here. The case would have been different but for the changes which were made at the Union. Of the state of the Representation in Ireland in 1793, some idea might be formed from the following passage in Mr. Grattan's speech on that occasion:—"Of 300 Members," said that right hon. Gentleman, "above 200 are returned by individuals;

from forty to fifty are returned by ten persons; several of your boroughs have no resident elector at all; some of them have but one, and on the whole two-thirds of the Representatives in the House of Commons are returned by less than 100 persons! This is not that ancient, that venerable constitution of King, Lords, and Commons—it is not even an aristocracy, it is an oligarchy. It is not an oligarchy of property, but of accident—not of prescription, but of innovation." Much had been done to reform this state of things at the Union. On that occasion, the principles of disfranchising nomination and rotten boroughs had been introduced and acted on to a considerable extent. He would not then enter, nor indeed was it necessary for him to do so, into the inquiry whether the proportion of Members left for Ireland at the Union ought to have been 200 or 100, nor would he discuss the means by which that measure was carried. All that it was necessary for him to show was, that that which was now recommended in England, had been partly adopted in Ireland at the period of the Union. On that occasion 200 Members were cut off, and 100 left, which were thus divided:—sixty-four for the counties (two for each), two each for the two principal cities, one for the University of Dublin, and thirty-one for the several towns and boroughs which were not disfranchised. The Parliament was now about to do for this country much of what had been already done for Ireland. When Mr. Grattan brought forward his motion for Parliamentary Reform in 1793, this was the language he held; and the principles he then laid down were those on which Government now acted. "We agree, I apprehend," said Mr. Grattan, "that twelve burgesses should not return two Members to serve in Parliament; that is, we agree to the destruction of close boroughs. We agree on the principle which is to conduct your compasses—a mass of propertied people—the precise number only to be a subject of discussion; but we agree that we are to look to a mass of people having property. How far we are to go, and what geographical line, whether the circle or any lesser circumscription, may be a subject of discussion, but not of discord." And again, "we cannot differ about the propriety of residence; of extending the right of franchise to freemen by birth, marriage, or the exercise of a trade for a certain time. Perhaps we shall not differ on the propriety of extending the right of voting to landholders for years having a certain valuable interest; an universal registry; elections to be limited in time, and to be carried on in different places at once; an oath to be taken by the candidate, and to be repeated at the bar by the Member." Now much of this had been accomplished by the Act of Union, and the remainder, he hoped, was about to be effected by the Bill for which he was about to move. One great mistake had been made in the system, by which so much had been completed at the Union, and that was, that in cutting off the rotten boroughs, little attention had been paid to provide a competent and respectable constituency in the towns to which Representatives were left. It was absurd to say, that either Bath or Belfast, with each a large population, were adequately represented, if only such a mockery of Representation was given as placed the representation of 50,000 people in the hands of ten or twelve electors. When the principle of Representation was admitted, it ought not to consist merely in name, but in reality. As to the qualification of electors, it was made an essential principle, that in the boroughs of this country they must be resident, and as that necessary preliminary had been fully adopted in the English Reform Bill, it ought also to be applied to Ireland, unless good cause could be shown why the franchise should not be on the same principle in the one country as in the other. But before he went further into the Bill, he would say one word as to a subject on which he differed from many whose opinions he respected, as well as from those of some others on whose opinion he set no value. It was as to the number of Members which should be allotted to Ireland in addition to those she already had. In the former Bill, it was proposed to give five additional Members to Ireland. In the present, no change was made in that respect; and here he could not conceal from himself, that he spoke in the hearing of many hon. Members who thought that Ireland was not fairly dealt with in not having a much greater addition of Members. He was not, and those hon. Members would admit that they were not, then discussing what were the conditions of the Union of two independent nations. They were considering what were the changes which circumstances rendered necessary in the system of Representation as it now existed. He admitted, that the objection could not be made as to the number of Members, if they themselves had not deviated from the number established at the Union. He knew that that deviation would be urged against them by their opponents, and that, having once made the deviation, for the avowed object of giving Ireland the advantage of such an increase, it would be urged that she had not got such an increase as her increased population entitled her to. If, however, they looked at the debates in the British as well as in the Irish House of Commons in the year 1800, it would be seen that no principle was laid down of having the number of Representatives fixed for a certain proportion of population and wealth. Without any reference to that rule, 558 Members were allotted as the number for Great Britain, and 100 for Ireland; and here he begged leave to remark, that the treaty of Union was not a tripartite treaty, as between England, Scotland, and Ireland, but between Great Britain and Ireland; and therefore, whatever might be taken from England in the number of her Representatives, and added to those of Scotland, provided the whole number were not altered, did not affect the relative proportions between Great Britain and Ireland, nor give the latter country any claim to an additional number on account of any such changes. That was the doctrine laid down by Mr. Pitt; for that distinguished statesman, in recommending the British Parliament to consent to the Act of Union, made use of the following words:—"Upon a full consideration of the subject, the Parliament of Ireland is of opinion, that the number of Representatives for that country in the united House of Commons ought to be 100; upon this subject, the first question to which I have to call the attention of Gentlemen (supposing that they adhere to the resolutions of last session) is, whether the number so mentioned by the Parliament of Ireland is so reasonable, and founded in such fair proportions, that we ought to agree to it? For my own part, Sir, I will fairly confess, that upon this part of the subject, it does appear to me extremely difficult to find any precise ground upon which to form a correct calculation, or to entertain a positive preference for any one specific number of Members rather than another; but I am the less anxious about it, because I do not consider the consequences as very important. In my view of Representation, founded upon the experience of our Constitution, I think we are entitled to say, that if a nation becomes united with us in interests and in affection, it is a matter of but small importance whether the number of Representatives from one part of the united empire be greater or less. If there are enough to make known the local wants, to state the interests, and convey the sentiments of the part of the empire they represent, it will produce that degree of general security which will be wanting in any vain attempt to obtain that degree of theoretical perfection, about which in modern times we have heard so much. Considering it in this point of view (if the interests of the two countries are identified, and the number of Representatives are adequate to the purposes I have mentioned), I really think the precise number is not a matter of great importance. At the same time, when it is necessary that the number should be fixed, it is necessary to have recourse to some principle to guide our determination; and I am not aware of any one that can more properly be adopted, than that which was laid down in the discussions upon this part of the subject in the Parliament of Ireland: I mean a reference to the supposed population of the two countries, and to the proposed rate of contribution. I do not think that the proportion of the population, or the capability of contribution, taken separately, would either of them form so good a criterion as when taken together; but, even when combined, I do not mean to say, that they are perfectly accurate. Taking this principle, it will appear that the proportion of contribution proposed to be established, is seven and a half for Great Britain, and one for Ireland; and that, in the proportion of population, Great Britain is to Ireland, as two and a half or three to one: so that the result, upon a combination of these two, will be something more than five to one in favour of Great Britain, which is about the proportion that it is proposed to establish between the Representatives of the two countries."* The same line of argument was adopted by Lord Castlereagh in the Irish House of Commons. It was not intended that the addition now proposed to be made in the number of Irish Members arose from any feeling that the conflicting interests of the two countries required that Ireland should have more than her present proportion; but the additional Members were given to Limerick, Belfast, and Waterford, not on account of the increased population of 60,000, 40,000, and 28,000 in those places; but because there were great and important interests in those towns which required Representation. This was as much as Ireland could fairly claim, according to the general principles on which the whole measure of Reform was grounded. In preparing the Bill which he was about to introduce, it was found that, with regard to Ireland, there was no necessity for adopting the principle of disfranchisement which had been acted on here, in any extent whatsoever; and it was also conceived to be equally reasonable, in granting additional Representatives, to take a different principle for the extension of the franchise from that which had been adopted in this country. Ministers had done this in order that they might avoid the conflicting claims of different places, the individuals connected with which might be anxious that those places should be specifically represented. This course was the more advisable, because there were very few places now returning Members for Ireland that could not boast of containing the elements of a respectable constituency. Therefore, they had not deemed it necessary to do the same with reference to Ireland as had been done with the small boroughs in England. It was intended to extend to Ireland the right of voting in the same manner that it was extended to England. That right would be given to freeholders and to leaseholders also. If any Gentleman thought that they had not, in this respect, gone so far with respect to Ireland as they ought to have done, he believed they would find, if they compared the one case with the other, that the leaseholder of Ireland had no fair cause of complaint. It was proposed, as the system to be acted on in England, that a lease of sixty years, with a beneficial interest of 10*l*., or a lease of twenty years, with a beneficial interest of 50*l*.; or, according to the motion of a noble Lord opposite, a tenancy at will of not less than 50*l*. a year, should give the right of voting. In the Bill with reference to Ireland, which he had introduced last Session, the right of voting was made to depend, in a great degree, on the amount and the payment of rent. But, as in Ireland the apparent amount of rent was not always a just criterion of the respectability of a voter, it was proposed to alter that point, and to grant the right in Ireland, as it was proposed to be granted in England, with reference to the beneficial interest of the tenant. It had been intended to restrict the right to a beneficial interest of twenty years; but as it appeared on consideration that such a period would exclude a considerable number of persons, holding under-leases, who were fairly entitled to vote, it was deemed advisable to alter the term. It was right that this should be done, because, in cases where the original lease was for twenty-one years, the occupying tenant might have an interest of not more than fifteen or sixteen years. It was therefore proposed that a lease of fourteen years, with a beneficial interest of 20*l*., should give the right of voting in Ireland. If, therefore, Gentlemen would compare what was proposed to be done in England with that which was proposed to be done in Ireland, they would perceive that the latter was very fairly treated. In England, it required a lease of twenty years, and a beneficial interest of 50*l*., to confer the right of voting; while in Ireland a lease of fourteen years, and a beneficial interest of 20*l*., secured that right. Those who objected to the intended extension of the right of voting in Ireland, need not be much alarmed as to the class of persons by whom the constituency was likely to be filled. By a paper presented to the House in May, 1830, the respectability of the county constituency was most clearly shown. He found there, that of the freeholders of the whole of Ireland, amounting to 52,152, no lest than 22,000 were registered as 50*l*. freeholders; 10,000 as 20*l*. freeholders; leaving of the lowest class, the 10*l*. freeholders, only 20,000. In Catholic Munster, where the freeholders amounted to 15,382, he found upwards of 8,000 freeholders of 50*l*.; 3,113 of 20*l*.; and 3,500 of 10*l*. In the province of Ulster, where the Protestant interest strongly prevailed —where the lower classes consisted almost entirely of Protestants—he found 8,536 10*l*. freeholders, out of a total of 15,650. It thus appeared, that where the population was chiefly Protestant, the 10*l*. freeholders greatly overbalanced the others; but that the contrary was the case where the great body of the population was Catholic. He did not say this for the purpose of setting those parties at variance, as two conflicting interests. God forbid that he should do so; so far from meaning to create any such feeling, he could conscientiously declare, that if there were any wish nearer to his heart than another, it was, that he should never again hear the term Protestant interest and Catholic interest used for any hostile or unfriendly purpose. But he should perhaps be told, that by this extension of the elective franchise, the Protestant interest would be entirely overwhelmed. He could very easily show that this was a most fallacious, a most unfounded apprehension. He did not wish to overthrow the Protestant interest, or to give undue power to the Catholic interest. His desire was, to see all parties fairly and properly represented. He did not indeed wish to overthrow that system, the only object of which appeared to be the acquirement of political power, and of which he might say, that the Protestantism or Catholicism of those by whom it was supported was only shown in their violent and intolerant spirit. In the borough Representation it was intended by this Bill to make extensive but necessary alterations. Here, again, he should no doubt be told, that the whole strength and vigour of the Protestant influence in Ireland depended on the preservation, in their present state, of fifteen or sixteen rotten boroughs. He utterly denied the assertion. Protestant property, wealth, and influence, would still have, as they always had, their due share in the Representation of the country; and he did not wish that they should possess more than their due share. But this he would say, that if the assertion of these objectors were true—if the security of the Protestant establishment in Ireland did indeed depend on fifteen or sixteen rotten boroughs, then, whether they passed this Reform Bill, or did not pass it, that establishment could not last. At the time of the Union it was also said, that the destruction of a number of these rotten boroughs was a most dangerous act, as they formed the great, the only protection for the Protestant interest. Perhaps it was so then, when the Government ruled by a small body of what was termed the Ascendancy. But that time had gone by. The Roman Catholics had been allowed the right of voting, other great privileges had been extended to them, and they must be allowed that weight in society which their property could not fail to command. When this objection was urged at the time of the Union, what was the answer? It was said, "If your affairs were always to be managed by an Irish Parliament, it would, perhaps, be a different thing. But hereafter you will not have a separate legislature—these will not be divided countries, but will form one united Empire, the affairs of which will be directed by one united Parliament. Your Protestant interest will not rest on the existence of certain rotten boroughs, but on the superintending wisdom of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland." Such was Lord Castlereagh's answer to objections of a similar kind, and it was a very proper answer. By the articles of the Union, thirty-one boroughs were left to return Members. Now he would ask, was it right or just that those boroughs should be left in their present situation? Or was it not absurd, if they did not, following up the principle of Reform, alter the existing system? Was it fitting that the real constituency of those towns should, in point of fact, have nothing to do with the election of representatives? Belfast, Armagh, and Dundalk, together with several other towns, were placed in this situation. There were eighteen out of thirty-one boroughs, in which the number of electors were under 100, and there were ten which had a constituency of fifteen each, or, in other words, which had no constituency whatsoever. Thus, whether it was Belfast or Old Sarum, the Member returned had nothing whatever to do with those who were called his constituents. The matter was the same in both cases. In making the alteration which occurred at the time of the Union, not much trouble was taken in the formation of the scale that was then acted on. The Legislature proceeded, not on the principle of population, but of taxation—the payment of the hearth and window tax. It however happened, that twenty-four of the places selected had the advantage of combining the largest amount both of population and taxation; but the remaining seven stood very low with respect to population. But this was of no consequence, as the scale did not proceed on the mixed principle of population and taxation. The fact was, that at the period of the Union, the Legislature acted upon a given principle, upon which the Articles of Union were founded; and that principle being once granted, they did not cavil about this or that borough. Indeed, many of those concerned were of opinion, that the disfranchisement of many of the then existing boroughs would be beneficial to the country. The only Amendment moved in the Committee on that part of the Bill was, for the disfranchisement of Mullingar, and the substitution of Enniskillen in its place. He never could find any reason, either with respect to population or taxation, which should have decided the question in favour of Enniskillen. But Mullingar was excluded, and the claim of Enniskillen was admitted. In the boroughs of England it was proposed that the *bonâ fide* 10*l.* householder should have the right to vote. The same provision would be extended to Ireland; but as some difficulty might occur in ascertaining exactly the value of such houses in Ireland, he thought it would not be unreasonable, if those claiming to vote in towns where local taxes for lighting and paving, &c. were levied, were called on to show that they had paid those assessments up to the preceding half year. He did not mean that the payment of minister's money, or assessments of that kind, should come under this rule, but merely local taxes. Thus far he had spoken of the county and borough constituency. There was, however, a third class of constituents, he meant those connected with counties of cities. These districts included the borough itself, and a considerable extent of the country around it. It was proposed in these cases, that the 10*l.* householder should vote in the town, and the freeholders and leaseholders in the county. He did not think it would be just to restrict the freeholder and the leaseholder to a vote for one Member for the town, when their property ought to command a vote for two Members for the county. Therefore a right would be granted to them to vote for the county at large. There was one other point to which he particularly wished to allude, because he was aware that it might lead to discussion, since, in this instance, they had departed from the principle laid down in the English Bill. He referred to that provision of the present English Bill which was not, however, a part of the former English Bill, by which the existing rights of freemen were secured to themselves and to their posterity. That provision they had not deemed it proper to insert in the Irish Bill, and he conceived that they were justified in the omission. The reason was, because there was an objection to this particular class of voters in Ireland, which was not at all in force in England. And what was that objection? It was, that these freemen were mixed up, not with political, but with strong religious and exclusive feelings. It was not, therefore, considered wise to perpetuate a generation of Protestant voters, who acquired their rights, not because they were householders — not because they were landed proprietors, but because, as Protestants, they were considered exclusively qualified to fill the situation of freemen. It was proposed that those who now possessed rights, or those who had inchoate rights, should be allowed to preserve them, but it was considered wise not to perpetuate them, as they were founded on a system of exclusion. It could not but be observed, that the 40*s.* freeholders, who were almost exclusively Catholic, had been dealt with in the same manner. With respect to elections, they would remain as heretofore. It was not thought advisable to limit the time, or to try the experiment of taking the polls in different places. He had now gone through the principal divisions of the Bill, and he would not trouble the House by entering into those minute details, which would be more properly considered in Committee. It would, he hoped, be found, that while, on the one hand, they had not departed from the principle of the English Bill, they had, on the other, not unsuccessfully laboured to do that justice to Ireland which they had strenuously endeavoured to do to England. They had not considered the interests of the one country as different, in any degree, from the interests of the other. Nothing could be more mischievous or fallacious than such an idea. And he was perfectly convinced, that if they wished to convert into a warm, honest, and sincere union of the heart, that union which had been effected by the Legislature—that object could only be achieved by acting towards the one country on exactly the same principles as those which they adopted towards the other. The right hon. Gentleman then moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend and improve the Representation of Ireland.

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* Hansard's Parl. Hist, vol. xxxv. p 423.

Mr. *Leader* observed, that the necessity of a conservative link between Great Britain and Ireland was, on all hands, admitted to be indispensable, and it did not appear to him, that the right hon. Gentleman had given the consideration it required to that great constitutional object. The Crown constituted one great link between the two countries undoubtedly, and he trusted the connexion would ever continue, but there were other links required, of great strength and value in upholding the intimacy between the countries, which were now loose and inefficient, as would fully appear on a due examination. The Ministers of the Crown, from want of local knowledge, did not form that link. The Irish Members, filling places in England—the English Members, returned for Irish boroughs — the Irish and English absentee landed proprietary—all these formed no conservative link. The conservative link was only to be found in a full, fair and equal Representation for Ireland. And it was of the utmost importance that this link should be more strongly forged than the Bill which the right hon. Gentleman was about to introduce was calculated to effect, although he admitted some good might be derived from it. He was not one of those who would raise light and trivial objections, but the present state of Ireland loudly called for, and demanded from that House, such measures as would convince the people of that country, that proper attention was given to their interests, and that their just and indisputable claims would be acceded to; and by thus shewing that a wise anxiety prevailed to meet their wishes, prove to them that the only real, permanent, and conservative link between the two countries was about to be established. There was undoubtedly great cause of complaint, that the county Representation of Ireland consisted of only sixty-four Members, and that it was not proposed to grant an additional number under this Bill was considered hard. If additional Members were not to be given to Ireland, what great favour, what additional advantage of importance was Ireland to obtain? Had she not already her sixty-four county Members, returned by a franchise similar to that about to be extended to Great Britain? Had she not her five cities—Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Kilkenny, with large constituencies composed of freemen and 40*s.* freeholders, returning seven Members? Had she not her University returning its Member? Had she not her ten open towns, with large constituencies based upon the 5*l.* franchise, and returning their Representatives? Was it not her great ground of complaint, that she had eighteen rotten boroughs, like those of Great Britain, which were so justly condemned as a mockery of Representation? He knew that an objection had been raised to enlarging the number of Irish Representatives, on the pretence that it would give a Catholic Representation to Ireland. He asserted that it would have no such effect. Of the ten open towns, half were situated in the north of Ireland, where the constituencies were all Protestant; of the rotten boroughs, six of them were situated in the heart of a Protestant county in the North of Ireland; namely, Armagh, Belfast, Carrickfergus, Dungannon, Enniskillen, and Lisburn. The six boroughs likely to have a Catholic constituency were Carlow, Clonmell, Dundalk, Ennis, Kinsale, and Tralee; while the remaining six, Athlone, Bandon, Cashel, Portarlington, New Ross, and Sligo, might be fairly considered as likely to have a preponderating Protestant interest. Under these circumstances there was an end to all argument drawn from a supposed danger of a Catholic constituency. No person locally acquainted with the country could with any reason maintain such a proposition. The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to the calculation made by Lord Castlereagh at the time of the Union. That noble Lord took the population as 202, the exports as 100, the imports as 93, and the revenue as 39; and then, by dividing the aggregate of them by four, the result was 108. Lord Castlereagh, therefore, proposed, that this number of Members should be allotted to Ireland. But, mistaken as Lord Castlereagh was in his calculations, Newenham found that, by taking that noble Lord's own ratio, Ireland ought to have had 169 Members. At present, however, they were not called upon to decide upon such vague information as was possessed either by Lord Castlereagh or the historian; for official documents were in existence upon which they could confidently rely. He was surprised that the right hon. Gentleman, before bringing forward such a subject as this, had not examined more accurately the statistical information within his reach. Looking either to the territory, to the population, or to the revenues of Ireland, to the houses or to the trade, they would find that country was fairly entitled to more Members than were allotted to her by the present plan. According to the best authorities, Ireland contained 20,437,974 statute acres: Great Britain, according to the trigonometrical survey, had a territory of 56,000,000 of acres, which taking, extent of territory as the basis of the calculation, would entitle Ireland to 201 Members. By the census of 1821, the population of Ireland was 6,800,827, and that of Great Britain was 14,391,631, entitling the former, on the basis of population, to 261 Members. In 1821, Ireland had 1,142,602 houses, while Great Britain had no more than 2,429,629, thereby proving, if the number of dwellings was considered as a criterion, that Ireland was entitled to 261 Members. According to the financial returns, the revenue of Ireland was 4,660,983*l.* exclusive of the duty on tea; while that of Great Britain amounted to 50,786,682*l.* Looking to these figures alone, Ireland would only be entitled to fifty-seven Members; but if the enormous sums were taken into the account that were drawn out of that country by the absentee proprietors, Ireland would be entitled to a much larger share of Members than she at present enjoyed. In point of trade, likewise, she had claims for more Members than it was proposed to give her. By the last official documents, in 1825, the amount of the imports into Ireland was 8,596,785*l.* sterling, whilst the amount of the imports of Great Britain for 1828 was 43,467,747*l.*; this proportion would entitle Ireland to 109 Members. The exports of Ireland for 1825, amounted to 9,000,000*l.* and those of Great Britain tо 61,082,695*l.* so that, if the exports alone were taken as the test of right to Representation, Ireland could only have eighty-six Members. Upon the whole of these statements he wished the House fully to consider, whether a country with a trade, population, revenue, and territory, such as he had described, was likely to rest satisfied with 105 Members while it considered itself fully entitled to 161. The right hon. Gentleman well knew the state of excitement which prevailed in Ireland; and he appealed to his reason to say, whether it was likely to be diminished by the award of such a disproportioned share of the Representation as was given it by this plan. He asked him, whether he thought it unreasonable that thirteen new Members should be given amongst the counties which had a population of upwards of 200,000 souls each, with one to Dublin, and one to Kilkenny? The last place had, by the census of 1821, a population of 23,000, with 169 houses more than Waterford; and he saw no reason why Waterford and Limerick should be preferred to it, or, why one of the most ancient cities in Ireland, of great manufacturing importance and wealth, which, when a domestic legislature existed, returned four Members, should be excluded from having a second Representative. Certainly, in the Committee he should feel himself bound to press its claims for an additional Member upon the attention of Government; for him, that would be but a small acknowledgment to a city to which he should ever feel the most lasting obligation, for having done him the honour of inviting him, who was a perfect stranger, to become its Representative; he only wished that his ability was equal to his desire of promoting its prosperity. The different facts he had brought before the House were well worthy the attention of statesmen, and no man of common sense could undervalue a population of 7,000,000, which employed 75,000 British seamen in the cross-channel trade; which gave subsistence to half a million of British subjects dependant on their industry, and whose commerce with England was greater than that of France. Let no man flatter himself that he could induce the people of Ireland to believe they would be adequately represented by 105 Members. They knew they had no representative in the King's Councils, and no person to protect their interests in the Cabinet. He had compared the statistics of Great Britain and Ireland, and was not ashamed to make the claim he did on behalf of his country. It was not as an Irish Gentleman that he alone was interested in this question, for all the hon. Gentlemen who heard him were equally interested in it. He presumed not to impugn the motives or depreciate the exertions of others; but he must be permitted to say, that he had never been a member of any union. He found no fault with the conduct of hon. Gentlemen who believed that they were acting so as to maintain the institutions of their country. But while he had supported his own opinions, and zealously combated and confronted the objections raised against them, he had at the same time made allowance for the course which others had thought it their duty to pursue. All he requested was, that hon. Gentlemen would consider the facts upon which his claim was made, and to bear in mind, that all his arguments were drawn from official documents. The navy of England might spread its sails into the harbours of Ireland, its army might cover its soil, and the people of the country would be glad of the presence of both, for both would spend considerable sums of money, without, however, guaranteeing the safety of the country, as might be seen from its present condition, after 100,000,000*l.* had been expended on the military establishments of Ireland since the Union. He had always been anxious, as Gentlemen who had held official situations in Ireland could testify, to induce the people to cultivate a feeling of affection towards this country, and to endeavour to improve their condition by augmented industry, and extending their commercial intercourse with England; but it would be in vain for any one to attempt to pursue that course unless the people were convinced that their interests were fully attended to, and that the British Government not only meant justly, but gave decided and practical proofs of that determination. What was it that he required for Ireland? Only that the great counties which had two or three hundred thousand inhabitants, should return three Members instead of two. The Members for Ireland considered that so much at least was due to their country. There were ten counties in Ireland, containing 6,000,000 Irish acres, and nearly 3,000,000 inhabitants, being half the territory and half the population, which returned only twenty-nine Members; whilst the other half of the country returned seventy. Was that just or reasonable, and should not Government avail itself of this great and favourable opportunity for remedying this injustice? From the Shannon to Londonderry, where this great want of Representation existed, Ireland possessed a number of the safest harbours and the greatest variety of other national capabilities: it was near to France, Spain, and Portugal, and had a facility of communication with all parts of Europe, and that most flourishing and happy country, America, which rendered it peculiarly fitted for commercial enterprise. He had not risen to complain of any part of the speech of the right honourable Secretary for Ireland, which, as far as related to the mode of regulating the franchise, was able and judicious; nor did he make any objections to the leasehold qualification being raised to 20*l.*, but his great desire had been to lay before the House official data to prove that, with regard to Representation, Ireland had been badly treated by this Bill; and he sincerely hoped that his Majesty's Ministers would give their serious consideration to this point. In calling their attention, and that of the House to those matters, he felt that he had only done his duty, and he hoped that he had discharged it without giving offence to either party in that House. In conclusion he would entreat of Government and of Parliament to act towards Ireland with justice, temper, and moderation, and he would ensure to them the best possible results from such a system.*

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* The following Statistical Calculations form the basis of Mr. Leader's speech:—

The Circumstances and Data on which Viscount Castlereagh adjusted the Representation at the Union, compared with what it should have been, as calculated by Newenham, in his "Natural and Political View of Ireland in 1809."

By Castlereagh.

	Members.
1. Population	202
2. Exports	100
3. Imports	93
4. Revenue	39
	4)434
	108½

By Newenham.

	Members.
1. Population	228
2. Exports	179
3. Imports	168
4. Revenue	85
5. Rental	186
	5)846
	169⅓

The Political Strength of Ireland, as far as relates to Population, and as compared with Great Britain, in 1821; showing the proportion within the age of Labour, and the number capable of bearing Arms. [Census of 1821.]

IRELAND.

Provinces.	The Age of Labour, 15 to 50.				
	15 *to* 20.	20 *to* 30.	30 *to* 40.	40 *to* 50.	Total.
Leinster	200,811	326,998	206,383	142,846	877,038
Munster	238,752	335,678	231,501	142,450	948,381
Ulster	250,084	343,009	215,374	159,166	967,633
Connaught	138,646	189,793	127,498	79,885	535,822
Total	828,293	1,195,478	780,756	524,347	3,328,374
Proportion of Males capable of bearing arms	414,196	597,739	390,378	262,173	1,664,437

GREAT BRITAIN.

Total within the age of labour	1,248,780	1,997,475	1,468,656	1,162,992	5,857,903
Proportion of Males capable of bearing arms	624,390	988,737	734,328	581,496	2,928,951

The foregoing Table exhibits the national power of the British people in 1821. It demonstrates clearly that the numerical strength of the productive classes in Ireland to those in Great Britain stand in the proportion of 3 to 5, or, as a military population, in the ratio of 1½ to 3; and on this point alone, if Great Britain is to have 553 Members as the Representation of her people, Ireland is pre-eminently entitled to claim 314.

Mr. *Ruthven* said, that he was one of those who had attended a meeting of Irish gentlemen and Members of Parliament that had been lately held in Dublin, and he begged to deny that that meeting was connected with any Political Union whatever. With regard to the agitation which prevailed in that country, it would require all the power and energy of Ministers and of that House, to allay the excitement that existed; and that object would not be accomplished by palliatives administered from day to day. It must be effected, if at all, by a system of comprehensive and complete justice, and the present Bill was not, he thought, a mark of that justice. The right hon. Secretary had referred to the compact made by the Irish Parliament at the period of the Legislative Union: a bargain such as that made by a venal and corrupt body like the Irish Parliament, that sold its country and itself to the English Government, was not one that should be cited in the way of precedent or authority, and though he did not regret the Union, he would say, that it was accomplished by the most disgraceful means. It was a disgraceful period in Irish history, and one that should never be referred to as an example. But even allowing that 100 Representatives were a fair proportion for Ireland at that time, it was absurd to continue nearly the same Members under an altered state of circumstances He maintained that the present Bill did not give a sufficient number of Representatives to Ireland, or such a number as that country was fairly entitled to; and he begged to inquire, whether it was expected that

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IRELAND compared with GREAT BRITAIN, as to Territory, Population, Houses, Revenue, Imports and Exports, with the relative Proportion of each, calculating 553 Members, as proposed to form the Representation of Great Britain.

	IRELAND.	*GREAT BRITAIN.*	*RELATIVE PROPORTION.*
I.—TERRITORY. Statute Acres in Ireland (by Parliamentary Reports, 1813-1814), and Statute Acres in Great Britain (deduced from the Trigonometrical Surveys of Great Britain).	20,437,974	56,029,400	201
II.—POPULATION IN 1821 (Census Returns).	6,801,827	14,391,631	261
III.—INHABITED HOUSES IN 1821 (Census Returns).	1,142,602	2,629,629	260
IV.—REVENUE (Annual Finance Accounts—*see Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.*)	£4,660,983	£50,786,682	57
V.—IMPORTS (Ireland, in 1825, from Report on State of Poor in 1830—Great Britain, in 1828, from Annual Finance Accounts).	£8,596,785	£43,467,747	109
VI.—EXPORTS (Ireland, in 1825, from Report on State of Poor in 1830—Great Britain, in 1828, from Annual Finance Accounts).	£9,243,210	£61,082,695	83
			6) 971
By the foregoing, Ireland claims			161⅚ Members.

Ten Counties, exhibiting in Territory one half of Ireland, and in Population in 1821 considerably more than all Scotland in 1831, returning only 29 Members.

Counties.	Members.	Irish Plantation Acres.	Population in 1821.
1. Donegal	2	679,550	248,270
2. Sligo	3	247,150	146,229
3. Roscommon	2	346,650	208,729
4. Leitrim	2	255,950	124,785
5. Mayo	2	790,600	293,112
6. Galway	3	989,950	309,599
7. Clare	3	476,200	208,089
8. Kerry	3	647,650	216,185
9. Limerick	3	386,750	218,432
	23	4,820,450	1,973,430
10. Cork	6	1,048,800	629,716
Total	29	5,869,250	2,603,216

Ireland, constituting as it did, one-third of the population of the empire, should be contented with only one-sixth of its Representation? Was that country always to be kept prostrate at the feet of England? He repeated, that he did not think that Ireland had been fairly treated by this Bill, as far as regarded Representation, and he contended that thirty-two additional Members, instead of five, ought to be allotted to her. There was one point connected with the details of the Bill which he wished to notice; that was, there were three towns in Ireland in which the franchise was in the hands of *5l.* householders; he hoped their rights were not to be disturbed by the Bill. There were other large towns, as well as counties, that fully deserved additional Representation; and he believed a Committee of that House sitting at Dublin, with powers to make inquiries, and the inclination and skill to render them effectual, would do more good by obtaining local information, than any other measure whatever. It was the mind, not the land of the country, that wanted improvement, and the great want was that of moral and social cultivation. The people of Ireland wishing for this, looked to the House of Commons, and to his Majesty's Government, for that share of Representation to which they were fairly entitled. When they got this, then would their complaints be made through the natural channel, and find their way, as they ought, to the Legislature; but if adequate Representation were denied, the people of Ireland would be always subject to the delusions of every agitator who might wish to disturb the peace of the country. It would be the highest injustice not to destroy the rotten boroughs of Ireland, which were as close, and as much under control, as Gatton or Old Sarum; but the consideration of the whole state of Ireland was a subject too wide for him at present to enter upon, wherefore he would reserve his opinion upon it until a future occasion.

Sir *John Bourke* expressed his disappointment at finding that, notwithstanding the opinions of the Irish Members, and those, too, who had given unflinching support to Ministers, no change had taken place in the proposed Bill, with respect to an increase in the Representation of Ireland. This was a subject which he should wish to see fairly put to the test of a division before the English Bill was further proceeded in. He entirely concurred in the arguments of the hon. member for Kilkenny (Mr. Leader), whose data were such as could not be denied, and he agreed with him in thinking, that every county with a population of 250,000 inhabitants was entitled to an additional Representative. He had heard with delight the speech of the right hon. Secretary for Ireland; but his right hon. friend had made a most grievous mistake, in not bestowing the same advantages upon the agricultural population of Ireland, which the Reform Bill extended to the agricultural class in England. For instance, the county he had the honour to represent, Galway, and its neighbouring county, Mayo, were of vast extent, of great fertility, and possessed an immense population; and yet they, by this Bill, were to have no greater number of Members than Carlow and Longford. It would no longer be tolerated in England that Rutland and Yorkshire should have the same number of Members; why, then, not extend the same principle to Ireland? He would also prefer having the polling at elections to be taken by baronies, instead of at the county town: as an instance of the inconvenience of which, he would just observe, that there were places in the county of Galway seventy-five miles distant from the place of election. The basis of Representation established at the time of the Union, was unjust to the people of Ireland. Now was the time to remedy that injustice, and place the west on the same footing as the north and south, by giving that part an addition of Representatives.

Mr. *John Browne* thought, that the data upon which the hon. member for Kilkenny had founded his speech were so incontrovertible, as to render it almost unnecessary for any further comment to be made upon the subject. It was enough for the friends of Ireland to say, that they subscribed to the truth of the facts which the hon. Member had so ably stated to the House. He implored the right hon. Secretary, as a member of the Government, to take those facts into his most serious consideration—to direct his attention to the real state of Ireland—to frame measures to alleviate its sufferings—and, above all, upon the question of its Representation, to deal out such a measure of justice as should establish the confidence of the people in the good faith of the Government. Thus would the agitators of Ireland be shorn of their real strength, and with tranquillity and confidence would return prosperity and happiness. It would be vain to look for this while the Representation of Ireland remained as it was; for, while the larger counties of England were admitted to an additional share of Representation, how was it possible to reconcile the monstrous anomaly, that in Ireland the great county of Mayo, which he had the honour to represent, containing no less than 380,000 inhabitants, should remain with but two Representatives?—that county had within itself resources which, properly developed, would enable it to support its population in the highest state of prosperity; and one of the means of developing those resources would be, to give that immense population its just share in the general Representation of the country. The time had arrived when nothing but strict and equal justice could keep the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland together. He further regretted to observe, that there appeared no inclination to adopt the polling in baronies instead of carrying all the electors to the county towns. That would in itself go far to deprive agitators of the power they possessed, under the present system, of effecting their purposes by the influence they acquired over assembled masses of the inhabitants.

Sir *Robert Inglis* congratulated the House on the happy harmony in which those who usually supported the Reform Bills now united to express their regret and their vituperation in respect to the Irish Bill. He would have left the question to them if it had not been for two or three passages in the speech with which the Motion was prefaced, and to which he thought it important that the same House which heard them should have its attention recalled, with a view to some answer. He would himself, however, notice one only of those points—a point which, to him, was the most important, as the clue to the rest. In alluding to this he should be ashamed to avail himself of an inadvertent and unintentional expression; but in this instance the expression and the argument were identical. His Majesty's Ministers (for he would not refer to the speech of his right hon. friend in which it occurred, recollecting gratefully his defence of the Protestantism of Ireland in 1824) having resolved not to concede to Ireland that boon with which they had at last indulged England (the continuance of the franchise to freemen and their descendants for ever), proceeded to give the reason—and to this reason he begged the attention of the House. "We do not continue this right to Ireland, because we should thereby perpetuate a generation of Protestant freemen." Let Protestant Ireland mark this. "That syster we wish to get rid of." He took the word down at the moment. Now let the House and let the country see the design her avowed by his Majesty's Ministers. H would not ask for what objects the Iris boroughs were originally created; ever one knew how many were raised specificall as *nuclei* of Protestant interests. H would not stop to ask what was the propor tion of Protestants in the present popula tion of Ireland; though, recollecting th use which had too often been made of th argument of numbers in respect to th Roman Catholic emancipation, he could no resist the opportunity of stating his belie that the Protestants of Ireland, Episcopa lians and Dissenters together, would, by th last census, be found to be three millions He would not stop to consider what wa the proportion of the property and th intelligence of the Protestant body in Ireland. But he would ask, bigot as he migh be thought for asking, whether this countr had not prospered exactly in proportion as i had maintained its Protestant character, an had defended Protestant interests every where? and whether his Majesty's Ministers thought that this country would bea to have its Protestant interest, as such, destroyed? whether they thought, that in th present excitement of Ireland, they coul hope to carry this the worst of the ba effects, of their Irish Reform Bill? Th question was not as to equality; agains equalizing the two, indeed, except as to th exercise of the religion of the Roman Catholics and the enjoyment of property, h had struggled to the last; but he did no wish to revive that discussion. In th present case, however, the object sough was the annihilation of the Protestant interest, as such—"that system we wish t get rid of." Say only that the proportions were to be altered, it was clear that so fa the Protestant interests would be injured But this country was still a Protestant country, and in a great proportion this House was Protestant: and he trusted that no Minister would be able to prostrate the Protestant strength in Ireland. His Majesty's Ministers would fail, he trusted, alike in their Education Bill and in their Reform Bill. In both, let them beware of loosening that interest in Ireland which was the last and only link between the countries.

Mr. *James Grattan* begged to inform the hon. member for the University of Oxford, that he had entirely mistaken the purport of the expression upon which his observations had been founded. The right hon. Secretary did not say that it was the wish of the Government to destroy the Protestant interests of Ireland, but that they wished to get rid of the system of perpetuating the succession of Protestant freemen. Had the hon. member for Oxford a more intimate knowledge of the manner in which elections were conducted in Ireland, he would know that the practice of making Protestant freemen for the purpose of keeping up Protestant interests, had prevailed to an almost incredible extent. It was high time that a stop should be put to this pernicious system, and he, therefore, rejoiced to find that Ministers proposed to do so. The Bill which the right hon. Gentleman had submitted to their attention was, in his opinion, fair, just, and reasonable; but, at the same time, he felt bound to say, that it could not be satisfactory to all parties in Ireland. For his own part, he thought, it would be only just that that country should have the number of its Representatives increased in the same proportion as Scotland. If Scotland, with its more limited population, were to have eight additional Representatives, he thought that Ireland, in consideration of its superior size, and more numerous population, ought to have sixteen or seventeen. He differed from the hon. Baronet, the member for Galway, as to the polling of the county electors in each separate barony, which, in his opinion, would not be an advantage. Such an arrangement would only give rise to inconvenience and expense. He certainly thought that some different mode of registering votes should be adopted, since nothing, in his opinion, could be more objectionable than that the Assistant-barrister should have it in his power to postpone the right of voting until it was too late to be of any value. This was, undoubtedly, a point of great importance, and one which demanded the most serious consideration of the Government, because, as long as difficulties were thrown in the way of registering the votes, it was idle to talk of any beneficial Reform.

Sir *George Warrender* would not have obtruded himself upon the House at that period of the debate, had it not been for the observation made by the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, that if Scotland had eight new Members, Ireland ought to have sixteen. He, on the contrary, thought, that eight were not enough for Scotland, and in giving that as his opinion, it was but fair and candid to the hon. member for Kilkenny, who had so eloquently pleaded the cause of his country, and to the other Gentlemen from Ireland who had supported his views, to protest that he did not think they could make out any case, for even the five additional Members allowed them by the Government. Their chief argument appeared to be, that Ireland was inadequately represented. During the twenty-five years he had sat in Parliament he had not found that to be the case. He had always been ready to act with the Members for Ireland in any measure that could promote the prosperity of that country; and if he could discover, either from history or experience, that since the Union the interests of Ireland had been neglected, he should be willing to join them in their demand for more Members, but the very contrary was the fact, as appeared from the result of their exertions. Led by the patriot—Sir John Newport—whose name he might mention, since he was not present, they had obtained the privilege that Irish produce of all kinds should be freely admitted into this country at a period when Great Britain was burthened with the Property-tax and the Assessed-taxes, from which Ireland was exempt. Nor was this all: religious liberty had also been obtained for Ireland—principally by the splendid and overpowering eloquence of the father of the hon. Gentleman who lately addressed the House, for it was he who laid the foundation of that triumph in the House of Commons. But did these things prove the insufficiency of the Representation of Ireland? Certainly not, but quite the contrary, every Administration, for a long time past, must have felt the importance, and occasionally the pressure, of the Irish Representation upon the Government of this country. He therefore could not persuade himself that even an increase of five Members for Ireland was necessary; though, at the same time, he hoped that this expression of his opinion would not cause him to stand ill with the Representatives of that country, for whom he had the greatest respect. In making the arrangement which took place at the Union with Ireland, the compact then entered into was between Great Britain and Ireland. That bargain he held to be conclusive; and he therefore looked upon these additional five Members as a great concession in favour of Ireland, and that it was rather early at this time of day to disturb the proportional Representation of that part of the empire. But the hon. member for Wicklow said, that because Scotland was to have eight additional Members, Ireland ought to have sixteen: in answer to which he must beg that hon. Member to recollect, that the Union with Scotland had now existed upwards of 120 years. Edinburgh had now one Member; but no other town throughout Scotland had one to itself, while Dublin had two Members. Cork had a Member, the thirty-two counties of Ireland had two Members each; and Limerick, Galway, Waterford, and Belfast, were, under this new Bill, to have two Members each. He trusted, after this statement of facts, that he might, as a Scotchman, be allowed to mention, that Dundee, Aberdeen, Paisley, and Greenock had important claims upon the Legislature, and yet they were only to be allowed one Member each. Inverness was not to have a Member, and he could enumerate other considerable towns in the same situation. With respect to the counties, too, Scotland was to have no additional Representation—not even the important counties of Edinburgh, Lanark, Aberdeen, and Ayr. In his opinion, that debate had effectually shewn the justice of giving Representatives to the places he had named; and how cold must be the patriotism of Scotland, if, after the example that Ireland had set, Scotch Members were to be content to see the great counties and the large manufacturing towns of that part of the empire left in their present condition. These observations had been drawn from him by the remarks of the hon. member for Wicklow. He found no fault with the five additional Representatives allotted to Ireland, but he could not perceive that a strong case had been made out for even these, much more for the larger number claimed by the Representatives of Ireland.

Mr. *Sheil* said, that the hon. Baronet (Sir G. Warrender) had compared Ireland with Scotland, while Ireland compared herself with England. The comparison should be between the two countries and England. The hon. Baronet had intimated that Ireland was concluded or estopped by the Union. Pray was there not an estoppel of his own country, of Scotland, by her Union in 1706? His argument was exceedingly Irish in favour of Scotland. He concluded that because Scotland had got eight Members, Ireland ought to have no additional Members; and he in the same breath relied upon the Union, which applied to one country as well as to the other. But he (Mr. Sheil) would reserve his observations on this part of the case for the motion which he should give notice of for to-morrow, which would bring the rights of Ireland distinctly before the House. One word respecting the hon. member for Oxford (Sir R. Inglis). The member for Wicklow had implied that the hon. Baronet had never been in Ireland. What a mistake! Why, the hon. Baronet (though few people were aware of it in Dundalk) had once been member for Dundalk; of course he must needs have had a very close connection with that important town. By the way, the Representatives of Dundalk stood in singular order; there was Mr. Barclay, the brewer, whose name appeared so conspicuous on so many posts, in the splendid intimation of "Barclay's Entire;" there was a Colonel Cradock, who, he believed, never had seen Dundalk in his life; and there was, though last not least, the present hon. Member, who certainly had seen it, because there was scarcely a part of Ireland with which he was not familiar. The hon. Baronet said there were 3,000,000 of Protestants in Ireland. Where did he find them? Did he see in the town of Dundalk, when he was its Member, the data from which this inference was to be drawn? He suspected that he must have seen it in the gazette of orthodoxy and of loyalty, the *Dublin Evening Mail*. He saw some calculation of this kind of these 3,000,000 in buckram in that journal, which is certainly the organ of a strong party in Ireland. But the hon. Baronet should take courage from his own statement, and not be so readily cast down by the mere proposition of admitting the Catholics to the rights of citizenship in Ireland. With his 3,000,000 at his back, what need he fear? He told the House that the Protestants constituted the wealth and intelligence of Ireland; if so, why dread so much the poor and ignorant Catholics? Aye, says the hon. Baronet, but we must keep up the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, and that can only be done by shutting out the Catholics from civil power; for such was the only meaning which his words bore. Did the hon. Baronet fear for the Protestant interest in the House of Commons? Surely he did not stand in need of the Protestant freemen, with his millions at his back. The case of the freemen was simply this:—the 40*s*. freeholders were to counterpoise the freemen, and the one being removed, the other must pass away. A little nursery of faction was not to be maintained in every Corporation. Who were the men who call on the Government to maintain this offensive ascendancy? Men, who sleep on in their dreams of domination with the broad daylight about them—men who conceive that Ireland should be governed in 1832 on the same principles of misrule as half a century ago. What claim have they on the English people? They are arrayed in hostility to their rights. But even if he admitted, that Catholic influence was to be increased, what inference unfavourable to Reform could be deduced from that hypothesis? Had the fourteen Roman Catholics in the House (there were no more) acted such a part, as to justify the imputation on them? Had they proved that slavery was a part of their religion? Why should they commit a trespass on the estate of which they were joint tenants? "Here I stand (said the hon. Gentleman), a Roman Catholic before you, once, indeed, banned and degraded, with the doors of this House closed ignominiously against me; but now (and I speak it with equal gratitude and exultation), though inferior in station and in faculty to most of those around me, I feel that I stand on the majestic and lofty level of British citizenship; to all constitutional intents, and for all political purposes, the equal of the best and proudest of you all; and shall I, madly and perversely, all Roman Catholic as I am, commit upon my own rights an insane suicide? But, away with these distinctions! let the words Catholic and Protestant be heard no more; and if it be wise and well to commit the sacred rancours of theology to oblivion, shall we not bury in the same profound forgetfulness those jealousies which we lay to provinciality far more than to genuine patriotism? Or, if we must remember on which side of the channel we were born, let it be in order to do complete justice between countries, and build the common greatness upon the imperishable fabric of their everlasting concord.' But had this injunction been followed? Had justice been done to Ireland? He thought not. On what principle did the Ministers go? They had stated none. Taxes and houses were to regulate the borough Representation, population the county Representation; by what standard did they mean to regulate the proportions between the two countries? And here he must be permitted to add a few words with regard to the details of the Bill, from which he had been led by the remarks that had fallen from others. He had endeavoured to follow the right hon. Secretary for Ireland with his best attention; and he had understood him to propose to raise the qualification of leaseholders in counties to 20*l.*, while the freeholders stood at 10*l.* For the borough franchise he had announced a similar system; but the right hon. Gentleman omitted all mention of other qualifications. The English Reform Bill provided that hereafter (saving the present rights of individuals) there should be no 40*s.* voters, except tenants in fee; but he had not heard a word on this subject with respect to Ireland from the right hon. Gentleman. He wished to be informed what he intended to do? because, at present, the 40*s.* tenant in fee in Ireland had no vote, but he therefore begged leave to ask, why this franchise was not to be given to Ireland as well as to England? He felt some surprise that the hon. member for the University of Oxford, when alluding to different places in Ireland, had made no mention of the Dublin University—a topic which he expected would have been referred to by him with particular delight, as the franchise there was so framed as to prevent a single Roman Catholic voting. It was intended, he believed, to give Trinity College an exclusive right of voting. He had nothing to say against that College: he knew that it was a valuable addition to the University: he knew that it was rich, splendid, and (as some said) lazy; but what he wanted to know was, why another Member was to be given to a place that had Protestantism, and therefore exclusiveness, for its principle of action. It was for these reasons that he reprobated the notion of giving two Members to the University of Dublin, which was only famed for its taciturnity, and was best known as the silent sister in the family of science. The fact was, that it was neither more nor less than a mere sacerdotal corporation, and it was, therefore, monstrous to give it two Members, while the town of Kilkenny had but one. With respect to the larger question contained in the Bill, he thought that full justice had not been done to Ireland. When he heard the right hon. Gentleman refer to certain passages in the speeches of Mr. Pitt, he went out of the House, and read the speech of Mr. Grey on the same subject. He did not, however, require that the opinions there expressed by Mr. Grey were now to be adopted; but at least he required to know on what principle of Representation they were about to proceed; for after listening to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, he had come to the conclusion, that Ministers were acting on no principle at all; for in God's name, if there was any principle, how was it that three Members were given to Wales; that Denbigh, with its 82,000 inhabitants was to have another Member, while Cork with its 700,000 was refused a like favour? If people were to be ruled with ease and satisfaction, their minds must be convinced; and, therefore, instead of a measure founded on the dictum of the tax-gatherer, it would be better to introduce one in the true spirit of legislative wisdom, and which should take moral results as well as financial products into consideration.

Mr. *Croker* agreed with hon. Members who had preceded him, that the Committee was the fitting stage for discussing the details of the proposed Bill, but he still felt, that the very enunciation of those details bore on the face of them objections that involved the obnoxious principle against which he had on so many recent occasions raised his voice. If, indeed, the measure were of a temporary, or merely local character, he would not so early have protested against these details; but as they formed part of a scheme under which no portion or principle of the representative system of England and Wales was to be permitted to remain unchanged, he thought it his duty to invite the attention of the House to their true character. These details, he begged leave to say, would be found to contain a direct contradiction of those of the Scotch and Irish Bills. By their own principles, Ministers were bound to go the length proposed by those hon. Gentlemen who demanded a much greater increase of the Irish Representation than was promised in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary for Ireland. Either the principle of the English Bill was wrong, or it was right. If the latter, how, in the name of consistency, could Ministers withhold its application from Scotland and Ireland? If it was wrong to extend its application to Scotland and Ireland, what peculiarity of circumstances could make that right and politic here, which was wrong and impolitic in the sister countries? Ministers were bound to furnish satisfactory answers to these questions before they proceeded one step further with any one of their three Bills. When the people of Ireland and Scotland saw the complicated apparatus of Ministers for upturning all the institutions of this country—saw their mathematicians and their new-light philosophers, and their surveys and divisions—was it to be supposed that they would not put in their claim for a fair share of the great harvest of change? And on what ground, he should like to know, could Ministers venture to refuse to the people of those portions of the United Kingdom what they were told was essential to the political well-being of Englishmen? The Ministers declared that they took population as their basis, and they accordingly gave this county and that town one or more additional Members, whom they took away from this and that unpopulous borough. "Agreed," says the hon. and learned member for Louth; "then give us Members in proportion to our population." And the hon. and learned Member was consistent and unassailable on this ground, which most fully applied to their own favourite argument. There was the county of Cork, with a population of 700,000 souls, and yet it was not to receive one additional Member, while the county of Cumberland, with its 160,000 inhabitants, was to have two additional Members. Cork, it was true, had not the advantage of having a member of the Cabinet for one of its Representatives, like the more fortunate county he had just alluded to; but still, if population was the basis of the Ministerial Reform Bills, the inhabitants of Cork had every reason to be dissatisfied. Ministers, he repeated, were bound, in consistency, to abide by their own principles and assertions; and if they did so, the demand of the people of Ireland for an increased Representation must be complied with. The members of the present Government, at least, had no reason to complain of the tone in which this demand was made; for they who so zealously encouraged and catered to every appetite for change, ought not to be surprised if the people now and then took them at their word, and, what was more to the purpose, endeavoured to make them abide by it.

And now he requested to be permitted to add a few words in reference to what had fallen from the hon. and learned member for Louth, touching the Dublin University. He thought the reproach relating to the lazy and "silent sister" came with an ill grace from one who was indebted to that University for the education of which his country was now reaping the benefit and honour. It might be, that the Fellows of their common *Alma Mater* devoted themselves so exclusively to the instruction of their pupils as to incur the reproach of being "silent in general literature." That would indeed be an ample excuse, if one were necessary; but the fact assumed by the hon. Gentleman was not well founded. No doubt the Fellows of Dublin College did, as was their duty, devote their chief care to the instruction of their pupils, but there was no walk of science, and few of literature, in which they had not also distinguished themselves, and this, indeed, to a degree that surprised him, when he recollected that Dublin College offered none of those opportunities of a learned leisure, which were so liberally afforded at Oxford and Cambridge—none of the means by which men were placed at liberty to follow a favourite study; all were at hard and constant work, and therefore the wonder was, not that they had done so little, but that they had done so much. But even those who reproached them with their own silence would confess, that the University sent forth very many, of whom silence, or a neglect of either political duties or literary pursuits, were not particularly characteristic. He (Mr. Croker) remembered the hon. and and learned Gentleman's making his *début* as an orator in that University, when he gave the promise of ability which he had since so completely made good, and surely it was exceedingly ungrateful in the learned Gentleman, to reproach with a neglect of duty those very persons to whose care and instruction he was himself so largely and so eminently indebted. He would not then offer an opinion on the proposition for bestowing a second Member on the Dublin University, and would merely observe, that, if any change in the franchise were to be made, he should much prefer that its franchise were assimilated to that of the English Universities; that is, that instead of being vested exclusively in Fellows and Scholars, it were placed in the hands of Masters of Arts. While he was upon the subject of the details of the Bill, he must remark, that, in order to enable the House to judge fully and fairly of the weight of the objections which had been urged against the Irish Bill, he would to-morrow move for returns of the population in the several towns and counties in Ireland, so as to show their relative proportion to that of the population of the English towns and counties.

Mr. *Stanley:* The returns are in preparation, and will be laid before the House in a few days.

Mr. *Croker* was glad to hear it, but had little doubt that the returns would be laid on the Table of the House, the day *after* the debate on the Bill. That, however, would be better than what occurred in the last Session, when there were two or three debates on the English Bill without any returns at all. If the returns arrived in time, he should not make his Motion. The House and the country ought to follow the advice which had been given by an hon. Member, and to look at the subject as an imperial question; but he was sure that the mere declaration of Ministers, that no further additional Members were necessary for Ireland or Scotland, would not be considered satisfactory by those countries. He could not in his conscience (enemy as he was to the principle of change which pervaded the proposed Reform) say, that it ought to be so. When, by the English Bill, a new and interminable source of claims of right had been opened to the people, it was not to be expected that any portion of the people would allow those claims and demands of right to be limited or rejected merely by the *sic volo* of a Minister. It would be much more statesmanlike, and much more satisfactory, if Ministers, on the motion for the Speaker's leaving the Chair on the English Bill, were to state at once what was their final resolution with respect to the Representation of Ireland and Scotland. If he (Mr. Croker) understood that the vote with respect to the English Bill was to be conclusive with respect to the claims of Ireland and Scotland, he should certainly give that vote with very different sentiments, and with very different expectations, from those which he should entertain if he understood that those claims were still left open to consideration. In his opinion, it behoved every Scotch and every Irish Member, before he consented to disfranchise a single English borough, or to enfranchise a single English town, or to divide a single English county, distinctly to understand that justice would be done to Scotland and Ireland. It was impossible not to be sensible, from the great disquietude which the general proposition of his Majesty's Government had created in the country, that if their plan with respect to England were carried into effect, it would be indispensable to increase the number of Members for the other parts of the empire.

Sir *Robert Inglis* said the hon. and learned member for Louth had asked him three questions, the answers to two of which could not be of the least interest to the House. He had been asked, first, whether he had been in Ireland; and, secondly, whether he had read the *Evening Mail.*

He replied, that he had been in Ireland, and had not read the *Evening Mail.* The third question was one of more importance. He was asked where he found the three millions of Protestants in Ireland. He replied, that, in the first place, he had not stated it as a fact, but only as his belief; but from a document, which the courtesy of his right hon. friend, the Secretary for Ireland, permitted him to hold in his hand, it appeared that the population of Ulster alone was 2,293,128; now, as in this province the proportion of the Protestant population was immensely large, he thought that, recollecting the large masses of Protestants in other counties in every other province, he had laid a good basis for the number stated.

Mr. *Sheil* was still of opinion, that the hon. Baronet had exaggerated the number of Protestants in Ireland; there were no data to prove that their numbers were so great as the hon. Member had assumed.

Lord *Althorp* observed, that the present was not a fit time for discussing the details of the Bill which his right hon. friend had moved for leave to bring in. He could not help, however, remarking, that when the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken attributed the various claims and demands of increased Representation to the measure which had been brought in by his Majesty's Government, and implied that those claims and demands had no previous existence, he was in a great error. The wish for Parliamentary Reform did not arise for the first time when Ministers submitted the subject to the consideration of Parliament; it existed, and had frequently been manifested, long before. The right hon. Gentleman said, that Ministers, in moving for the Committee on the English Bill, ought to state unequivocally the number of Members which it was their intention ultimately to propose for Scotland and Ireland. He would then state, that it was the determination of Ministers to abide by the number of Members which they had already proposed for Scotland and Ireland; and that they would endeavour to persuade the House to agree to that proposition. It had been asserted that his right hon. friend had said something against the Protestant interest in Ireland. He was not aware of anything of the kind. All that his right hon. friend had said was, that the system of perpetuating freemen in Ireland—they being in general sectaries—was a vicious one. The hon. member for Downpatrick had also laboured under a misapprehension, in supposing that in what had fallen from his right hon. friend he meant to allude to the part which that hon. Gentleman had taken on the subject. He could assure the hon. member for Downpatrick, that that was not the case; and he (Lord Althorp) would add, that from what he had seen of the conduct of the hon. Member in that House, if any observations derogatory to him had been made, they would have been much misplaced. He would not then go into the question of the fit number of Members for Ireland. But he certainly did not think, that because the Representation for England was apportioned by one rule, the same rule must necessarily be observed with respect to the other portions of the empire. Other circumstances must be taken into consideration. The general state of each country ought to be regarded; and it was necessary to ascertain in this view of the case whether each particular portion of the United Empire was sufficiently represented to protect any of its various interests from suffering in that House, and on looking back with such intentions he must say; that Irish questions had been, in general, most ably supported. The population was in a very different state in many parts of Ireland from that in which it was in England; and there were other circumstances which did not recommend any great increase of the number of Members for the former country. Indeed the number of Members for Ireland might be considered as having been settled so short a time ago as thirty-two years; and any great change was unnecessary, and uncalled for by subsequent alterations in the state and condition of the people. He had always felt the strongest interest for the prosperity of Ireland, although he was in no way whatever connected with that country; and he had always felt that no Member of that House did his duty unless he considered the prosperity of Ireland as inseparably associated with the prosperity of the empire at large. At the present moment, he was happy to say, that however they might lament the disturbed feeling which existed in Ireland, the wealth of that country was evidently increasing. In England, the Excise duties during the last year had fallen off; in Ireland they had increased. This was a proof of the improving condition of the middle and lower classes; and another proof was, that there had been a considerable augmentation of deposits in the Savings' Banks in Ireland. With respect to other circumstances by which the tranquillity of Ireland was threatened, he trusted that all disturbances and agitation would subside or be put down; for he was fully persuaded, that to so intelligent and active a people, possessed of a soil so fertile, and of so many other materials of prosperity, tranquillity was all that was wanting for the rapid improvement of their condition.

Mr. *Goulburn* observed, that the noble Lord had asserted, that one of the reasons which influenced him against granting an additional number of Representatives to Ireland was the fact that the various interests of that country had met with adequate protection in that House. Why, that was the very line of argument taken by those who opposed any meddling with the Representation of England? Over and over again had they insisted on the notorious fact, that the real interests of the country had left no tangible ground for grafting these pretended improvements on the system of Representation. And how had their argument been met? By a reference to population, to the number of houses, to the amount of taxation. Yet when the Irish Gentlemen appealed to the same principles, the noble Lord took refuge in the argument resorted to by the opponents of the English Bill, and expected that the Irish Gentlemen would be satisfied with it! There could be no doubt that, upon the principle of the English Bill, Cork and Galway were entitled to an increase of Representation. The argument to that effect was unanswerable, particularly so far as the former county was concerned. If the House agreed to the English Bill, they could not justly resist the claims of Ireland; and if they did resist those claims at present, that would not get rid of them, they would be brought forward, year after year, with additional force. He disclaimed the opinion that the Representation of Ireland ought to be increased; but Government had opened the subject, and the Irish had a right to complain if they were not treated on an equal footing with England. If the English Bill might be justly characterised as leading to revolution, might not the Irish Bill be justly characterized as leading to immediate discord, and to the ultimate separation of the two countries? Into the details of the measure he would not then enter, but he felt it necessary to make these few remarks because he conceived the promoters of the Bill at length began to discover, that their principles of Reform were untenable when they were compelled to resort to the arguments of their adversaries to bear them out.

Mr. *Mullins* would say only a few words considering that he owed it to himself and to his constituents, not to allow the right hon. Secretary's motion to be carried without expressing his decided disapprobation of the measure of Reform as it regarded Ireland. He was convinced it would not satisfy that country; they anxiously hoped, and had a right to expect, that many important alterations and improvements would be made in the third edition of their Reform Bill. They expected that Ministers would become convinced of the necessity of conciliating their feelings, which had been irritated by a long course of injustice and cruelty, by giving them a more equal share in the Representation of the United Kingdom. But they were to be again disappointed, and he feared the consequences would be dreadful. Every individual, in or out of that House, who knew any thing of the condition of the Irish, must look for the consequences of the disappointment that awaited them, with very great apprehension. The Irish expected nothing unreasonable; they sought for that to which, he considered they were entitled—a further extension of the franchise and additional Members for the larger counties; but these objects were not granted them in the Bill about to be introduced, and he anxiously and earnestly called upon the right hon. Secretary for Ireland, as he valued the peace and happiness of the United Kingdom, as he valued justice, to revise this measure of Reform before it should be committed, that disappointment might not lead to results equally disastrous and irremediable.

Lord *Althorp* begged to say, that he had not argued the question as the right hon. Gentleman appeared to understand; what he had stated was, that it did not appear to him that the interests of Ireland had been neglected in that House. That was a very different thing from saying, as the right hon. Gentleman and his friends asserted, that because the system had worked well they were bound to preserve it.

Leave given to bring in the Bill.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—BILL FOR SCOTLAND—FIRST STAGE.] The *Lord Advocate*, pursuant to notice, rose to move for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Representation of Scotland. It was not his intention, nor, he was sure, would the House expect him to enter into any detail on the subject; because it must be in the recollection of every one that towards the close of the last Session, and on the second reading of the measure, he had then advocated, he had summed up all that it had appeared to him to be necessary to say on that which was almost identically the same Bill, as the Bill for which he was about to have the honour of moving. In principle there was no alteration whatever; nor was there any change in the details calculated to raise a difference of opinion on the two propositions. In the former Bill the town of Port Glasgow had been united to Greenock; it was now intended that it should be separate. The way in which the other boroughs were grouped remained the same. With regard to the qualification for franchise, there was no difference whatever in the new Bill with respect to counties; and hardly any with respect to boroughs—merely such as to render the measure in some degree conformable to that for England. There was another little difference with respect to the working part of the Bill. Instead of the former mode of adjudication, a new tribunal was to be formed of three Sheriffs, who were to visit the various counties with the least possible delay, in order to review the registration of votes. Such were the slight points in which the proposed differed from the last Bill. The learned Lord concluded by moving for leave to bring in the Bill.

Sir *Charles Forbes* observed, that the purpose professed by the Bill was, to amend the Representation of the people of Scotland; while its real object was, to pull that Representation entirely to pieces. Those who proposed such a measure were like tinkers, who in mending one hole made six. The former Bill was so hurried through the House, that the people of Scotland had not understood it; but they had afterwards come to understand it, and then they found there were most serious objections to it. They had shown this by petitions to Parliament, and by Addresses to the Throne. In particular they objected to the manner in which the county Representation was to be regulated. They objected to the uniform franchise for counties; they would not have cared if it had been carried much lower, so that the present principle had been preserved, instead of the uniform plan of the learned Lord. That plan would give rise to much trouble, difficulty, and dissatisfaction. Besides, it was a positive robbery of the just and legal rights of the proprietors. The freeholders held their qualifications by a title that was as good as that by which the landlords of England owned their land. It was a gross injustice to take that from them without compensation, and they had as good a right to compensation for their superiorities, as if their land were taken away to form a road or a canal. The Bill was a revolutionary measure, which would ruin the country.

Mr. *J. E. Gordon* did not wish to discuss the Bill, but to ask the learned Lord on what principle it was founded. He saw small boroughs in England preserving their two Members, while large counties in Scotland had only one. He wished the learned Lord would tell him why the same principles were not applied to Scotland as to England?

Sir *George Warrender* had experienced great disappointment at learning that no addition was to be made to the number of Scotch Representatives; but as a better opportunity would be afforded for discussing that topic in the Committee, he would abstain from pressing the question upon the present occasion. With respect to compensation, which the hon. Baronet claimed for the Scotch superiorities, that was out of the question; the only compensation that he would ask for, or wish to have, was an increase in the number of Members to defend the interests of Scotland. A compensation which appeared to him to be reasonable in itself, and fully called for by the increasing importance of that country: numerous and great interests had grown up there, and were daily increasing. They had contributed in an eminent degree to the general welfare of the country, and which, on every principle of justice and equity, demanded an increased number of Representatives. Scotland had an additional claim to this increase of Members, owing to the circumstance that the facility with which Scotch Gentlemen had hitherto obtained seats in that House, through the medium of close English boroughs, would be considerably diminished, if not altogether annihilated by the present measure. That country was so inadequately represented, that she was frequently compelled to resort to English Members for assistance; and he, representing an English borough, had been occasionally called upon, in common with many other English Members, to assist in carrying bills through the House connected with the affairs of Scotland. He affirmed, therefore, upon all those accounts, that Scotland was justly entitled to claim an increased number of Members; and he, who certainly was not disposed to go the whole length of the Bill, had for many years contended for the necessity of a change in the Representation of Scotland, so far as related to its numerical amount. He said to Ministers plainly and openly, that they had not fairly attended to the interests of Scotland. It would be wasting the time of the House to enter into any details for the purpose of proving the importance of Scotland, after the very able statements which were made in the last Session of Parliament, by two members of the late Administration. He alluded to the late right hon. Secretary for the Colonies, and the late right hon. Secretary for the Admiralty. He had not the good fortune to hear their speeches, but he had seen a pamphlet which had been widely circulated in Scotland, in which they were contained; and he knew that this diffusion of their sentiments had procured for those right hon. Gentlemen great and deserved popularity in that country. He would tell those hon. Gentlemen who introduced this measure, that the people of Scotland were not satisfied with it; even the Reformers were dissatisfied; and he would say further, that those persons were mistaken if they supposed the people of Scotland would quietly see their country deprived of her rights. The arguments of the right hon. member for Perthshire were alone sufficient to convince the people that the gradual increase and great prosperity of Scotland entitled her to a proportionate increase of Representation. It was a singular feature in the condition and history of Scotland, that although she produced a revenue of five millions, she retained but a very small portion of that income herself, for the purpose of maintaining either her civil or military establishments. Fortunately, that happy country was in that state of tranquillity, that she required no greater force than some four or five hundred men for her internal protection. He would take that opportunity of saying, that in the discussions which would arise in the Committee on the English Reform Bill, his conduct would be guided by a feeling of the necessity for increasing the Representation of Scotland. He had shewn, by the votes he had already given, that he considered this a most important question; and he certainly should not consent to the enfranchisement of small towns in England, when he found large towns in Scotland were to have only one Representative. With reference to some observations, he begged leave also then to say, that he opposed General Gascoyne's motion from a sincere determination to advocate the interests of Scotland. He felt that if he had voted in favour of his proposition, he should have defeated the object he had in view; and, therefore, in a perfect spirit of fairness, he resisted that motion, because he considered that it had a direct tendency to prevent any addition from being made to the Representation of Scotland. He considered that the best course he could adopt would be, to discuss, and to endeavour to amend, the proposition of his Majesty's Ministers in Committee; and he subsequently voted in favour of the motion of the right hon. member for Perthshire, which had for its object the addition of eight Members to Scotland. These were the principles on which he had acted, and he was convinced that in Scotland one and all of its inhabitants, however their political opinions might differ in other respects, were united in thinking that the number of Members at present allotted to Scotland was in every respect inadequate to the wealth and importance of that portion of the empire.

Mr. *Cumming Bruce* said, he saw no material difference between the Bill of last Session and the one which the learned Lord was about to introduce. They both contained the same extensive propositions, and both excluded the great mass of the population from the right of voting. The same levelling injustice, and the same violation of existing rights were a strong feature in both Bills; he was determined, therefore, to oppose this, as he did the last Bill, to the utmost of his power. He could not at present enter into any discussion relating to the details of the measure, but he must take the opportunity of saying, that he fully agreed in the observations made by his right hon. friend (Sir G. Warrender) with respect to the impression which existed in the minds of the people of Scotland on this question, and more particularly in the part of the country with which he was connected. The Bill, in fact, committed several glaring acts of injustice, and he hoped, at least, in the Committee, that they would be remedied.

Mr. *Gillon* entered his protest against the declaration which had been made by an hon. Baronet, that the freeholders of Scotland were opposed to the proposed Bill, as being a spoliation of their rights. He would take it on him to say, that no resolution expressive of such an opinion had been agreed to by any respectable body of persons in that country, except by those who were interested in the continuance of the present system, which ensured to them the possession of exclusive rights. He was sorry to have heard in the course of the debate the scandalous claim of compensation urged on behalf of the superiority holders. The House had been told that these superiorities were property, and that large sums had been paid for their purchase. He could conceive no reason why they should have been purchased at a high rate, unless it was for the purpose of making them the means of a disgraceful jobbing in places and offices. He believed the people of Scotland were generally satisfied with the share of Representation proposed to be given to that country, though he confessed that he should not have been displeased to have seen another Member added to the number. There was one point, however, in which he quite agreed with the hon. Gentleman who had preceded him, and that was, that he thought Irish Gentlemen ought to be satisfied with the number of Representatives allotted to that part of the empire by the Reform Bill. When he compared the revenues of Ireland and Scotland, and the immense cost of maintaining the government of the former, and the small charge for the government of the latter, he thought there could be no reasonable claim for a greater share of Representation to Ireland than had been given.

Sir *George Murray* could not remain wholly silent when a measure of so much importance was brought forward affecting his country. The feeling of alarm and apprehension had increased in Scotland, and great danger, it was conceived, would result from the introduction of the measure. The greater part of the people of property there, who, from their intelligence, were capable of judging of the effects of a complicated measure, were decidedly of opinion that the consequences likely to result from this Bill would be very dangerous. He was at the same time aware that the measure had many supporters, some of whom were gentlemen of rank and station, but the great majority of those who advocated it, were actuated chiefly by the spirit of innovation and the desire of power. It had been held out to them as a lure, that the Bill would increase their influence, which very naturally induced them to give their sanction and cordial support to this formidable innovation. Although there might be some individuals who were aware of the danger that might accrue even to themselves if placed in possession of too much power, yet it was out of the question to suppose that the great body of the people could reason in this manner, and would ever think of entertaining any diffidence, or suppose that the possession of power might be ultimately prejudicial to their own interests. The measure was one of complete innovation; it was upsetting and altering the Constitution of the country; and in doing that, reconstructing the Representation upon an entirely new basis, at least all parts of the empire ought to have been fairly treated. According to the principles of the Bill, however, Scotland was not fairly treated, and was not adequately represented. He concurred in opinion with those Gentlemen from Ireland, who complained that Ireland was unjustly dealt with; and so was Scotland. Why were the principles which were applied to England, not applied to Scotland and Ireland? He did not approve of those principles; he thought it dangerous to legislate on general principles; but in adopting them, they ought to be carried fully into effect, and be extended equally to all places. Small boroughs in England were allowed to retain their two Members, and the counties which had 150,000 inhabitants were to have four Members, while two Representatives were denied in Scotland to counties containing a large population. Ireland and Scotland had both ample cause for complaint that the number of their Representatives was not increased. The noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said, he did not see why the same principles should be applied to Scotland and Ireland as to England; but he asked, why should they not? The people of those parts of the empire were not conscious of any inferiority, and claimed that the same principles should be applied to them as to England. Would the noble Lord point out in what the difference consisted, that different principles should be applied to them? Again he begged to leave to observe, that the new Members that were given to Scotland, were all allotted to the commercial interests; but were the agricultural interests of Scotland deserving no increase? There was no part of the empire where agriculture had made greater progress, or was conducted with more skill and science than in that country. The agriculturists, had as good a claim to an increased Representation as the commercial classes, and they were unjustly treated when it was denied to them. There was another part in this Bill in which, no departure was to be made from the provisions of the measure which was brought forward last Session; he alluded to the alteration in the boundaries of some of the Scotch counties. He remembered hearing the noble Lord, the Representative for Yorkshire, state, that part of the principle of the English Bill was, that no alteration was intended to be made in the boundaries of counties. Why was this principle not applied to Scotland? Why was a portion of the county of Perth to be taken off, and added to Kinross and Clackmannan? Why was a portion of the county of Argyle to be taken off and added to Bute? He saw no reason whatever for a partial disfranchisement of these great counties, which, for their extent, magnitude, and general importance, were very prominent in the system of Scotch Representation, especially Perth. There was no county in the United Kingdom more purely independent in its Representation, and it was, therefore, most unjust to mutilate it? He saw no other reason for the mutilation but an attempt to render it and other counties to which the severed portions were to be attached, dependent on some oligarchy or great family. Again, he could see no reasons for the augmentation of Kinross and Clackmannan; these counties were sufficiently extensive to send Representatives to Parliament, as they had hitherto done. He could conceive nothing more contrary to the principle intended to be laid down by the English Bill, than such a mutilation. In like manner, why was the county of Argyle to have one of its districts severed from it? If, at any time hereafter, it was proposed to extend the Representation of the Scotch counties in proportion to their magnitude and the amount of their population, they would be defrauded of their rights by this very process of mutilation. He entirely agreed with those hon. Members who considered this great measure as one, the fate of which was dependent on that of the other Bills, and not as a separate measure unconnected with them. He had always considered that one of the greatest disadvantages under which they laboured, in the course of these discussions, was, the being called upon to decide separately on the three Bills. It was utterly impossible that justice could be done to Ireland or Scotland by such a course of proceeding. The experience of last Session warranted him in saying, that very little attention would be bestowed upon the Scotch Bill when the English one was passed; and this observation would apply also to the Irish Bill. During the course of last Session, the attendance of Members was very small on discussing these Bills, except when a division was about to take place—and then, indeed, a number of Members flowed in for the purpose of putting down the claims of the sister countries. The only way, therefore, by which he could protect his country from the act of gross injustice which he conceived was to be committed on it, through the means of this Bill, was, not to wait for any future stage of the Bill, but to begin his opposition at once, because he knew that the second step would do injustice to Scotland, and the third, injustice to Ireland.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* agreed with the right. hon. Gentleman, that Scotland ought to receive a greater number of Members, and he therefore differed with the hon. Member (Mr. Gillon), who said that Scotland was satisfied. Scotland was not satisfied, and it was not likely she could be so, when the allotment of Members was manifestly partial. He complained that this Bill increased the number of Members for England twenty-three more than the last Bill, while it gave no increase whatever to Scotland. He did not grudge England her number of Members, but he claimed for Scotland an equal and proportionable share. The present measure was to effect a great and complete change in the Representation, and Scotland, as a part of Great Britain, was entitled to an equal portion of Representation. The partiality to England would only injure the measure. No Representative for the other parts of the empire could be satisfied with it. The Members now reserved for the English small boroughs, would have been more appropriately given to represent counties of Scotland and Ireland. He denied that Scotland was satisfied with her share of Representation as settled at the Union. That event was mainly brought about by corrupting her nobles, and their country was in consequence unfairly dealt with. That injustice ought now to be remedied; but even admitting, for the sake of argument, that justice was done to Scotland at the Union, the great alteration which had since taken place in her condition made a great increase in her Representation necessary. At the period of the Union, the amount of her revenue to that of England was only as one to about thirty-five but the proportion she now contributed was as much as one to seven or eight On the very lowest calculation, therefore, that country ought at least to have sixty Representatives under the provisions of any just principles of general Representation. He objected wholly to two Representatives being retained for small boroughs, and the same portion allotted to towns of small account, while only one was given to the largest and wealthiest county of Scotland. Were not the counties of Perth, Argyle, and Fife, each better entitled to two Representatives than Brighton? It was said that there were many advantages in giving two Members to places generally, and why, then, not allow the Scotch counties to have those advantages? If it were thought advisable to give such a place as Brighton two Members, why not give to Lanarkshire, with 250,000 people, a similar share in the Representation? He was not of opinion that two Members should be given to each place; he thought in many cases one was enough; but as the Bill gave more than one to small and unimportant boroughs, why not give two to all places of greater wealth and importance? He did not object to England having 500 Members, but he must say, that while England had 500, and Scotland only the number allowed by this Bill, Scotland ought not to be satisfied. He objected to any compensation for Superiorities. Who was to give it, or from whence was it to come? In his opinion, as a general principle, Representation should be based on property or means—on property which would insure independence, or on means, by the exercise of industry, of insuring subsistence and independence. Voters should also be independent of the will of others, and, therefore he disapproved of that part of the English Bill which allowed votes to tenants-at-will for counties, and to weekly tenants in towns. Such persons could not be independent. There was a part of the English Bill, however, which confirmed to freemen all the rights which they inherited as their birth-right. Freemen and their descendants were allowed to retain their votes,though they had no property. This was a concession on the part of Ministers. Now there were superiorities in Scotland without beneficial property attached to them; and he would suggest to the learned Lord, and strongly recommend, as a concession, also, that the principle adopted with regard to the freemen should be extended to the superiority voters in fee in Scotland. The superiority was at least connected, and nearly connected, with the property, which was not the case with the rights of freemen. Certainly he would take care that no superiorities should be separated to make votes hereafter; but preserving those now in existence would, he thought, do no harm: if he thought preserving them would perpetuate the present right of voting, which was the worst system that ever existed, he would be the last man to advocate their continuance. But as the retention of their votes by the freemen of England would be of little importance, from the mass of new voters who would be introduced, in like manner the extension of the franchise in Scotland would so neutralize the superiority holders, as to render them no longer mischievous. He would not allow the superiority to be separated from the property, in future, so as to give the franchise to the bare superiority; but as a concession, and with a view to remove all objections on the ground of disfranchisement, he would preserve the rights of the present holders of superiorities. He was satisfied with the principles of the Bill: he would give them his most cordial support; but he hoped, at the same time, that the learned Lord would take into consideration the suggestion he had thrown out, which would only make the Bill more efficacious.

Mr. *Hunt* could not avoid congratulating the noble Lord and hon. Gentlemen opposite, particularly the right hon. Gentleman (the Secretary for Ireland), and the learned Lord who had brought forward the present motion, at the great unanimity which prevailed amongst the Scotch and Irish Members against their respective Bills. Not one Member, he believed, from Scotland or Ireland that had spoken, had expressed himself satisfied with these Bills. One Member, indeed, said, the people of Scotland were satisfied, but even he wanted one Member more. He could not also avoid reminding the hon. member for Kirkcudbright that he was not now satisfied with the Bill, although when he (Mr. Hunt) had formerly stated, from his own sources of information, that the people of Scotland were not satisfied with the Bill, the hon. Member had met his assertion with a contradiction, and assured the House that there were not three persons in all Scotland who were unfavourable to the measure. The hon. member for Middlesex said the same. [Mr. *Hume:* I say so now.] Then the hon. Member would contradict all the statements made to-night by the Members for Scotland, which he heard with satisfaction, because they confirmed the statement he had formerly made to the House. They had been told that the Bill was to pass, and that an adequate number of 10*l.* Lords was to be created to effect that object. He had heard, that when twelve Peers were made at once, during the reign of Queen Anne, a certain Duchess had observed, that one could not spit out of a window without its falling upon a Lord. What the Duchesses of the present day would say he could not anticipate; but certainly Lords would be common enough if the contemplated creation was to take place. He moreover asserted, that Ireland would be dissatisfied, and that Ministers must be aware, that do what they would, they could not give satisfaction to certain parties there. Unless they gave a place of some sort to the hon. and learned member for Kerry they must have a separation. As for himself, he had always been for separation, and was convinced they would have it if they did not give something to the hon. and learned member for Kerry.

Mr. *Kennedy* denied the assertion of the hon. Member for Preston, that the people of Scotland were dissatisfied and disappointed with this Bill. On the contrary he could assure the House, that the people of Scotland not only were satisfied with the Bill, but that they were impatient, if he might so say, for the enactment of it. Those who said, that the people of Scotland were dissatisfied with the Bill, were those who would be dissatisfied with any bill of Reform, and who were opposed to Reform altogether. He should like to know, if an augmentation of Members was granted equal to meet their wishes, whether they would undertake to support the Bill. He fully believed they would not, and therefore he looked with distrust, and he might almost say, with indignation, at the clamour that had been raised by hon. Gentlemen on the other side for an additional number of Members for Scotland. He cautioned the supporters of the Bill against this cry, for he was sure that those who raised it would not pledge themselves to vote for the Bill, if the additional Members were given. Indeed, he was certain that the giving of these additional Members would only be made the means for embarrassing the Ministers, as there must then be a remodelling of the proposed system. The measure was calculated to produce great advantages, and he, therefore, most heartily wished to see it passed into a law, and would give it his support without quarrelling with the minor details because they might not be absolutely perfect.

Mr. *Hume* said, that it appeared to him that the charge made by some hon. Members against this measure was its greatest recommendation—he meant that it effected a total change in the system of Scotch Representation. He said so, because he thought that nothing could be worse than that system. He was always aware that the Bill would not satisfy all parties in Scotland, but it satisfied the majority, and he fully believed its operation would be most beneficial to the country. The question was, whether it would effect such a change in the present system as to give to the mass of the people a voice and an interest in the Representation of their country in that House? He thought it would have that effect fully, and, therefore, it should have his most cordial support. However, he must beg leave to make one observation on the speech of the right hon. Baronet (Sir George Murray) who had remarked that the Bill could not be defended on general principles; and that the Reform measure differed in such principles when applied to the three distinct divisions of the empire. The question he wished to put was, would the right hon. Baronet consent to a measure, by which every 30,000 people should choose a Representative to be sent into that House—a measure by which the whole country would be divided into districts for that purpose? That would be a measure of principle—it would be the most fair method—and it would not be open to those objections to which the present was, perhaps, liable; for he admitted, that in the various systems adopted for England and for Ireland, and for Scotland, there were many objections; and, indeed, the whole was a perfect anomaly [*hear, hear!*]. Gentlemen need not halloo before they were out of the wood. If the new system was an anomaly, the old one was still worse. It was the most anomalous and absurd system that could be conceived. He should be very glad when the change was effected. He was prepared to be content with the new plan, and so were the people; not because they should get all that they wanted, but because they should get much that was good. He was sure that the general results would be advantageous, and therefore he supported the measure. There was no doubt that the Ministers had not done all that could be wished, but he believed they had gone quite as far as they could at the present time. The difficulties that surrounded them provided them with an excuse, or else he should have wished them to reject all the petty boroughs, and to have given thirty or forty additional Members to Ireland and Scotland. He knew, however, that in carrying such a measure, they would meet with the greatest difficulties. He urged the Ministers to press the Bill through the House, and he was sure it would give general satisfaction; it would indeed give dissatisfaction to the proprietors, and to those who had hitherto held the election in their own hands, but to the great body of the people it would be most acceptable.

Sir *George Murray* explained. He was not a friend to the application of general principles in legislation, in the manner supposed by the hon. member for Middlesex. What he had said was, that as general principles had been applied to England, they ought to be applied to Scotland.

Leave given, and the Bill brought in.

ASSESSED TAXES.] Mr. *Goulburn* took that opportunity of asking the noble Lord opposite, whether he had prepared any bill to consolidate the laws relating to the Assessed Taxes, and to the composition for Assessed Taxes? It had been the intention of the late Government to introduce such a bill, for, as the laws now stood, they were often excessively severe in their operation, especially upon innocent persons, and the delay in effecting the consolidation and amendment of the laws had exposed many persons to inconvenience and unnecessary expense from the system of surcharges, which, though justified by the letter of the law, was decidedly against the spirit of it. He wished to ask the noble Lord whether, in the present Session, he should be prepared to introduce a bill to consolidate those laws? It would be a great advantage.

Lord *Althorp* agreed with the right hon. Gentleman, that it would be of great advantage to consolidate those laws. He was not aware that a bill of the kind had been prepared by the late Government. He had found no such bill in his office. With respect to the question put to him, he could only say, that he should be very glad to see a bill of the description spoken of brought forward; but he could not promise, at the moment, to give so much attention to the subject as was required to originate a Bill, although he should be happy to support one if introduced by others.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, a draft of such a bill had been prepared when he was in office, and forwarded to the Tax Commissioners in Scotland for their consideration.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE.] Lord Duncannon brought up the report of the Land Revenue Bill.

On the question that it be considered,

Mr. *Herries* said, the principle on which the Bill proceeded was a novel one, and it ought not, therefore, to be passed without some observation.

Lord *Duncannon* assured the right hon. Gentleman, the principle had been previously acted upon. Crown lands had been several times sold. Upon one occasion, a sale to the extent of 66,000*l.* had taken place. By the 7th Geo. 4th, the produce of the sale of Crown lands was directed to be applied to carry on the improvements in the Strand, which amounted to nearly 1,000,000*l.* He must further mention, that part of the Waterloo bridge estate was disposed of to purchase the Marquis of Exeter's property in Exeter Change; and this had been acceded to by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goulburn). Every one of these transactions were alienations of the Crown lands.

Mr. *Goulburn* thought the noble Lord did not seem to understand the distinction between the life tenant wholly alienating a property, and disposing of it for a time to provide means for a temporary expenditure. With respect to the purchase of Lord Exeter's property, the case was simply an exchange of one portion of real property for another.

Lord *Duncannon* said, he only meant to assert, that the estate purchased would not produce any income to the Crown; the whole of the revenue would be absorbed in the improvement of the street.

Mr. *Hume* said, all the transactions relating to the Crown land property, and the palaces, seemed to be attended with the same fatality. Large outlays and expenses were incurred, for which there was a most inadequate return. He had hoped that a part of the enormous expense of the building of this palace was to have been defrayed by the sale of Crown lands, and that the remainder, amounting to about 250,000*l.* was to be paid by the country; but he feared he had acted under a delusion, and that the whole expense must ultimately, come out of the public purse. He did hope however, that the time was coming when some alteration would take place.

Report agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, January 20, 1832.

MINUTES.] Petitions presented. By the Marquis of LANSDOWN, from Sheffield, praying that Parliament would adopt measures to improve the state of the Anatomical Schools; and from Wellington, in Somersetshire, in favour of Reform.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, January 20, 1832.

MINUTES.] Bills. Brought in. By Mr. KNIGHT, to enable the Master of the Rolls to try the right of appointing a Secretary. By Mr. STANLEY, Reform of Parliament (Ireland); to relieve the Protestants of Ireland from taking certain Oaths relating to holding Office. Read a second time; Bankrupt Acts Amendment; Subletting Act (Ireland.) Read a third time; Land Revenue.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. WILKES, of the number of Freeholders rated to the Land Tax within the respective divisions of Kesteven and Holland, Lincoln.

Petitions presented. By Sir GEORGE MURRAY, from the Freeholders of Perth, against the sweeping measure of Reform which it was proposed to substitute in lieu of the present Representative system of Scotland. By Mr. SPENCE, from Kirby Leatham, Yorkshire, in favour of Reform. By Mr. SANFORD, from the Landowners and Inhabitants of Ilminster and Bishops Lydeard, against the General Registry Bill. By Sir EDWARD SUGDEN, from the Solicitors of Gloucester; by Mr. SPENCE, from the Owners of Real Property at Renfrew; by Mr. STRICKLAND, from Porlington, Yorkshire; and by Mr. SANFORD, from the Inhabitants of Wellington, in favour of Reform. By Sir EDWARD SUGDEN, from certain Householders of Galway, for a Provision in the Irish Reform Bill for the peculiar Franchise of that place. By Mr. M'KINNON, from the Members of the Marylebone Society for the prevention of Cruelty to Animals, for an additional enactment.

SILK TRADE—PETITION.] Mr. *Sanford* presented a Petition from an individual residing in Somersetshire, complaining of the distress of the Silk Trade, and against the importation of foreign manufactured silks. The petitioner stated, that the Silk-trade of the country was rapidly improving previous to the prohibitory duties being taken off, but that since then it had continued to decline; that many mercantile houses were largely engaged in smuggling silks; he therefore prayed for an increase of duty on foreign silks, and for the re-enactment of the prohibitory laws.

An *Hon. Member* said, there could be no doubt that the present duties on imported silks, were evaded to a great degree. He knew that many merchants engaged in the silk business, were compelled to resort to means of which they were ashamed, such was the ruinous depression in the trade. The scale of duties on the foreign article was so low, as not to give the English manufacturer a tolerably fair competition. By the evasion of the duty, the manufacturer procured a foreign article upon which he willingly paid the seller an advanced price, proportioned to the risk, of from six to ten per cent, whereas if he imported them in the regular manner, the duty would be thirty per cent, which, however, if really paid, was not a sufficient protection to the home producer. So long, therefore, as such a system was tolerated, it was utterly impossible the condition of the silk-trade could be improved. It was, therefore, high time to adopt some means by which the nefarious practices, which were now carried on by certain silk merchants, to their own very great advantage, should be put an end to, and the fair trader have the protection given him which he deserved.

Mr. Alderman *Venables* had great pleasure in informing the hon. Member, that the subject had engaged the serious attention of Government, and that he understood the Ministers proposed to add imprisonment with hard labour, in addition to pecuniary penalties, as the punishment of persons who were convicted in the nefarious offence of smuggling silks. He was no friend to prohibition, but he must say, that the manufacturers of this country were entitled to the full enjoyment of the protection the Legislature had bestowed for their security against foreign competition, which protection they had been most ungenerously deprived of by these smuggling transactions.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* said, this was a matter of considerable importance, and would be brought before the House in a regular way. He had had many communications with various parties on the subject, from the result of which he was firmly persuaded, the evil was to be attributed more to the unsuccessful competition of the goods of this country with those of foreign manufacture, than to smuggling. He hoped that the Legislature would speedily take the whole question into its most serious consideration.

Petition to lie on the Table.

APPLEBY—PETITION.] Lord Maitland presented a Petition from the Inhabitants of Appleby, praying for an inquiry into the state of that borough; praying that it might be removed from schedule A, and be allowed to return one Member to Parliament in future.

Mr. *Croker* said, this petition deserved the most serious attention of the House. It fully confirmed the statements he had made during the last Session upon the subject of the relative importance of the borough of Appleby. Of some of the allegations contained in the petition it was impossible to doubt, and the truth of the remainder might with great ease be ascertained. He, therefore, thought, Ministers ought to grant an inquiry, that full justice might be done to the borough before it was disfranchised.

Petition to be printed.

DUTY ON BRICKS.] Mr. *Spence* presented a Petition from certain Tile and Brick makers in the county of York, praying for a repeal of the duties on Bricks. The petitioners stated the extreme hardships under which they laboured; that in 1824 nearly all the bricks in the county of York were spoiled after the duty had been paid upon them; and that in 1828 and 1829, nearly the same case occurred. The duty was payable every six weeks, which was a shorter time than was allowed for the collection of any other tax.

Mr. *Hume* supported the prayer of the petition; the allegations contained in which he had no doubt were correct, from the communications he had had with the brickmakers of Middlesex. The duties on bricks were imposed at the same time with the duties on slates. The duties on slates had been repealed, and the duties on bricks ought to be repealed also. The whole amount of the duties which were drained from the pockets of these poor men did not exceed 30,000*l*. He, therefore, trusted, their case would meet with the merciful consideration of Government.

Mr. *Briscoe* corroborated the statements of the hon. member for Middlesex, and supported the prayer of the petition.

Petition to be printed.

CONTEMPT OF COURT—PETITION.] Mr. *William Brougham* presented a Petition from two individuals, father and son, of the names of Stephen and Leonard England, now in confinement in the Fleet Prison, under an order from the Court of Chancery, for having committed a Contempt of one of the Orders of that Court. This was one of those cases arising out of contempts in the Court of Chancery, which was not reached by the late Statute, 1st William 4th. The petitioners stated, that they entered into certain lands situated at Hoo, in Kent, under an idea that by so doing they should raise the question as to their right to the said lands. The property had previously become the subject of a suit in the Court of Chancery, and an injunction had issued in February, 1830, to restrain them from committing waste or trespassing upon the land. Shortly afterwards, however, the petitioners acting, as they alleged, under the advice of a solicitor, again entered upon the land, and proceeded to perform some labour on a wall which belonged to the estate. An application was then made to the Court for their committal for a breach of the injunction, and on the 10th of March, 1830, they were committed to the Fleet Prison for contempt of Court. In November, 1830, Lord Henley made his report to the Lord Chancellor, under the provisions of the Act 1st William 4th, and it was as follows: 'There are two poor 'illiterate day labourers committed for a 'breach of an injunction, having, as they 'state, acted under the advice of the so-'licitor in the cause. Having been between 'eight and nine months in prison I beg to 'submit to your Lordship, that however 'great their offence might have been, they 'have fully expiated it, and I humbly sug-'gest that they may be forthwith li-'berated.' Upon this Report, application was made for their release, and the payment of their costs out of the Suitors' Fund, under the Act introduced by the late Solicitor-General (Sir Edward Sugden) for the relief of persons in prison for Contempt of the Court of Chancery. This, however, was found to be impracticable, as the Act did not extend to cases of this description. This application had been made to the late Lord Chancellor: upon the present Chancellor coming into office a motion had been made to release the prisoners, so far as respected their contempt, leaving them in prison for the costs only, from which it was hoped they might be freed by the provisions of the Insolvent Act, but the Lord Chancellor had decided, after much consideration, that he had no power to make such an order, and that he could not set them at liberty without the consent of the plaintiff, or until his costs were paid; and these persons were, therefore, kept in prison because he would not consent to abandon his costs. The petition further stated, that the father was in a most infirm state of health; under these circumstances, he had presented the petition, with an intention to found some further measures on the subject.

Mr. *Paget* expressed a strong hope that the House would take a summary method of relieving these poor men. It was disgraceful to the country to have such instances of cruelty brought before them, as those inflicted by the operations of the Court of Chancery for contempts of that Court. If the elaborate process of passing a Bill through the two Houses of Legislature was necessary for their liberation, he hoped the Standing Orders would be suspended, so as to allow such a Bill to be passed in the shortest possible time.

Mr. *William Brougham* begged leave to assure the House, that nothing could have given more satisfaction to the Lord Chancellor than to have ordered the release of these two unfortunate men, but in the present state of the law he found it impossible to do so, unless the costs were previously paid. He should, for his part, therefore, be most happy to adopt the suggestion of the hon. Member, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and he trusted the House would consent to postpone the Standing Orders in order to allow a Bill to pass for the liberation of these men without delay. There was no other mode which the House could adopt to afford them relief, unless some hon. Member were to defray the costs for which they were detained.

Mr. *Hunt* said, that the enactments of the proposed Anatomy Bill, would bring the body of the elder petitioner under its operation, in case he died in prison in debt, which was represented as likely to happen, in which case the keeper of the prison and the son would be authorized to sell his body. This was what the hon. member for Bridport, who brought in that Bill, called equal justice; this was the sort of treatment the poor were to receive under the provisions of that Bill, which, however, he trusted the House would never sanction.

Petition to lie on the Table, and be printed.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—BILL FOR ENGLAND—COMMITTEE.] Lord John Russell moved the Order of the Day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House on the Reform of Parliament (England) Bill.

Lord *Milton* said, he rose to ask a question of his noble friend. Some Members, and in particular the noble Marquis, the member for Buckinghamshire, had expressed an intention to propose, that the Amendment respecting the admission to the elective franchise of the yearly tenants of 50*l.* should be continued in the present Bill; and the noble Marquis had accordingly given notice of his intention to move in Committee that such a clause be introduced into the Bill. By giving this notice the noble Member had raised a doubt in the minds of many of the people of England that such a clause did not exist in the present Bill, and that it did not form any part of its provisions; but, as he himself had read it, he certainly considered the yearly tenants to the amount of 50*l.* a year would be enfranchised by its operation. He was therefore most anxious to learn from his noble friend (Lord John Russell) whether his reading of the new Bill was the correct one, and he begged that his noble friend would state distinctly whether that franchise did form part of the present Bill.

Lord *John Russell* said, that the noble Lord, the member for Northamptonshire, was perfectly right in the construction which he had put on the present Reform Bill, for it was the intention of Ministers to accord a franchise to yearly tenants of the amount of 50*l.* In framing the new Bill, the Government was of opinion that the approval of the noble Marquis's amendment in the Committee was so strong an intimation of the wishes of a majority of the House, that it was their duty to accede to so undisguised and so undeniable a proof of their wishes. In case his noble friend, therefore, or any other hon. Member, had any amendment to offer upon that point, he would have an opportunity of doing so during the progress of the Bill in Committee.

On the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair,

Mr. *Croker* expressed his extreme surprise that the noble Lord should have moved the Order of the Day for the Committee on the Reform Bill. He had hoped, after the debate which occurred on the noble Lord giving notice of his intention to move for the Committee on this day, that the noble Lord should have permitted the House to go to the discussion in Committee in the spirit of fairness and impartiality. He very much regretted, therefore, that Ministers still adhered to their determination of forcing on the Bill, before the House had been supplied with the documents necessary for the elucidation of its most important details. He assured the House sincerely, that, however opposed he was to the principles of the Bill itself, and however much he regretted its disastrous introduction to that House, yet there was no one on the other side, not even the noble Lords opposite, themselves, more desirous that its discussion should be brought to as speedy a termination as might be consistent with justice and a full and deliberative consideration. He now rose for the purpose of imploring his Majesty's Ministers not to force the House to-night into a premature consideration of the measure. The noble Lord who had just moved that the House go into a Committee, had himself acknowledged that the papers necessary for an adequate discussion of the details of the Bill were not yet upon the Table. The noble Lord had confessed, that if the House proceeded in Committee, they could not go on with the Bill in its regular course, but that the fundamental and most important parts of the Bill must be postponed, and the clauses of less consequence be in the meantime proceeded with. The House therefore, was to consider the machinery provided for the purpose of carrying into effect certain important principles before they had determined what those principles were to be. If this was not a preposterous proceeding he did not know what was. He reminded the House, that on Friday, the 16th of December, he had warned the noble Lords that they could not go into Committee without the information which had been promised, and the noble Lord agreed with him, and said, that the papers should be delivered to Members by the Monday week next following, that was, the 26th December; but notwithstanding that promise the papers were not even yet before the House. The noble Lord could not, therefore, accuse him of wishing for delay, if he again urged the necessity of being furnished with the information promised, before the Bill was further proceeded with. In order, however, to show that this delay had entirely originated with Ministers, he would state one fact. On the 16th of December the motion for the second reading of the Bill was made; on the morning of the 17th of December, he wrote to the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Russell) to request that, in order that there should be no unnecessary delay, he might be furnished with the amount of houses and taxes in the ten boroughs standing first in Lieutenant Drummond's list, and concerning which no Returns had been printed. This information, however, which it would not have taken five minutes to give, was not furnished until this very morning. He also stated in the letter, which he had privately addressed to the noble Lord on the 17th of December, that it was desirable that the materials upon which Lieutenant Drummond founded his calculations should be furnished to the House, as it would be impossible clearly to understand the general frame-work of the Bill unless this was done, and he had thus early, to prevent delay, apprized the noble Lord of his views. He understood from the noble Lord's reply that these papers were to be granted immediately, which might certainly have been easily done, as they were the foundation of the edifice which Lieutenant Drummond had just built. The noble Lord shook his head: perhaps, he meant to imply that Lieutenant Drummond built his edifice without laying any foundation—that he formed his calculations without any proper materials. Certainly, however, it was understood that the House should be furnished, without delay, with the data upon which Lieutenant Drummond made his calculations, but they were now at the 20th of January, and not one of these documents were yet laid on the Table. A new list had that morning, however, been put into their hands, and Mr. Drummond observed upon it in a kind of note, that "a slight change had been made from the lists previously presented;" but certainly no one could have expected that "a slight change," as Mr. Drummond considered it, could have effected so complete a subversion of the former list. From calculations so laborious and so scientific such a result was not to be expected. Yet it was actually the fact, that the "slight changes" mentioned had altered the positions of forty-eight boroughs out of the 100, which were in the original lists. But that was not all. Mr. Drummond had said, that the first thirty or forty boroughs in the list were not of any considerable importance. He (Mr. Croker) would, for the moment, admit that, and would begin his consideration of the amended list with the forty-first; and he found that in the sixty-nine boroughs intervening between Nos. 41 and 110, there were forty-four changes; that was to say, two-thirds of the whole number were altered in their position in respect to each other. It might be said, these alterations of position were of very little importance, for, after all, the boroughs would all be found in the same schedule, as before, but what he contended for was, that if those lists were furnished for the purpose of enabling the House to come to an accurate judgment, it was of the very utmost importance that the list should be perfectly correct. Nor could he in his common sense understand why Mr. Drummond should have been at the trouble of calculation, and the Ministers of presenting, and the House of printing and studying, a list which on the first revisal was found by its author to contain forty-four errors in sixty-nine items. He would now, however, endeavour to show the House the manner in which Lieutenant Drummond proceeded in making out the lists, which was this:—A list, it seems, of 120 boroughs were furnished to him, and his first operation was—for which he gives no kind of reason—to cut off ten at each end, and to apply himself to consider only the 100 which stand between No. 11 and 110 inclusive. This may or may not be very right, but no reason is given for this arbitrary selection. But, passing that by, Lieutenant Drummond proceeds with these 100 boroughs to add up the houses and the towns, and dividing the whole by 100, finds the average, and comparing the actual amount of houses and towns of each borough with this average, he gives it a relative position in his scale. Now this would be all mighty fair, if the 100 boroughs were engaged in any concern that subjected them to a common, but proportionable, gain or loss; but, in this case, the 24 boroughs at the top of the list, from No. 86 to 110, have nothing to do in the transaction, and yet it is by their influence on the averages that the position of the boroughs really concerned are to be determined.—The details would be intricate and tedious, but any one who should, at last, understand Mr. Drummond's very obscure process, must know that the addition or subtraction of a single borough, though that borough should be far beyond the reach of both schedules, might have the effect of altering the position of all the boroughs which were in the schedules; and the result would be, to disorganize and derange the whole scheme. As the Government intended to disfranchise only fifty-six boroughs, it might have been supposed that sixty would have been, on the outside, a number quite sufficient to subject to the test of their calculation. But by choosing 100 or more, they placed all the boroughs in very different places from those which they would have occupied had sixty only been chosen. Boroughs which, by the arrangement adopted, were marked out for disfranchisement, might have been saved by substituting a narrower or a wider plan, and those which were saved would have been disfranchised. He would give one instance:—If the ten boroughs which Mr. Drummond had chosen to omit from the bottom of the list, but which surely ought rather to have been included in a list which was to affect them, than the twenty-four boroughs at the other end of the list, which could not be affected by it; if, he said, these ten boroughs were included, Calne, which by the present management was placed above Grimsby, would have fallen below it; and had the line of disfranchisement happened to be drawn at No. 80, instead of No. 86, Calne would have been disfranchised and Grimsby saved.

But he had further to complain, that, even the scanty information given them was wildly and ludicrously inaccurate. There had been laid upon the Table on Thursday last, a paper, No. 7; and in this, No. 7, the houses of Calne were stated at 996. But in two papers, Nos. 2 and 3, formerly delivered, the number set down was 710. In No. 5 the number was not mentioned at all; but in No. 8, which was put into the hands of the Members that very morning (Friday), 673 houses were given to that borough. Now every one of those alterations not only gave Calne a different intrinsic value in regard to itself, but might alter the position of every borough in the list, even those which had no kind of rivalry or connexion with Calne. In one of these discordant documents, Chippenham was reported to have 648 houses, and in another paper, 788; making a difference of 140 houses. But he had that morning received a paper in which the houses of Chippenham were stated neither at 648 nor at 788, but at 653. Again; in No. 2, Malton was stated to have 1,079 houses. Fortunate Malton! he must once more exclaim; for not only were the number of houses over stated; but in No. 3, Mr. Drummond sets down the amount of taxes at 1,300*l.*, when he ought to have said 1,030*l.* and by the double blunder, he placed in his original list, in that list which was the "basis of the new Bill," Malton at the head of all the boroughs in England. But in another paper the mistake was corrected; and the number of houses was set down as 787, instead of 1,079. But it seems the correction was again an error, for in the first part of the paper No. 5, they were stated at 849; but again the Amendment is an additional mistake, for we find in the second part of the same paper, this fortunate borough got up again to 1,031 houses. Here one might hope that blunders were exhausted; but no! By the last paper, No. 8—the one which hon. Members had received that morning (Friday)—it was cut down again to 793; being a difference of 300 in the number of houses of the one borough in two papers laid upon the Table within the last twenty-four hours. These variations were in the item of the houses; there were some of the same kind in the amount of taxes, and the result was, that he defied any man alive to guess at the real data on which the fate of that borough ought to be decided. Perhaps, indeed, a fresh return was, the moment he addressed them, ready to issue from the press, giving a sixth return of Malton differing from the five different preceding returns, and exhibiting in a still more forcible point of view the care and accuracy of those returns on which they were about to decide all the corporate and electoral rights of England. These few specimens, and there were fifty of the same kind would show how uncertain were the data upon which the judgment of the Committee was to be formed; and, under such circumstances, he submitted to the House whether it was possible to proceed? Papers which had been promised three weeks ago had not yet been given; and those which had been given, were shamefully—he should rather say, audaciously—erroneous. The delay in affording information, and the complicated errors in the papers when reluctantly given, looked but too like a premeditated design to delude, perplex, and insult the House.

The most important information to guide them would be the reports of the Commissioners, and the maps which were to accompany them. In the absence of such information they would be legislating in the dark without any thing to guide them. Ministers, it appeared, would empanel them without any indictment being placed before them; and in that situation would call on them to record a verdict—a verdict without evidence. They might if they pleased disfranchise these boroughs, but they could not now say that they were convicted on proof.

He had no desire for delay—he had personally taken great pains to prevent the necessity for delay. He had a month ago apprized his Majesty's Ministers, both in public and in private, of what he had this night only repeated. He was ready to go into the Committee; but before he did so, he required of Ministers that they should give to him—and, what was of much greater importance, that they should give to the House and to the country—such information as might enable them to proceed with anything like satisfaction to themselves, and justice to the parties whose dearest political rights were at stake. He, therefore, in the same candour which he trusted it would be admitted he had evinced in the Committee upon the former Bill, implored the noble Lord not to force on the discussion, before they possessed the information, without which it was impossible in common sense or common justice, to take even the first step.

Lord *John Russell* said, that the question before the House was, whether it possessed sufficient information to resolve itself into a Committee, and proceed with the consideration of the Reform Bill, which had been read a second time, and which was appointed in the Order of the Day to be taken into Committee. He would not deny that, in order to investigate the claims of particular boroughs, it might be necessary that Gentlemen should consider, as attentively as possible, the numbers given, as indicating the relative value, in houses and taxes, of the boroughs to be placed in the schedules of the Bill; and he would again say, that the parts of the Bill contained in those schedules might be postponed until the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and others who were concerned in opposing the disfranchisement of those boroughs, should have examined the voluminous papers before the House. But that any reason had been adduced which ought to influence the House towards postponing the Committee upon the Bill itself, or that there had not been laid before them ample information to enable them to consider other parts of the Bill, he must deny. The right hon. Gentleman had said, that the papers had been promised in a week from the day on which they were applied for. Certainly neither he nor his noble friend had in public made such a promise. In public they had only said, that the papers would be ready by the 17th of January. But in private, and to the right hon. Gentleman himself, they had said that they thought a considerable part would be ready by the time they had promised. But it had been found that some particulars in the lists which had been furnished required revision and correction, and he thought that it was not expedient to present them until the House should meet again, and those corrected lists, he stated at the time, would be ready by the 17th of January. And, in fact, they were ready last night, although not on the 17th, and they would be presented as soon as they could be stitched. He put it to the House, therefore, whether they ought to postpone the Committee, because an inquiry was yet pending respecting some details, not necessary to the consideration of the principal parts. Besides, he could assure hon. Gentlemen, that although the Report of the Commissioners was not ready to be laid upon the Table, yet, in whatever respects it might differ from that of Mr. Drummond, the difference was not such that a single place would be altered in its position. He meant, that no place which had stood in either schedule on the 12th of December, would be either omitted altogether, or transferred from one schedule to another. The particulars which depended on calculations not yet laid before them, were not such as to require that the Committee should be postponed; they had already determined that fifty-six should be the number of boroughs to be totally disfranchised, and thirty-eight partially: thus ninety-four boroughs were affected by the Bill; if, therefore, they had taken the number of sixty boroughs as the foundation of their calculations, they must have applied one rule to schedule A and another to schedule B, which it was obvious would lead to great and serious inconvenience. He denied that the calculations were so uncertain as the right hon. Gentleman had endeavoured to represent them. The difference between the reports of the Commissioners and those of the returning officer arose from the surveyors employed by the Commissioners having returned the total number of houses in the town, while the returning officer had confined his account to the limits of the borough. The right hon. Gentleman opposite, and the Gentlemen around him, had objected that, in the former Bill, his Majesty's Ministers had taken the census of 1821 for their guide as to the population, instead of looking minutely into the relative value of the boroughs. Now he had always contended, that it would be a matter of the greatest difficulty to ascertain accurately that relative value. But Ministers had, however, undertaken that difficult inquiry, and the right hon. Gentleman turned round and made the difficulty a matter of objection against their course of proceeding, when they did that which he had before demanded. No doubt changes had been made in the lists, as, for instance, in respect to Appleby. The returning officer sent in at first an account coinciding with that of the Commissioner. But he afterwards wrote a letter containing quite a different return, which was sent to the Commissioners for their consideration. Again with respect to Malton, 1,300 was inserted in the place of 1,030, and the town had thus been placed in a wrong column, but subsequent inquiries had rectified the mistake, and it was now placed in its proper position. When Mr. Drummond sent in his calculations, on the 12th of December, it was explained that there were some particulars in them which required further consideration; but it had since been found that only one borough was changed from its place, and that was done by the error which he had already explained. He hoped, therefore, that the House would go into the Committee to consider the question of the disfranchisement of fifty-six boroughs, the principles of the two schedules, and the other parts of the Bill, not depending on the returns, which had not yet been completed. When those returns should have been sufficiently long before the House, the Committee would consider whether the lists had been properly made, and whether the boroughs contained in the schedules were those that should be disfranchised. Every thing had been done to make the estimate of the relative value of the boroughs as accurate as possible. The calculations had been founded on the census of 1831, the accounts of the returning officer on each place, the reports of the Commissioners of Taxes, and the inquiries of the Special Commission upon the spot. By this means the Committee would have before them the fullest possible information before they came to consider the details to which these lists referred; and in the meantime the other parts of the Bill could be discussed.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that the noble Lord appeared to have greatly misunderstood the observations of his right hon. friend. The objection of his right hon. friend went to this—that the information on this subject which Ministers themselves considered material, not having been yet supplied, it was improper, without that information, to go into the Committee, which ought, therefore, to be postponed until the necessary documents were laid before the House. He entirely coincided in the sentiments of his right hon. friend, and he would say, that if the House of Commons had any respect for its own privileges and dignity, if it had any respect for the rights of the people, it would adopt the proposition of his right hon. friend, and would refuse to proceed further until they had this important information regularly placed before them. Before they proceeded to determine that fifty-six boroughs should be disfranchised, he would demand, in the name of justice, that there should be submitted to the House that information which formed the professed basis and ground-work of so great an alteration in the Constitution. On the 6th of December, his Majesty called their attention to the measures which would be proposed to them for a reform in the Commons House of Parliament. They were recommended to take those measures into their most serious consideration. And what did the noble Lord propose? His proposition was, the principle of the Bill being affirmed by the House, to go into a Committee on its details this night, in the absence of that information which even the noble Lord himself admitted to be necessary. And what was his statement with respect to that information? Did he say, that it was not prepared—or being prepared, not in a fit state for production, or that it was so voluminous that there had not been time to print it? No. It was prepared—it was producible, nay, it was printed—but says the noble Lord, "The sheets are not yet *stitched,* and we cannot wait for the stitching." There was something equally absurd and mischievous in such blind and hurried legislation. The question on which the House was called on to decide, was no less than this—Whether it was fitting to disfranchise fifty-six boroughs? Against such a proceeding, in the absence of the necessary information, he would most strenuously protest. The noble Lord said, it was a matter of indifference in what order the boroughs were placed; but was it a thing of trifling importance, to deal with a subject which might deprive a large class of persons of their rights in the absence of the necessary information, or at least of time to examine that which had been furnished, as it was only that morning a paper had been distributed, which gave a final report of the places assigned to the various boroughs. To show the anomalous situation in which they were placed, he would call the attention of the House to page 9 of the document No. 8, and he begged of them to look to the places between 77 and 87, and the notes appended to them. The first was Horsham; the statement of the number of houses in the borough, and that of the Commissioner had been adopted, but then came a note, "but see report and plan," while, in point of fact, there was neither report nor plan: 76 was Great Grimsby, to which a note was appended, that there had been a mistake in the amount of taxes: 77 was Calne, to which a note was attached, "for explanation of the numbers now adopted, see note to Commissioners' report," but the report had not yet been furnished: 78, Arundel, the returns agree as to the number of houses: 79 Dartmouth, to which it is stated that the Commissioner's return of houses was adopted, which differed twenty-five from that of the returning officer; but then it was again added, "see report and plan," and "for explanation of the numbers now adopted, see the note to Commissioner's report:" 80, St. Ives, the statement of the returning officer and the Commissioners correspond, and such was also the case with the two following boroughs, Rye and Clitheroe, but to No. 83, Morpeth, this note was appended, "the statement of the Commissioner has been adopted; it is probably correct, but cannot be considered definite until a further inquiry, now in progress, is completed;" and then they were again referred to the "Commissioner's report:" 84, Helleston, the statement of the returning officer and the Commissioner correspond: 85, Northallerton, to which the same notes were appended as to No. 83. Then came 86, Wallingford. It was said the returning officer and the Commissioners agreed as to the number of houses, but differed as to the amount of taxes, but the report of the former was adopted, as it was supported by the parliamentary returns, and then they were again referred to the "report and plan," neither of which had been furnished. Thus in a list of twelve boroughs, there were to nine of them notes appended, implying the necessity of further inquiry, and all these places were on the boundary of partial disfranchisement—that is to say, the forfeiture or the continuance of their rights depended upon a very accurate balance of their relative importance. They were constantly referred to a document—viz., the Commissioners' Report, without which it was impossible to understand the Table, and this document was not yet in the hands of Members. It ought to have been presented last night, but as that had not been the case, he supposed it would be delivered as soon as it could be stitched. In the mean time, however, they were called upon to proceed with disfranchisement. Now he would ask if, in the absence of such information, it was fair, it was decent, to call upon a deliberative assembly to go on with a measure respecting which they had not received such information as the noble Lord himself considered necessary to a right understanding of it. He did not mean to attach undue importance to this matter, but important it undoubtedly was. In the first letter of the Secretary of State to Lieutenant Drummond, he said, "the Government have determined to found the Reform Bill on a new basis." As that was admitted, was it not necessary that this new basis should be submitted to the House? Ought they not to know the peculiar circumstance, of each borough, and the nature of its claims, before they decided on the loss or maintenance of an ancient privilege? Surely they ought, when they were sitting in a judicial capacity. They might rate the privileges of those boroughs as of little worth; but they must see that it was not a matter of small moment to those places on which they were about to inflict disfranchisement; and it became a monstrous and oppressive evil, if, in effecting that object, they proceeded with carelessness, and the disregard of facts within their reach. What possible inconvenience, he would ask, could there be in postponing the first clause? It was too important to decide in the absence of information. From the concluding part of the noble Lord's speech, he supposed that the noble Lord meant to press the question to a division. Whatever the feelings or sentiments of Gentlemen might be on the principle of Reform, he hoped that they would, on the division, resist this attempt to carry an important question in the absence of information. He cared not for the number that might divide with him, but so strongly did he feel the necessity of having proper information before the House, or rather, he should say, of having time to read the documents which were actually presented and printed, that if he stood alone he would divide against the proposition of the noble Lord.

Lord *Althorp* said, the right hon. Gentleman had entirely mistaken the view entertained of this question by his noble friend. His noble friend had not expressed himself unwilling to grant information, nor said, that the information which would be laid on the Table of the House was necessary before they proceeded further. His noble friend said, that the information called for was unnecessary in deciding on the first clause, which respected the number of boroughs to be disfranchised; but he admitted, that when they came to the schedule, that information would be necessary, in order to see whether the boroughs designated ought to be retained there or not. It had been insinuated that Ministers wished to exclude certain boroughs from the operation of the Bill, and to include others, from private personal feelings. Such an insinuation was unfounded, and the fact would appear, when, at the proper time, they came to discuss the schedules, with the information that was in the progress of preparation before the House. That observation, therefore could form no ground for postponing the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman had read the names of different places, and the notes appended to them, as contained in page 9 of one of the papers. Now, if the question were as to the relative claims of the boroughs contained in the schedule, it would be necessary that they should have the Commissioners' report before them; but it was of no importance at all in deciding on the number of boroughs that should be placed in schedule A. They were not determining whether Horsham, Calne, or Great Grimsby, or any of the other places mentioned in page 9, should stand in schedule B; but the question was as to the broad principle of disfranchisement, without reference to the particular cases. He admitted the information alluded to was positively necessary before they proceeded with the case of each particular borough, but that was not the question they were now called upon to consider. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Croker) objected to the principle upon which Lieutenant Drummond's list proceeded, and observed, that the alteration in a few boroughs altered the relative value of others, with which they were not connected. This was a necessary consequence when they proceeded on a general principle, but it was not an unjust one. For his own part, he did not think that they were doing any thing unworthy of a deliberative assembly, in discussing the first clause in the absence of information which did not affect it. That information did not apply in the slightest degree, to the question, which simply was, whether a certain number of boroughs should be disfranchised or not. The information called for did not apply to this point—namely, whether such and such boroughs, according to the principle laid down, ought to be included in schedule A. For these reasons, he saw no grounds for postponing the Committee this evening. They might employ themelves most usefully in proceeding with other clauses of the Bill, until they came to the schedules.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* was convinced, from what had fallen from the noble Lord, that there must be some misunderstanding when he endeavoured to force the House into a Committee in the absence of the necessary information. The question really before them was, not whether fifty-six or eighty-six boroughs were to be wholly or in part disfranchised; but whether fifty-six boroughs in schedule A, and another number in schedule B, were to be disfranchised at the beck and bidding of his Majesty's Ministers. It was of little consequence probably to some hon. Gentlemen whether between eighty or ninety on the one side, and fifty or sixty boroughs on the other, were to be deprived of their rights; but it was of material importance, if the character of a deliberative assembly was to be kept up, that the House should know upon what grounds the boroughs to be sacrificed had been selected. If the question was to be decided by the number of houses and the amount of taxes paid, let them at least have the means of obtaining correct information to guide them in forming a just judgment. As yet they had no sufficient information on which to form a correct opinion; and it was on that account that himself and his hon. friends complained of the extraordinary haste with which Government had sought to force the House of Commons into Committee on this Bill. The noble Lord seemed to have determined that fifty-six boroughs were to be totally disfranchised; but he thought that it was rather going too great lengths to call upon the House of Commons to declare that this or that was a nomination borough, because it fell within the line of fifty-six; they ought rather to decide each case on its peculiar merits. They were, however, called upon to determine that fifty-six should be taken on the one side, and thirty on the other; the one class to be totally disfranchised, the other to be partially so, without any definite reason having been stated. The Government upon this occasion were acting upon an entirely different principle to that which they acted upon before; and if they intended to deal fairly by the House and the public, they ought to afford all the information which was necessary to a full and deliberate discussion of the subject. Had the House of Commons ceased to be a deliberative assembly, and was it at once to be forced into a Committee to condemn boroughs, before hon. Members had an opportunity to make any inquiry into their respective cases, merely because Ministers had determined that a certain number of places were to be disfranchised? It was matter of little consequence to speak of the minorities in the former discussions on the Reform Bill—it was of comparatively little importance whether a few more or a few less votes were obtained—but he felt assured, it would be found a matter of great consequence, when the people of England observed that no examination was permitted before the House decided that the majority of the House of Commons voted at the beck and bidding of Ministers, without reference to the justice of the case. The question simply was, whether the house would consent that justice should be denied, by determining upon a number of cases without deliberation. If this Bill were passed, in two years more they would have the same cry raised as they now heard on all sides, so little contentment would it yield. At the same time, when the Ministers of the King brought forward a proposition to disfranchise nomination boroughs, and explained that notion to mean fifty-six boroughs having the smallest amount of population, and paying the least sum to the public revenue, they must abide by that explanation, or the House must believe that it was their intention to set even the appearance of justice at defiance. This was not the occasion for enlarging on the questions connected with the first one or two clauses; for the simple proposition was—is the new Bill to be founded upon justice or injustice?

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, that it was a fallacy to assume that any blame had been cast from that side of the House either upon Lieutenant Drummond or upon his Majesty's Government for not having the required information ready to be laid before the House. Owing to the complicated nature of the documents, it was quite possible that they might not be ready, without any blame being attributable to any individual whatever; but what he and his right hon. friends complained of was, that it was now required of them to go into Committee on this Bill, without having that information before them which was absolutely necessary to enable them to come to a decision upon the very first clause it contained. It appeared that Lieutenant Drummond had been called upon between the 24th of November and the 12th of December, to sketch out a new Constitution for the country—a period that seemed to him much too short for the completion of a work of such important magnitude. Lieutenant Drummond had himself acknowledged, that in making out his list, the most difficult part of his task was to obtain correct data and accurate information whereupon to found it. Now, if the House went into Committee this evening, without the information which had been promised, and which, of course, would be soon forthcoming, it would place itself in a still worse predicament, for it would proceed to legislate, without having even the data possessed by Lieutenant Drummond on which to ground its decisions. If his Majesty's Ministers forced them into a Committee forthwith, they would be called upon to disfranchise a number of boroughs, without having the local limits of those boroughs before them, whereby they might be enabled to ascertain with any thing like precision, the amount of their taxes, houses, and population. Could any thing be more unjust—could any thing be less business-like—than such a course of proceeding? They were called upon to go into Committee with something promised to them that they could not yet have—with something to guide them, that they were not now to look at—and with something which was to be on the Table, but which they were not at present to be permitted to see. When they were called on to disfranchise fifty-six boroughs on the evidence of facts, was it not consistent with common justice and common sense, that they should have those facts before them? Lieutenant Drummond's list consisted both of arithmetic and geography, and they were now told, that his arithmetic was correct; and they were requested to wait awhile, and that by-and-by they would see that his geography was also accurate. If he were arguing a case of this nature under an Enclosure Act, would it not be a gross absurdity on his part not to have a map of the ground before him? Or, to descend still lower in the grade of legislation, would it not be equally absurd, if at a parish vestry, when a parcel of land was about to be parcelled out to A, B, and C, they should not have the plan before them, according to which the allotments were to be made? These familiar illustrations served, he thought. in some degree to exhibit the absurdity of their present proposed course of proceeding. Such a species of legislation might suit very well those who belonged to political unions, or those persons who were for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill;" but as legislation proceeding from the members of a well-constituted and deliberative assembly, it was an entire and perfect piece of unredeemed mockery. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Althorp) had told them, that, in going into Committee, they would have only to declare, that fifty-six boroughs were to be disfranchised, and that hereafter, when they came to the specific case of each individual borough, they would then have the information before them necessary to enable them to decide upon each case. He, however, must assert, that their first step in going into Committee would be, to disfranchise specifically, and by name, fifty-six boroughs, without having a single fact before them to warrant any such proceeding. It was a most monstrous thing, that that House should be compelled, either under the domination of an influence out of doors that deprived it of its deliberative character, or under the equally odious domination of his Majesty's Ministers, to come to a vote with regard to a case that altogether depended upon facts, without having a single one of those facts submitted to them. If the House of Commons, operated upon by such an influence, whether within those walls or without those walls, were to act in such an absurd, unjust, and inconsistent manner, he, Anti-reformer as he was, would not scruple to lend his aid to reform that House; and he would do so, because, in his opinion, it would in such case have forfeited the character that belonged to a British Parliament. A greater insult could not be offered to the understandings of any set of men—a greater inroad could not be made upon the freedom of deliberation, than thus to force the Members of that House to come to a vote upon a most important question, without having before them any of the facts according to which that question was to be decided. Such a proceeding as that of disfranchising fifty-six boroughs at a sweep, without a single fact to warrant such disfranchisement, might be a fit and proper one on the part of the delegated Representatives of political unions and political conventions, but it was one that was utterly unworthy of a British House of Commons. Since he had had the honour of being a Member of that House, he had never seen such a blow aimed at its independence as was now aimed at it by his Majesty's Ministers within those walls, and by an odious and intolerant domination out of doors. Against the pressure either of the influence of his Majesty's Ministers who might have their object, and who, no doubt, had an object in view, or of that external influence to which he had alluded, out of doors, he, as an independent Member of Parliament, begged leave to enter his most solemn protest; and he still hoped, that the House of Commons would not exhibit such a departure from decency and justice as to proceed to vote upon such a subject as this, without having the necessary information before it. He trusted that the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, would not risk their credit and their character in the country by so ill-advised and precipitate a measure as this. Why, the very political unions themselves would not recommend such an indecent proceeding. They would at least allow that it was but fair that the printed papers should be in the hands of Members, and that they should have sufficient time given them to read them over. Indeed, he did not believe, that the most tumultuous and ill-constituted body of men in the kingdom would be prepared to insist, as his Majesty's Ministers were prepared to do, upon such a proceeding on the part of that House, and under such circumstances. For his own part, he would declare, that since he had been a Member of that House, he had never felt so thoroughly convinced as he did on this occasion, that it was the duty of every independent Member to protest against so gross an inroad upon the freedom of deliberation—so glaring an infringement of the rights of that House; and he did hope and trust, that a British House of Commons would not exhibit the humiliating spectacle of being thus trailed through the dirt and mire, at the chariot wheels of Ministerial domination.

Mr. *Pigott* said, it was most absurd to think of going into Committee on the present occasion, before the necessary information had been produced to the House. He should certainly resist the proposition to the utmost of his power.

Mr. *Hume* observed, that the sole and simple question before the House was, whether or not it would resolve itself into a Committee on the Reform Bill, and he apprehended that the question which had been incidentally raised, as to whether the necessary information had or had not been laid before them, had nothing whatever to do with the motion which they had to decide. "Shall we go into Committee or not, on the Reform Bill?" That was the question, he repeated, which they had to decide, and he trusted they would proceed to decide it with firmness and coolness. He would ask whether there was any man prepared to say they ought not to proceed with their task, and ought not to go into a Committee? No doubt the Anti-reformers would be prepared to give their negative to such a motion; but if his Majesty's Ministers would be advised by him, they would not pay the least attention to those Gentlemen, who would never let them go into Committee on the Bill at all, if they could by any possibility prevent it. He would call upon the House not to be carried away by the artifices of hon. Gentlemen, but to decide this matter according to reason and common sense. Were they prepared, or were they not, to consider the Bill in Committee? That was the question, and let any man who was against their doing so say "No." [*cries of "No, no," from several members on the Opposition benches.*] That was his appeal to the House—that was the question which the House had that evening, in the face of the people of England, to decide—namely, whether it would consider the Bill in Committee, or whether it would not do so. He would appeal to the common sense of every man in that House, and he would fearlessly appeal to the common sense of Englishmen out of doors, whether it was not right that they should forthwith go into Committee and consider the Bill, it being understood that, with regard to the details of it, all the necessary information would be furnished hereafter as they went along. Let them then, in God's name, take the first step and go into Committee, where alone that information could be used by them in considering the details of the Bill. He trusted that the House would not be prevented from taking that step on this occasion by any of the devices practised by hon. Gentlemen below him. Suppose, after they went into Committee, the disfranchisement of only one or two boroughs by name were proposed, the rest being postponed till the information with regard to them had been furnished, was any man prepared to say that Old Sarum ought not to be disfranchised? Let them go into Committee, and suppose the disfranchisement of Old Sarum, in which there were no houses, should be proposed, was there any man prepared to say that the decision of the House could not be taken with regard to that borough? There was another borough—Newtown, in the Isle of Wight—with only fourteen houses in it. Would any man say that such a borough as that did not deserve disfranchisement? In that way he would say they were prepared to go into Committee at the present moment, and to take the boroughs one by one; and if it should be thought necessary, with regard to any particular borough, to have more information respecting it laid before the House, he, for one, would be ready to acquiesce in having the vote as to that borough postponed until such information could be produced. He trusted that the House would persevere in going into Committee on the Bill that evening.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, that the hon. member for Middlesex did not comprehend the effect of the arguments urged against the present motion. There was no objection to the going into Committee on this subject; nor had a single syllable fallen from any individual who had spoken against the motion that warranted such an interpretation. All that they had contended for was, that if they were to go into Committee, to disfranchise fifty-six boroughs, it was necessary that they should have the grounds laid before them on which it was proposed to deprive these boroughs of their right of Representation. The hon. Member had recommended them to discuss this question with coolness; and he himself, no doubt, was cool. Indeed, he believed that in the cause of Reform, no injustice, however gross, would call forth that hon. Member's warmth; and that no extent of injury, however undeserved, would disturb his phlegm. Was it just, he would ask, that they were now to be called upon to disfranchise, in a wholesale manner, fifty-six boroughs, without being acquainted with the circumstances appertaining to each of them, and without being put in possession of that information with regard to them which had been collected by the persons appointed by Government for the purpose? It was not his desire, nor that of his right hon. friends with whom he had the honour to act, to impute to his Majesty's Government any species of partiality in the selection of those boroughs, but he would say, that if it was intended to act with partiality in the cases of disfranchisement, the course which the two noble Lords opposite had adopted on this occasion, was exactly that which it would be their interest under such circumstances to pursue. For what was the language of those noble Lords? "Let us," said those noble Lords, "pledge the House first to the disfranchisement of those fifty-six boroughs, and then we shall apply to each individual case the rule according to which the whole are to be disfranchised." Now that rule was so flexible—so extremely pliable—that, let that number of boroughs be given to him, he would engage, under that rule, to bring into either of the two schedules (A and B) five boroughs that were not at present included in them. The course which his Majesty's Ministers were now forcing on the adoption of the House was one that was founded neither on justice nor reason, and as the information which was wanted would be laid before the House in a few days, and therefore as the postponement of the Committee until that period would not materially retard the progress of the Bill, he did hope that Ministers would not persevere in pressing this motion.

Mr. *Robinson* said, that the real question before the House could not be misunderstood. The division which was about to take place, would be upon the question, whether or not the House was to go into Committee on the Reform Bill. If the arguments of the hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir Charles Wetherell) were worth any thing, they were called upon by him to go through the discussion of every single borough in schedule A before they agreed to the first clause in the Bill. The taunts and sarcasms which had been thrown out by the hon. and learned Gentleman against the supporters of the Bill, had certainly not the merit of novelty to recommend them; their repetition now only recalled to mind their frequent use on the part of that hon. Gentleman during the last session of Parliament. While he felt that he was not one of those who, according to the assertion of the hon. and learned Gentleman, would suffer themselves to be dragged through the mire by his Majesty's Ministers, and while he was as little inclined as the hon. Baronet (Sir R. Vyvyan) to give his vote "at the beck or bidding" of any Minister, he was determined to support the present motion. The object of those who opposed this motion was the defeat of Reform altogether. Looking at the course which had been pursued in the last session of Parliament, he did not see the necessity of going into the discussion of the case of every single borough before they had voted the general disfranchisement clauses of the Bill. The arguments which had been employed on that side of the House against this motion might be more appropriately urged when the House had gone into Committee, either for postponing the case of any individual borough, or for having it omitted altogether out of the number of those proposed to be disfranchised. The present opposition to the motion now before the House reminded him of the attempt which was made in the last session of Parliament to prevent the House from going into Committee at all, and which vexatious attempt was continued until past seven o'clock in the morning. The simple question before the House was, whether they were prepared to go into Committee to consider the Reform Bill, and as he (Mr. Robinson) conceived that the whole principle of Reform was involved in the questions of disfranchisement and enfranchisement, he was ready to vote for the disfranchisement of fifty-six boroughs, leaving the case of each individual borough to be argued and adjudicated hereafter when the schedules were discussed. When the House voted the disfranchisement of fifty-six boroughs, it would merely vote, that fifty-six of the most inconsiderable of the boroughs were to be disfranchised, and when in Committee, they would apply the rule to those boroughs individually, so as to ascertain that they came within the description of the most insignificant boroughs in the kingdom. Now, for his part, he saw nothing of injustice in such a course of proceeding, and though he might wish that the principle of disfranchisement had been extended to a greater number, he should at all events give his cordial vote for the amount of disfranchisement contemplated by the present Bill. He could not sit down without observing, that the right hon. Baronet, the member for Tamworth, after referring to the words in his Majesty's Speech, and insisting upon the necessity of considering this subject with coolness and calmness, had not in his own instance set a very notable example of that calmness and moderation which he had so forcibly preached, but had so little practised on this occasion.

Mr. *Cresset Pelham* said, that he was determined on this occasion to vote as became an independent Member of the Legislature, unswayed by any influence either in or out of that House. He might have a prejudice with respect to one borough, and others might have the same with respect to others. It would therefore be trifling with the feelings of the House to go into the consideration of schedule A, including as it did fifty-six boroughs, without full information regarding them all.

Sir *Charles Forbes* heartily approved of the opposition which was given to the proposition for going into Committee at that time. The course it was proposed to pursue was as flagrantly unjust as could well be imagined. Suppose 100 prisoners were brought up for trial, all more or less guilty, but that fifty-six of them had been guilty of crimes for which they deserved capital punishment, what would be thought of the Judge who said "here take the first fifty-six and convict them of the capital offence, and the remainder of the minor offences, and afterwards we can examine evidence to ascertain if we have acted justly." It was monstrous in any body of men to propose that a number of boroughs—some of them the most ancient in the kingdom—should be deprived of their franchise until the evidence upon which their disfranchisement was to be founded had been laid before the House. Upon this ground he hoped that the right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) would persevere in his plan of dividing the House upon the question, and, though the right hon. Baronet should be kept there until seven o'clock in the morning, he would remain to support him.

Mr. *Hunt* said, that as he intended to vote against Ministers upon the present occasion, he wished to state the grounds upon which that vote would be given. Although his name had not appeared in the lists of the majority and minority which were printed in the newspapers, it was well known that he had voted for the second reading of the Bill, and as he had supported Ministers on that occasion, it might seem the more extraordinary that he should oppose them now. His reason was this; were the question which was about to be submitted to them in the Committee to determine whether fifty-six, or even 106 small and comparatively insignificant boroughs should be disfranchised, he should not hesitate to vote in the affirmative; but when he was called upon to vote for the separate disfranchisement of such, he felt it necessary that the evidence upon which that disfranchisement was to take place should be laid before the House. He thought, indeed, that men of common sense, or even common decency, would not ask the House to determine a point upon particular grounds until those grounds had been rendered clear and manifest by the best information that could be procured. That information, it was said, would speedily be ready. He thought, therefore, for the credit of the House, as a deliberative assembly, it ought not to proceed to the consideration of the first clause of the Bill until the documents which related to the condemned boroughs had been produced.

Lord *John Russell* thought, that the hon. member for Preston had not properly understood what he had originally meant to express. In the first clause of the Bill it was only intended that the House should vote for the disfranchisement of fifty-six boroughs, without specifying what particular boroughs should be included in that number. In the former Bill the House was called upon to vote for the first clause and the disfranchising schedule together. In the present Bill it was only called upon to vote the first clause, declaring that a particular number of boroughs should be disfranchised, but not determining which those boroughs should be

Mr. *Croker* said, that he should not object to the question then before the House, which was only that "the Order of the Day for the House resolving itself into a Committee be read;" but on the question "that the Speaker do now leave the Chair," he should, upon the grounds which he had previously stated, and which, he thought, remained unanswered, move that the word "now" be omitted, leaving the noble Lord to fill up the blank with any day that he might think proper within a reasonable time after the information had been produced.

The Order of the Day read.

Lord *John Russell,* in rising to move "that Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," begged leave to state, that he thought far more time would be allowed to hon. Gentlemen to gain any information that they might wish to acquire by suffering the House to go into Committee then, than by postponing it to a future day.

Mr. *Croker:* I differ from the noble Lord; and, therefore, I beg leave to move, that all the words of the question after the word "that" be omitted, and that there be substituted, "the House resolve itself into Committee on Tuesday next." That, in my opinion, will be the shortest way of proceeding, as well as the justest.

The question was put, that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question, and the House divided, when there appeared—Ayes 152; Noes 99—Majority 53.

List of the AYES

Of 152 *who voted for going into a Committee on the Reform Bill, on the* 20*th of January*, 1832.

ENGLAND.

Adeane, Henry John	*Cambridgeshire*
Althorp, viscount	*Northamptonshire*
Anson, sir George	*Lichfield*
Astley, sir J. Dugdale, bt.	*Wiltshire*
Baring, F. T.	*Portsmouth*
Bayntun, S. A.	*York*
Bernal, Ralph	*Rochester*
Blake, sir Francis, bt.	*Berwick*
Blamire, William	*Cumberland*
Brougham, William	*Southwark*
Burdett, sir F., bt.	*Westminster*
Byng, George	*Middlesex*
Calcraft, Granby H.	*Wareham*
Calley, Thomas	*Cricklade*
Calvert, C.	*Southwark*
Calvert, Nicolson	*Hertfordshire*
Campbell, John	*Stafford*
Carter, J. B.	*Portsmouth*
Cavendish, Henry F. C.	*Derby*
Cavendish, lord	*Derbyshire*
Chaytor, W. R. C.	*Durham*
Chichester, John P. B.	*Barnstaple*
Cockerell, sir C., bt.	*Evesham*
Cradock, Sheldon	*Camelford*
Crampton, P. C.	*Milborne Port*
Creevey, Thomas	*Downton*
Curteis, Herbert B.	*Sussex*
Denman, sir Thomas	*Nottingham*
Duncombe, Thomas S.	*Hertford*
Dundas, hon. Thomas	*York*
Dundas, hon. John C.	*Richmond*
Easthope, John	*Banbury*
Ellice, Edward	*Coventry*
Ellis, Wynn	*Leicester*
Evans, de Lacy	*Rye*
Evans, William B.	*Leominster*
Evans, William	*Leicester*
Ewart, W.	*Liverpool*
Folkes, sir W. J. H. B., bt.	*Norfolk*
Godson, Richard	*St. Alban's*
Graham, rt. hon. sir J. R. G.	*Cumberland*
Hawkins, J. H.	*Tavistock*
Heron, sir Robert, bt.	*Peterborough*
Heywood, Benjamin	*Lancashire*
Hodges, Thomas L.	*Kent*
Hodgson, John	*Newcastle-upon-Tyne*
Horne, sir W.	*Newtown*
Hoskins, Kedgwin	*Herefordshire*
Howick, viscount	*Northumberland*
Hudson, Thomas	*Evesham*
Hughes, William H.	*Oxford*
Hume, Joseph	*Middlesex*
Ingilby, sir W. A., bt.	*Lincolnshire*
Johnstone, sir J. V. B.	*Yorkshire*
Knight, Henry G.	*Malton*
Leigh, T. C.	*Wallingford*
Lefevre, Charles S.	*Hampshire*
Lemon, sir Charles	*Cornwall*
Littleton, Edward John	*Staffordshire*
Lopez, sir R. F., bt.	*Westbury*
Macaulay, Thomas B.	*Calne*
Macdonald, sir James, bt.	*Hampshire*
Mangles, James	*Guildford*
Marjoribanks, Stewart	*Hythe*
Marshall, William	*Beverley*
Milbank, Mark	*Camelford*
Newark, lord	*East Retford*

Nowell, Alexander	*Westmoreland*
Nugent, lord	*Aylesbury*
Ord, William	*Morpeth*
Paget, Thomas	*Leicestershire*
Palmerston, visct.	*Bletchingly*
Paine, sir Peter, bt.	*Bedfordshire*
Pelham, hon. C. A. W.	*Lincolnshire*
Penleaze, John S.	*Southampton*
Petit, Louis H.	*Ripon*
Phillipps, sir R. B., bt.	*Haverfordwest*
Phillips, Charles M.	*Leicestershire*
Protheroe, Edward	*Bristol*
Ramsbottom, John	*Windsor*
Rider, Thomas	*Kent*
Robarts, Abraham W.	*Maidstone*
Robinson, George R.	*Worcester*
Rooper, John B.	*Huntingdonshire*
Russell, lord John	*Devonshire*
Russell, lord	*Tavistock*
Russell, F.	*Tavistock*
Sandon, viscount	*Liverpool*
Sanford, E. A.	*Somersetshire*
Schonswar, George	*Hull*
Scott, sir Edward D.	*Lichfield*
Sebright, sir J. S., bt.	*Hertfordshire*
Skipwith, sir Gray	*Warwickshire*
Smith, John Abel	*Chichester*
Smith, Vernon	*Northampton*
Stanhope, R. H.	*Dover*
Stanley, hon. Edw. G. S.	*Windsor*
Staunton, sir T. G., bt.	*Heytesbury*
Stephenson, H. F.	*Westbury*
Stewart, P. M.	*Lancaster*
Stewart, Edward	*Wigton*
Strickland, George	*Yorkshire*
Strutt, Edward	*Derby*
Stuart, ld. Pat. J. H. C.	*Cardiff*
Stuart, lord Dudley C.	*Arundel*
Thicknesse, Ralph	*Wigan*
Thompson, William	*London*
Thomson, rt. hon. Charles P.	*Dover*
Tufton, hon. H.	*Appleby*
Tyrell, Charles	*Suffolk*
Venables, William	*London*
Vere, Jas. J. Hope	*Newport, I. of W.*
Villiers, T. H.	*Bletchingly*
Vincent, sir Francis, bt.	*St. Alban's*
Waithman, Robert	*London*
Warburton, Henry	*Bridport*
Warre, John A.	*Hastings*
Wason, Rigby	*Ipswich*
Watson, hon. Richard	*Canterbury*
Western, Charles Callis	*Essex*
Weyland, major R.	*Oxfordshire*
Whitbread, Wm. Henry	*Bedford*
Wilde, Mr. Serjeant	*Newark*
Wilks, John	*Boston*
Williams, John	*Winchelsea*
Williams, William A.	*Monmouthshire*
Williams, sir Jas. bt.	*Carmarthenshire*
Willoughby, sir H.	*Yarmouth, I. of W.*
Wood, Matthew	*London*
Wrottesley, sir J., bt.	*Staffordshire*

SCOTLAND.

Fergusson, R. C.	*Kirkcudbright*
Gillon, William D.	*Selkirk, &c.*
Jeffrey, rt. hon. F.	*Perth, &c.*
Kennedy, Thomas Francis	*Rothsay, &c.*
Loch, J.	*Tain, &c.*
M'Leod, R.	*Sutherlandshire*
Mackenzie, J. A. S.	*Ross-shire*
Sinclair, George	*Caithness-shire*
Stewart, sir Mich. S. bt.	*Renfrewsh.*

IRELAND.

Belfast, earl of	*Antrimshire*
Boyle, hon. John	*Cork*
Browne, J. D.	*Mayo*
Chapman, Montague L.	*Westmeath*
Coote, sir Chas. H., bt.	*Queen's County*
Copeland, Alderman	*Coleraine*
Doyle, sir J. M.	*Carlowshire*
Grattan, James	*Wicklowshire*
Lamb, hon. George	*Dungarvon*
Lambert James S.	*Galwayshire*
Leader, Nicholas P.	*Kilkenny*
Mullins, Frederick W.	*Kerry*
O'Connor, Don	*Roscommonshire*
Ponsonby, hon. George	*Youghall*
Ruthven, Edward S.	*Downpatrick*
Sheil, R. L.	*Louthshire*
Walker, Charles A.	*Wexford*
Wallace, T.	*Drogheda*

TELLERS.

Wood, Charles	*Wareham*
Rice, rt. hon. T. S.	*Limerick*

List of the NOES.

ENGLAND.

Alexander, J. Dupré	*Old Sarum*
Astell, William	*Bridgewater*
Atkins, J.	*Arundel*
Bankes, George	*Corfe-Castle*
Beckett, sir John, bt.	*Haslemere*
Beresford, colonel	*Berwick*
Best, hon. William S.	*St. Michael*
Brudenel, lord	*Fowey*
Burge, W.	*Eye*

Burrard, George .. .. *Lymington*
Capel, John .. .. *Queenborough*
Chandos, marquis of .. *Buckinghamshire*
Cholmondeley, lord H. .. *Castle Rising*
Clinton, Clinton J. F. .. *Aldborough*
Clive, hon. Robert H. .. .. *Ludlow*
Clive, Henry .. .. *Montgomery*
Cockburn, sir G. .. .. *Plymouth*
Constable, sir Thos. A. C. .. *Hedon*
Cooke, sir Henry F. .. .. *Orford*
Courtenay, rt. hon. T. P. .. *Totness*
Dawson, rt. hon. J. W. .. *Harwich*
Domville, sir C. .. .. *Plympton*
Drake, Thomas T. .. *Agmondesham*
Drake, colonel .. *Agmondesham*
East, James B. .. .. *Winchester*
Encombe, viscount .. .. *Truro*
Fane, hon. Henry S. .. *Lyme Regis*
Foley, Edward T. .. *Ludgershall*
Forbes, sir Chas., bt. .. *Malmesbury*
Forbes, John .. .. *Malmesbury*
Forester, hon. G. C. W. .. *Wenlock*
Goulburn, rt. hon. H. *Cambridge Univ.*
Graham, marquis of .. *Cambridge*
Grant, sir Colq. .. *Queenborough*
Hardinge, sir H. .. *Newport, Cornw.*
Herries, rt. hon. John C. .. *Harwich*
Hill, sir Rowland, bt. .. .. *Salop*
Holmes, William .. .. *Haslemere*
Hope, John T. .. .. *Okehampton*
Hulse, sir Charles, bt. .. *West Looe*
Hunt, Henry .. .. .. *Preston*
Inglis, sir R. H. bt. .. *Oxford Univers.*
Jenkins, Richard .. .. *Shrewsbury*
Jermyn, earl .. *Bury St. Edmund's*
Kearsley, J. H. .. .. *Wigan*
Kenyon, hon. Lloyd .. *St. Michael*
Kerrison, sir Edward, bt. .. *Eye*
Lascelles, hon. W. S. .. *Northallerton*
Lewis, rt. hon. T. F. .. *Radnorshire*
Loughborough, lord .. *Great Grimsby*
Luttrell, John Fownes .. *Minehead*
Mackillop, James .. .. *Tregony*
Mackinnon, William A. .. *Lymington*
Mahon, visct. .. .. *Wootton Basset*
Maitland, viscount .. .. *Appleby*
Malcolm, sir J. .. .. *Launceston*
Miller, W. H. .. *Newcastle-under-Line*
Nugent, sir George, bt. .. *Buckingham*
Peel, right hon. sir Robt. .. *Tamworth*
Peel, William Yates .. *Cambridge Univ.*
Pelham, John Cresset .. *Shropshire*
Pemberton, Thomas .. .. *Rye*
Perceval, Spencer .. .. *Tiverton*
Pigott, George G. W. .. *St. Mawes*
Pollington, lord .. *Gatton*
Porchester, lord .. *Wootton Basset*
Praed, W. M. .. .. *St. Germain's*
Ross, Charles .. .. *St. Germain's*
Sadler, Michael T. .. *Aldborough*
Stewart, Charles .. .. *Penryn*
Stormont, viscount .. .. *Woodstock*
Taylor, George Watson .. *Devizes*
Townshend, hon. Col. .. *Whitchurch*
Trench, Fred. William .. *Cambridge*
Tunno, Edward R. .. .. *Bossiney*
Valletort, viscount .. *Lostwithiel*
Walsh, sir John .. .. .. *Sudbury*
West, Frederick R. .. *East Grinstead*
Wetherell, sir Chas. .. *Boroughbridge*
Weyland, John .. .. *Hindon*
Williams, Owen .. .. .. *Marlow*
Wrangham, Digby C. .. *Sudbury*
Wynn, rt. hn. C. W. W. *Montgomerysh.*
Wynne, Charles W. G. .. *Carnarvonshire*
Yorke, capt. .. .. .. *Reigate*

SCOTLAND.

Arbuthnot, hon. H. .. *Kincardineshire*
Bruce, Charles C. L. .. *Fortrose, &c.*
Dalrymple, sir A. .. *Jedburgh, &c.*
Douglas, Wm. R. K. .. *Dumfries, &c.*
Grant, hon. Francis W. .. *Elginshire*
Hay, sir J. .. .. *Peebleshire*
Maitland, hon. Anthony .. *Berwickshire*
Murray, rt. hon. sir Geo. .. *Perthshire*
Ogilvy, hon. D. .. *Forfarshire*
Scott, Henry F. .. *Roxburghshire*

IRELAND.

Brydges, sir J. W. H., bt. .. *Armagh*
Clements, John M. .. *Leitrimshire*
Jones, Theobald .. *Londonderryshire*
Meynell, Henry .. .. *Lisburne*
Tullamore, lord .. .. .. *Carlow*
Wigram, William .. .. *New Ross*

TELLERS.

Croker, rt. hon. J. W. .. *Aldeburgh*
Vyvyan, sir R. R. .. *Okehampton*

The House then went into Committee, Mr. Bernal in the Chair.

On the first clause being read,

Mr. *Croker* said, that the House would, no doubt, be glad to hear from his Majesty's Ministers their reason for adopting the peculiar number fifty-six. He could not discover what reason there was for this, or what talismanic power the number fifty-six possessed that should induce the House to agree to it.

Lord *John Russell* said, that it was not from any peculiar quality in that particular number, for he should quite as well have liked fifty or fifty-five, or sixty or sixty-six, and there was no motive for choosing fifty-six except this, that that number would include most of the inconsiderable boroughs of the kingdom. The line being in any case arbitrary, it was thought best to take the number which had been sanctioned by the last Bill. If Ministers had taken sixty or sixty-six, they would have done so on their own responsibility, but, as the case stood, the number in the present Bill was the same as that in the Bill which had passed that House, and been sent to the House of Lords. It also, in point of fact, contained the greater number of the boroughs in the former schedule A. The reason why some of these had been left out he had already explained; it was occasioned by considering parishes or districts as well as boroughs. For his own part, he should have had no objection to go further with disfranchisement; but, under the circumstances, it was not deemed advisable to include a greater number in this Bill than in the last. These were the only reasons for choosing this number, and if the various plans of Reform heretofore submitted to the House were examined, it would be found that some arbitrary number of 100 or 150 Members had always been fixed upon to be changed, and for which no satisfactory reason could be given. One hon. Gentleman had spoken of these fifty-six as if they were all nomination boroughs. He would not say they were so, but he believed that, on examining the schedule, by far the greater proportion of them would be found to be of that character.

Mr. *Croker* said, that the noble Lord appeared to make a total and radical mistake in the assertion which he ventured to make —namely, that the House had by the former Bill agreed to the disfranchisement of fifty-six boroughs. The House had done no such thing. It had agreed to the disfranchisement of particular boroughs which appeared to it to be decayed and inconsiderable places, and, after many changes and substitutions, at the end of the proceedings the number of these happened to amount to fifty-six. Up to a late period in the last Bill, fifty-seven was the number which they had by various alterations arrived at; after which Saltash was removed to schedule B, though it now came back again to its original position, so that he must be permitted to say, that the noble Lords assertion was a downright mis-statement of the fact. But as he had got no information from the noble Lord, he would ask the House why should the number fifty-six be chosen? The noble Lord seemed to think the number indifferent, although he said that the present schedule A included nearly the whole of the last. This, again, however, was a mistake, as there were in the present only fifty-one out of the former fifty-six. The reasons, therefore, which the noble Lord had attempted to give amounted to nothing more than mere pretences, because the House had only pledged itself with respect to fifty-one of those boroughs, which was now converted to the magical number of fifty-six. He did not deny that if other boroughs could be shown to be similarly circumstanced, then the noble Lord had a right, and it was his duty, to add them, but it was a previous duty, he thought, to prove that they were so. There was a great peculiarity in this case, for the original proposition was, the total disfranchisement of sixty boroughs, and the partial disfranchisement of forty-six others, and he asked, if we were to be guided, not by reason or justice but by the precedent, why not adhere to the same numbers at present? The changes in the present Bill from that formerly under discussion were purely arbitrary; Ministers had not condescended to assign a single reason for them, though it was but fair to presume they were not without some cogent ones. Why, for example, was the borough of Westbury, which was in schedule B of the last Bill, now to retain its two Members? Was the change at all connected with the circumstance, that a gentleman employed by the Government with reference to the framing of the present Bill had since been returned for that borough.

Mr. *Stephenson* begged to say, that he had nothing whatever to do with the concoction of the Bill.

Mr. *Croker* had then been misinformed; but it certainly was rather a curious fact, that, when the Government determined to deviate from the number of boroughs in schedule B, the very borough that stood within the formerly fatal, but now preservative line was Westbury. He presumed it could not be denied, that schedule B was, in a great measure, dependent on schedule A; and yet the number now adopted for B was thirty. He should like to know whether that, too, was in consequence of the number agreed upon in the late Bill? He did not mean to assert that Ministers had, in every instance, been instigated by partial or improper motives; but he did say, that their motive had at best been arbitrary, and that they had done things over and over again for which they could give no reason whatever, and which, therefore, in the absence of all just and reasonable motives, it was not extraordinary that the world should attribute to causes which the Ministers were afraid or ashamed to avow. The noble Lord had remarked, that for any thing he knew, fifty was as good a number as fifty-six; and he should therefore take him at his word, and move an amendment to that effect. There was another borough, however, to which he wished to call the attention of the Committee, and that was Amersham. All the other boroughs contained in A had a gradual and almost imperceptible approximation to each other as to their population; but in the borough of Amersham there was all at once a leap in the numbers, designating the importance of the places, of 200; and he therefore had a right to assume that it was one which ought not to be confounded with the other boroughs of schedule A. He appealed to the candour of the House, whether, on the system that the Ministers professed to adopt, a borough so distinguished ought to be confounded with others so much inferior to it in the elements on which the Bill professed to proceed? Ought it not rather to be removed to the class to which it more naturally belonged, and with which it connected itself by a series of smaller gradations? He was not merely talking of the borough of Amersham, of which, individually, he knew nothing, and with which he had no connexion, he was speaking on a general principle. He concluded by begging leave to move, as an amendment, that fifty be inserted in this clause instead of fifty-six; not that he approved of the disfranchisement of any number of these boroughs, but to bring the sincerity of the noble Lord, who had said that fifty was as good a number as fifty-six, to a practical test.

Sir *Ralph F. Lopez*, as one of the Representatives and the proprietor of the borough of Westbury, just insidiously alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman, begged leave to state, for the satisfaction and information of the House and the right hon. Gentleman, that after the present Bill should have passed into a law, he should have no more control over the elections of Westbury, than had the member for Westminster over the election of that city. At present, however, it was entirely under his control. He could and did nominate whom he pleased for it, but if the Reform Bill were passed into a law, he should have no direct influence over ten of the electors. From his first entry into public life he had been the consistent and uncompromising advocate of Reform, though if he looked to motives of mere personal aggrandizement, he should be opposed to a measure which went to destroy his borough patronage. Without professing more patriotism than any other supporter of the present Bill, he would add, that he cheerfully sacrificed all rights of borough proprietorship, at what he conscientiously believed was the shrine of his country's good. For the satisfaction of the right hon. Gentleman, he would state why Westbury, which was set down in schedule B of the former Bill, was permitted under the present Bill to retain its two Members. The facts were simply these—a petition was presented from the inhabitants of that borough, through the county Member, to his Majesty's Ministers, pointing out and offering to prove several errors adopted by them, with respect to its population and wealth. The petitioners were heard, and made good their case. Hence the borough was allowed to retain its two Members.

Mr. *Stephenson* was the member for Westbury who had been so pointedly alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman: he therefore begged leave to offer one word in explanation. The right hon. Gentleman had represented him as having been engaged by Ministers in framing the present Bill. He wished the right hon. Gentleman would endeavour, whether his statement were merely historical or inventive, to be more correct. He had not been employed by Ministers, or was he in any way whatever connected with the present Bill. He had through life been a friend to Reform, and had come there to support the measure of Ministers, as one calculated to promote the interests of the country by the destruction of a detestable system of nomineeship. He stood there as independent as any man in that House, and he appealed to his hon. colleague, the proprietor of Westbury, whether he held his seat upon any condition save that of voting for the present Bill. He had for twenty-five years been the advocate of the liberal measures which had been propounded by the party now for the first time officially enabled to carry them into effect, some of which had been reluctantly adopted by the right hon. Gentleman's colleagues at the eleventh hour, and he now gave a cheerful support to those men who had the honesty and courage to bring forward their last and greatest measure.

Mr. *Croker* had made no reference to the hon. Baronet (Sir R. Lopez) which amounted to a charge of improperly using his borough patronage. He did not at all complain of the way in which the hon. Baronet had exercised his choice; but what he said was this, that it had so happened that when the hon. Gentleman had nominated an Anti-reformer, Westbury was placed in schedule A; and when he had nominated a Reformer, Westbury was removed into schedule B; and with respect to the other hon. member for Westbury, he regretted that he should have been in error with respect to his connexion with the framing of the present Bill, though, surely, it could be no imputation against any honorable Reformer to say that he had had a share in framing so admirable a Bill. He, however, was not alone in his error, having heard the same statement more than once in that House and elsewhere.

Sir *Ralph Lopez*, had only to add to his former explanation, that he had not only himself been a friend of Reform, but had nominated none but Reformers for his boroughs. The late Chairman of that House had sat for Westbury, but having voted against the Reform Bill, he would not consent to his being again returned one of its Representatives.

Mr. *Praed* thought that it would be mischievously absurd to have any particular number fixed upon as part of the present clause, and that it would be much better to take the several boroughs *seriatim*, without any pledged number beforehand, as was the case in the former Bill. He therefore would suggest to his right hon. friend to withdraw his amendment in its present form, and substitute one to the effect, that the number fifty-six be left out altogether—that is, that there should be no particular number fixed upon in the first instance.

Mr. *Croker* would act upon the well timed suggestion of his hon. friend, and begged leave, therefore, to withdraw his first amendment, and to substitute for it that the number "fifty-six" be omitted altogether.

Lord *Sandon* remarked, that he considered Ministers had acted prudently in confining the number of boroughs to be disfranchised to fifty-six as that was the exact number to which the House had ultimately agreed by the late Bill. He, therefore, must vote against the amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman.

Sir *Robert Peel* thought, the better course to pursue would be, to adopt his right hon. friend's amendment, and omit specifying any number whatever. As fifty-six was the number inserted in the late Bill, and as the Government now admitted some of the boroughs therein placed did not deserve to be totally disfranchised, it was manifest that the number now chosen might be equally ill-chosen. By omitting to specify any particular number at present, therefore, they would avoid blindly pledging themselves in the absence of the information or data on which their pledge ought to be founded. When he said this, he did not mean to deny that, under any circumstances, the number must in some degree be arbitrary, but he desired only to protest against their being called upon to pledge themselves to the selection of a given number as a preliminary step, in the absence of due information. It was important that they should be in possession of every information in the power of Ministers to bestow with respect to the basis of the present schedules A and B; as that founded on Lieutenant Drummond's calculations was, to say the least, extremely vague and unsatisfactory. That officer told them he founded his average on the relative importance of a borough on a combined calculation of the number of houses contained in it, with the amount of its assessed taxes. Now the geographical limits of a borough being once defined, it was easy to ascertain the number of houses; and, in his opinion, the number of houses, combined with their average rental, would be a much better test of the relative importance of towns than the number of houses combined with the amount of assessed taxes. In fact, no more vague criterion existed than the amount of assessed taxes paid in a borough—though it was that adopted, at the instance of Ministers, by Lieutenant Drummond. Take, for example, the cases of Milborne Port and Midhurst; the former in schedule A and the latter in schedule B. Milborne Port contained 383 houses, and was to lose its two Members; while Midhurst—a by-word last session—with but 254 houses, was to retain one. And why was this? Because, according to Lieutenant Drummond's returns, Midhurst paid more assessed taxes than the other borough ["*hear, hear.*"] Hon. Members cried "hear," but it would be easy to show that no more uncertain and vague standard of the relative importance of a borough could be devised, than its contribution to the assessed taxes, nor one, too, more liable to be abused for elective purposes. Let them suppose—he knew not whether the supposition would be agreeable to the fact—that the proprietor of Midhurst kept up a large establishment in its immediate vicinage, and that he followed the usual course of paying for his servants, carriages, &c. in the country. The assessed taxes payable by Midhurst, would be proportionably increased, and thus a nomination borough would be preserved through the accident of its patron paying his assessed taxes to the collector for the borough. In the cases of the other boroughs the wealthy proprietors in the neighbourhood might have compounded for their taxes, and have paid the composition in London. Where was the justice of making the loss or preservation of elective rights depend upon such accidental circumstances? There were not less than six places in schedule B whose privilege might depend on those circumstances. This showed that no more uncertain criterion for judging of the real importance of a place could exist than taking the whole of the assessed taxes. The house-tax alone might be a just criterion, but taking the whole assessed taxes, including those for servants, &c. it was not a just one. At any rate, he saw no reason whatever for binding down the House to any particular number of boroughs. They could gain nothing by fettering their own discretion by an arbitrary and irrational rule.

Lord *Althorp* was sure the House would see that the supposititious objections raised by the right hon. Baronet against the assessed taxes standard, would equally apply to any other rule they might fix upon. The amount of rental could be no safe criterion, as it might be increased by connivance or accidental circumstances which gave an artificial value to the dwellings. The suppositions were the more strange from the right hon. Baronet, as it might be in the recollection of the House, that the reiterated objections of hon. Gentlemen opposite last session to the disfranchisement of each favourite borough was the "amount of its contribution to the assessed taxes." And yet, when Ministers took them at their word, forsooth, the right hon. Baronet rose in his place and told them, that no standard could be more fallacious, vague, and uncertain. Ministers, however, did not rest their Bill on the amount of assessed taxes levied in a borough alone. Generally speaking, it was a pretty fair criterion of the relative importance of a place, and when taken in conjunction with the number of *bonâ fide* houses of a certain value, to entitle the occupant to vote, as was done in the present Bill, a double test was afforded as valid and unobjectionable as the nature of the thing could admit of. With respect to the amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Croker,) to omit specifying any particular number of boroughs to be inserted in the schedule beforehand, all he need say was, that it could not have the effect of saving any of the boroughs in whose favour he had brought it forward; because the clause as it stood left each borough in schedules A and B to stand on its own merits, as if no number had been previously fixed upon. The former Bill, with precisely the same number, fifty-six, of disfranchised boroughs in schedule A, was, as they all knew, rejected in another place. It appeared, therefore, of great importance to Ministers, that as little risk as possible should be run in incurring its being again rejected. At the same time, they felt that it was of equal importance to satisfy the country that the great disfranchising principle of the former measure was to be preserved entire in the present one. The number necessarily was, as the right hon. Baronet had admitted, somewhat arbitrarily fixed at fifty-six, but their reasons for adopting that particular number were, that they thereby hoped to preserve the disfranchising principle of the former Bill entire, while it would leave the consideration of each particular borough to be included in that number open to discussion. The number to be disfranchised being agreed to, and, he repeated, Ministers could not go further, that is, send up to the House of Lords a Bill containing a larger number of disfranchised boroughs than that which they had already rejected, without risking its success in the other branch of the Legislature, while they could not adopt a lower number with satisfaction to the country, they could take no other course than adopt the number of the last Bill. At the same time, particular boroughs were open to discussion, and the integrity of the general measure would not be impaired by a difference of opinion as to their claims. For these reasons he trusted that the House would see the expediency of supporting the clause as it stood.

Sir *Robert Peel* begged leave, in corroboration of his argument against their taking the amount of assessed taxes as the basis of schedules A and B, to cite the case of Gatton. That borough, containing twenty-three houses, six of which paid 207*l.* assessed taxes, being more than was paid by any of the first thirty boroughs set down in schedule A. This proved that the amount of assessed taxes paid could not be a safe criterion. But the noble Lord had gone on to assert, that the amount of rental was equally fallacious. This was somewhat extraordinary in the noble Lord, for he had frequently heard the noble Lord and his colleagues declare, that the whole of the franchise to be formed by the Bill, was to be based upon houses of 10*l.* annual value, so that rent was a principal criterion in the enfranchising clauses, but was admitted to be worth no consideration in disfranchisement. He left the noble Lord to account for this inconsistency.

Lord *Althorp* had to inform the right hon. Baronet, that the subject of the assessed taxes standard was still under official consideration, and that it was proposed to have some certain means to ascertain the value of houses by authority of an Act of Parliament for the purposes of this Act.

Mr. *John Abel Smith* declared, that the principal proprietor of Midhurst employed no undue means to swell the amount of assessed taxes levied on that borough.

Mr. *Goulburn* concurred with his right hon. friend in thinking that the amount of assessed taxes was a very unfair mode of calculation, for he fully believed that the noble Lord, the proprietor of Gatton, might, if he had been aware of the manner in which the cases of the various boroughs was to be calculated, by charging all his own establishment on the assessed taxes of that place, have had it inserted, by paying such taxes, in schedule B. This, however, was not the particular question before the House: they were now to consider whether, without any information, they were to proceed to condemn fifty-six boroughs? It was a preposterous proposition. If the House were to form its judgment from the papers before it of the point where disfranchisement ought to cease, how would the question stand? It appeared that Amersham, which stood at No. 54 in the schedule, was rated as possessing a population of 1,353; the next borough to it, namely, No. 55, had a population of 1,390; and the last borough, namely, No. 56, had a population of 1,584, being nearly 200 over No. 55—a difference greater than existed between any other two numbers in schedule A. If, therefore, any number at all were to be fixed upon as the proper point at which disfranchisement ought to cease, 55 should be that point; for there was a marked difference between its population and the population of all those preceding it in the schedule, when compared with No. 56; and this latter number had been chosen by Ministers, instead of leaving the clause open without stating any number at all. What objection, he would ask, was there, to leaving the question as to the number undecided? None whatever. That it was not left an open question rendered it impossible not to suspect that there was something concealed behind. For the credit of the noble Lords, and of the House also, he hoped that the proposition of his right hon. friend might be adopted.

Mr. *Sheil* said, he believed that the number fifty-six was to be the minimum only, and not the maximum, of the boroughs to be disfranchised. He should be glad to know if he was right in his supposition, for if it was to be the maximum he should object to it; because, in that case, he could not move that Petersfield and four other boroughs should be added to the schedule. He had spoken to the Speaker on the subject, and from him he understood that it did not follow from the clause, that no more than fifty-six should be disfranchised. He should like to know from the noble Lord if that was the case.

Mr. *Bernal* said, that the Motion was, that the fifty-six boroughs named in schedule A should be disfranchised, to which an Amendment had been moved, to the effect that the words fifty-six be left out.

Mr. *Sheil* trusted, that Ministers would not oppose his subsequently moving that the number of boroughs be increased to sixty-one.

Lord *John Russell* said, he understood it was the intention of the hon. and learned Member to move that an additional number of boroughs should be disfranchised. This he might do in two ways, either by moving to increase the number in the schedule, or else by moving the other boroughs in a separate schedule.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that the noble Lord's explanation clearly shewed that they were actually doing nothing by retaining the number fifty-six in the clause, for it appeared that, notwithstanding the number, it would be in the power of any one to move to add to that number.

Lord *Althorp* said, that the more regular way would be, for the hon. and learned Member for Louth to move that sixty-one be the number to be disfranchised, instead of fifty-six, which he might do by moving the insertion of sixty-one instead of fifty-six in the clause as it now stood. There was also another mode—namely, proposing the disfranchisement of those boroughs in another schedule.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, that the question before the House was, whether the number fifty-six should remain, or whether a blank should be left? If the number fifty-six were suffered to remain, it would be absolute; but if there was to be a blank, then any other number might be proposed in order to fill it.

Mr. *Sheil* said, he was anxious not to make his motion until after schedule A should have been gone through. The words of the clause were not that fifty-six boroughs should be disfranchised; but that each of the fifty-six boroughs named in schedule A should cease to send Members to Parliament. This being the case, even if the clause were agreed to, there could be no inconsistency should the House afterwards add other boroughs to the schedule.

Lord *John Russell* said, that if the hon. and learned Member meant to increase the number of boroughs to be disfranchised, his more regular way would be, to move that each of the sixty-one boroughs be disfranchised, or otherwise to move a separate clause, disfranchising them by name.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* was prepared to support the clause as it stood. They were given to understand that there were five boroughs in schedule A which were not in that schedule in the last Bill. But how did those boroughs stand? In the case of two of them, he had voted against the Government during the last Session, because, according to the principle on which schedules A and B were founded in that Bill, all places with less than 2,000 inhabitants were put into the former, and all those with less than 4,000 in the latter. It was because he recognised this principle that he had voted for Downton being in schedule B, when he found that it had more than the number of inhabitants for excluding it from schedule A. But in the present Bill a different principle had been adopted; and he had now to ask himself, on other grounds, whether these were places which ought any longer to be allowed to send Members to Parliament? Fifty out of the fifty-six boroughs proposed for schedule A had a population under 2,000, and that was enough to convince him that they were not worthy of enjoying the elective franchise, especially when he found that they were also inconsiderable in their number of houses and the amount of assessed taxes paid. The principal objection that he had to the Bill was, that it took too many boroughs out of schedule B, without their being removed, as ought to have been the case, into schedule A. He said this, because the principle of Reform had taken root in every part of the empire, and every town of consideration was anxiously awaiting for its due share in the Representatión of the country, which could not be awarded so long as these mean and insignificant places were allowed to retain their franchise. With respect to the borough of Saltash, he voted against the Government in the last Bill; and he, therefore, was naturally glad to find that it was at length placed where it ought before to have been. The other boroughs in the schedule were Downton, Aldborough, Amersham, East Grinstead, and Oakhampton; all of which, he was satisfied, ought to be wholly disfranchised. He thought that fifty-six was the minimum of the boroughs that ought to be placed in schedule A, and, therefore, if the hon. and learned member for Louth brought forward his motion, with respect to the other five boroughs, he reserved to himself the liberty of increasing that number, because he was thoroughly convinced, that by far the most useful principle of the whole Bill was the disfranchisement of small boroughs; and indeed so convinced was he of that fact, that rather than sacrifice such disfranchisement, he would prefer giving up the whole of the other important provisions of the measure, much as he valued them.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* saw no reason whatever for the adoption of the number fifty-six, unless, indeed, the noble Lords opposite reasoned thus:—"Because the number in the former Bill was fatal to it in another place, we will not now try our hands with a smaller number, but calculate them upon another principle." And did the noble Lords really expect their new principle would be more palatable than their former one? He hoped it would not, for he saw no virtue in the talismanic number fifty-six, and he was sure it had not been borne out by reasoning. As he understood, the principle of the present Bill was Lieutenant Drummond's rule; and that rule was a combination of the number of houses and the amount of taxation. Though the number of 10*l.* houses was part of the principle, yet Lieutenant Drummond did not state how many houses there were. His calculations might be correct, but the House had no materials to shew that they were so. He would refer to No. 56 in the schedule, which was the pivot on which disfranchisement turned, and he looked in vain to know how the compound rule applied to that case. He found that Amersham had 360 houses, while Midhurst had only 254, and yet the latter was to return one Member, while the former was to be placed in schedule A. He was totally ignorant in what way the rule was applied, and upon that point he thought that the House should require further information. He was content to take this one case of Amersham alone; and he would ask the noble Lords opposite to explain what was the real operation of their new rule with regard to that borough? It was possible that there might be some mixture of taxes and houses in such a way that the minus of taxes reduced the plus of houses; and that rule might be a very just one. But what he complained of was, that they were called upon to vote in entire ignorance of the subject. He thought that the position in which the noble Lords were at present placed was a most extraordinary one; they seemed to be aware of that fact, and therefore desired to place the House in exactly the same predicament. The hon. and learned Member for Kirkcudbright, who generally argued so logically, had, on this occasion, not used his usual perspicuity; for he says, that he should vote for fifty-six boroughs being placed in schedule A, because it was formerly made out that fifty of those had not a sufficiently large population to entitle them to the continuance of their elective franchise; but how this argument of the hon. and learned Gentleman applied was beyond his perception, now that the principle of population was abandoned, and the principle of disfranchisement rested upon the number of houses and the amount of the assessed taxes. But there was another view of the subject. There had been a change in the identical borough list of the former schedule A and the present schedule A, and this change having taken place, he could not vote for the disfranchisement of any borough till he was satisfied that the specific case of that borough was brought within the rule laid down. He would never consent to disfranchise all those boroughs *en masse*. He remembered that the former Member for Midhurst, when he heard the first statement of the noble Lord opposite, said that he was so delighted that it had taken away his breath. But if that hon. Gentleman was present now, he would congratulate him, not only on having his own breath left in his body, but on the breath being still left in the borough of Midhurst, since one of the lungs of that respectable place was to be preserved.

Lord *Althorp* said, that the arguments of the hon. and learned Member would be applicable if the question was one of comparison as to the importance of Amersham and Midhurst, but that question would not come under their consideration until they came to discuss the merits of each individual borough. The hon. and learned Member desired to know the principle on which Lieutenant Drummond founded his calculations. It was merely to ascertain the relative value of a certain number of houses, and the sum paid on account of taxation by one general rule; and he had done this in the most scientific and creditable manner. Then, as to the question before the House, it was merely whether there should or should not be fifty-six boroughs in schedule A? It was stated, as the reason why there should be no more than that number in schedule A, that if the Bill contained a greater number it would most likely cause its rejection in the other House of Parliament; and he might state, that a less number would not give satisfaction to the country.

Mr. *Warburton* begged leave to explain, for the benefit of the hon. and learned Gentleman, that the returns of Lieutenant Drummond were founded upon the specific calculation of the number of houses and the amount of taxation; and it was according to the relative value of those items taken together, and not by any arbitrary rule by which one principle was allowed to predominate in any particular case. The decision of Government was formed on an impartial consideration of the two taken together.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, the calculations were made upon matters of fact, or they were of no value whatever. It was, therefore, quite necessary they should have the whole data on which the calculations were founded before them, in order to judge of their accuracy; and as various results had been given with regard to particular boroughs, this made the call more necessary; he therefore imagined, from the observations which had fallen from the hon. Member for Kirkcudbright, that he was totally ignorant of the situation in which the House was placed with respect to the borough of Downton, No less than five different returns had been made of the number of houses in that borough. By the first return the number of Houses was stated to be 316—by the second, 326—by the third, 590—by the fourth, 890—and by the fifth, 715. Now if the fourth return was assumed to be the right one, Downton ought to be excluded from the fifty-six condemned boroughs. He had mentioned these particulars to the House for the purpose of showing the propriety of delaying to legislate until correct information was laid on the Table.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* said, that he should vote for including Downton in schedule A, because he thought its relative importance did not entitle it to Representation. His determination on this subject was made up, without reference to Lieutenant Drummond's calculations.

Mr. *Goulburn:* Nevertheless, if Downton should be found to contain 890 houses, the hon. Member must, according to the principle now adopted in the Bill, consent to exclude that borough from schedule A.

Lord *John Russell* said, that even supposing a case could be made out for excluding Downton from schedule A, the number fifty-six could be made up by taking the borough next in order—namely, No. 57. The question before the House did not particularly point at the exclusion of one borough more than another; it only went so far as to say, that there were fifty-six boroughs which ought to be disfranchised, and they were to be taken according to their relative importance in houses and assessed taxes. He would explain to the House the reason why Ministers had determined to take the number of houses and the amount of assessed taxes as the test of disfranchisement. During the discussion on the last Reform Bill, they were constantly reproached for having taken population as a basis, to the exclusion of all other principles. It was objected that this did not offer so fair a test as taxation and population united, and that it would inevitably lead by the rule-of-three to ulterior changes. To remove these objections, Ministers determined to take the amount of houses and assessed taxes as the test of disfranchisement; but, notwithstanding this, those who before found fault with population, now complained that the number of houses alone was not taken as the test. He put it to hon. Gentlemen whether it would not be better at once fairly to say that they objected to disfranchisement altogether, rather than continually to cavil about the adoption of this or that particular rule? Ministers had taken into their calculation, not only the assesssed taxes on houses and windows, which they found varied considerably in the different boroughs, but the whole of the assessed taxes in each borough. By these means they considered that a fair judgment might be formed of the comparative importance of the different boroughs.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* was well aware that the assessed taxes on houses and windows were very irregularly levied in some boroughs, but he also observed that the other assessed taxes were equally subject to much irregularity. He objected to binding down the House to the disfranchisement of the precise number of fifty-six boroughs. He was of opinion that disfranchisement and enfranchisement ought to proceed together; and there existed the same argument for pledging the House to the exact number of the places to be enfranchised as of those which were to be disfranchised. On referring to the Bill, he found that all the enfranchising clauses commenced in the following manner—"Be it enacted, that each of the places enumerated in the respective schedules, &c.;" the exact number of those places not being specified. Suppose, for instance, the House should be of opinion, that the metropolitan districts ought not to have so large an increase of Members; in that case, would it not be proper to reduce the number of boroughs to be disfranchised? but they would prevent themselves from doing this if they declared that an arbitrary number were to lose their right of Representation before the other question was determined.

Mr. *Croker*, in answer to the observations made by the noble Lord, stated, that the noble Lord was in error as to the objection which he and the Gentlemen with whom he acted had made to the population test. They had never said that population was not the fairest single basis on which Representation could be founded, but they stated that it was a dangerous principle to begin to act upon, because its universal application would be demanded, and must, by the *rule-of-three*, produce a system of change still more extensive than what was even now proposed; that objection they urged on the second reading of the Bill as a point of general reasoning and legislative principle. In fact, it was used rather as a general warning against systematic change than as an objection to its individual applicability, if change they must have. But they left that general objection at the door of the Committee, and when they were canvassing the details of the Bill, never questioned the propriety of estimating the relative importance of places by their relative population, but they only wished to see it strictly and fairly applied, and not be made to bend to suit particular places and circumstances. They objected that the lines of 2000 and 4000 were drawn so as to favour individual interests, and that the population of different places was in some so extended, and in others so limited, as to evince partiality and operate injustice. The noble Lord himself was the first to introduce the subject of the assessed taxes; but at that time he (Mr. Croker) had undoubtedly stated, that the union of population and taxation would form the best test. He was still of the same opinion, and therefore, did not now object to that test, but he wished to see it calculated fairly, and applied impartially, and he thought the Scotch and Irish Members would also insist on its application to their respective countries.

Lord *Eastnor* said, he was prepared to go a considerable length in the disfranchisement of boroughs, but he wished to know at the same time the extent to which enfranchisement would be carried. He, therefore, objected to binding the House down to the precise number of fifty-six. If the House came to a division he should vote for the Amendment.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* said, that the principle of disfranchisement had been so mixed up with the question of the number of the boroughs, that he wished to know, previous to the division, whether it was merely a question of numbers or one of principle? If it was not a question of numbers, would another opportunity be offered of taking the sense of the House on the principle of disfranchisement?

Lord *John Russell* said, that the question before the Committee related only to the number of the boroughs to be disfranchised, but that it would be competent for the hon. Member to divide the House on a future occasion upon the principle of the clause.

The Committee then divided on the Original Question; Ayes 198; Noes 123—Majority 75.—House resumed.

List of 77 Ayes *to be added to the List in page* 675, *to make up the* 198 Ayes *on this Division.*

ENGLAND.

Atherley, Arthur	*Southampton*
Baillie, John Evan	*Bristol*
Bainbridge, Edward T.	*Taunton*
Baring, sir T. B., bt.	*Wycombe*
Beaumont, Thomas W.	*Northumberland*
Berkeley, capt.	*Gloucester*
Blunt, sir R. Charles, bt.	*Lewes*
Bouverie, hon. Dunc. P.	*New Sarum*
Briscoe, John I.	*Surrey*
Bulwer, E. L.	*St. Ives*
Byng, captain	*Milborne Port*
Byng, sir J.	*Poole*
Cavendish, Chas. C.	*Yarmouth, I. of W.*
Clive, Edward B.	*Hereford*
Dundas, sir R. L., bt.	*Richmond*
Etwall, Ralph	*Andover*
Fazakerley, J. N.	*Peterborough*
Ferguson, sir R. C. bt.	*Nottingham*
Foster, James	*Bridgenorth*
Gurney, Richard H.	*Norwich*
Harvey, Daniel W.	*Colchester*
Heathcote, sir G., bt.	*Rutlandshire*
Inglis, sir R.	*Oxford Univ.*
Kemp, Thos. Read	*Lewes*
Knight, Robert	*Wallingford*
Labouchere, Henry	*Taunton*
Lennox, lord William P.	*King's Lynn*
Lester, Benjamin Lester	*Poole*
Loch, John	*Hythe*
Lumley, John S.	*Nottinghamshire*
Maberly, W. L.	*Shaftesbury*
Mackintosh, sir J.	*Knaresborough*
Mayhew, W.	*Colchester*
Mills, J.	*Rochester*
Milton, lord	*Northamptonshire*
Morrison, James	*Ipswich*
Norton, hon. Charles F.	*Guildford*
Paget, sir Charles	*Caernarvon*
Pendarvis, Edw. W. W.	*Cornwall*
Pepys, C. C.	*Malton*
Ponsonby, hon. J. B.	*Higham Ferrars*
Poyntz, W. S.	*Ashburton*
Rickford, William	*Aylesbury*
Robinson, sir George, bt.	*Northampton*
Smith, George R.	*Midhurst*
Spence, G.	*Ripon*
Spencer, hon. F.	*Worcestershire*
Stanley, J.	*Hindon*
Talbot, Christ. R. M.	*Glamorganshire*
Tennyson, C.	*Stamford*
Torrens, Robert	*Ashburton*
Townley, R. G.	*Cambridgeshire*
Townshend, lord C. V. F.	*Tamworth*
Troubridge, sir E. bt.	*Sandwich*
Tynte, Chas. K. K.	*Bridgewater*
Uxbridge, earl of	*Anglesey*
Vernon, hon. George J.	*Derbyshire*
Villiers, Frederick	*Saltash*
Wellesley, hon. Will. P. T. L.	*Essex*
Western, C. C.	*Essex*

SCOTLAND.

Adam, admiral	*Kinross, &c.*
Agnew, sir Andrew, bt.	*Wigtonshire*
Dixon, Joseph	*Glasgow*
Grant, rt. hon. C.	*Inverness-shire*
Ross, Horatio	*Aberdeen*
Trail, George	*Orkneyshire*

IRELAND.

Burke, sir John, bt.	*Galwayshire*
Callaghan, Daniel	*Cork*
Duncannon, visc.	*Kilkenny Co.*
French, Arthur	*Roscommonshire*
Hill, lord Arthur	*Downshire*
Howard, R.	*Wicklowshire*
King, hon. Robert	*Corkshire*
Macnamara, William N.	*Clare*
O'Neil, hon. J. Rd. B.	*Antrimshire*
Ossory, earl of	*Kilkennyshire*
Parnell, sir H. B., bt.	*Queen's County*
Power, Robert	*Waterfordshire*
Westenra, hon. H. R.	*Monaghansh.*
White, Samuel	*Leitrimshire*

N.B. Either the tellers made a mistake, or 31 of those who voted on the first majority had paired off or left the House, to account for the difference.

FINES AND RECOVERIES.] Mr. *John Campbell* moved that the House should resolve itself into a Committee on this Bill; which having been done, he proposed a Resolution declaring that compensation should be granted to those persons in office who would be affected by this Bill.

Lord *Althorp* hardly knew how, at this moment, the House could be called on to declare that compensation should be granted to the officers of the Court, when, upon further discussion of the Bill, it might appear to the House that the object of the Bill could be effected without putting any persons in the situation of being entitled to claim compensation.

Sir *Robert Peel* thought, there should be a Select Committee to inquire into the names of the officers who it was supposed might be affected by this Bill, and who claimed to receive compensation.

Mr. *John Campbell* said, it was not necessary that any money should now be granted. The resolution would only enable them to give compensation when they should find a claim to it established.

The *Attorney General* said, that he understood that not a farthing of the public money was now wanted; but that, if it should afterwards be found necessary to grant any compensation, there would be that resolution to enable them to grant it.

Mr. *Hunt* said, it appeared to him that the motion to grant compensation now to these officers, before they had passed the Bill, was like putting the cart before the horse.

Lord *Althorp* thought that the hon. and learned Member was going too far at the present moment, for he required the House to resolve that they would grant compensation to these officers now, when perhaps they might ultimately think that no compensation could justly be demanded.

Mr. *John Campbell* said, that the resolution only pledged the House to grant compensation if it should be found necessary.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that the resolution appeared to him quite unnecessary. He had felt the inconvenience of these partial compensations, the effect of which sometimes was, that salaries created after the compensation granted, became again the subject of claims for compensation when further changes were effected. To avoid this, he had introduced a bill in July, 1830, for granting compensation to all persons who might afterwards be found entitled to it. He cautioned the House against recurring to the system he had endeavoured to avoid, and said, that he thought his bill exactly met the present case.

Mr. *John Campbell* thought that the Act referred to did include some of the persons whose emoluments would be affected by the Bill now before the House, but not all of them.

Mr. *Goulburn* read part of the Act referred to, especially the words which granted compensation to "persons holding offices connected with the passing of fines and recoveries."

Mr. Alderman *Venables* said, that before the House voted this Resolution for compensation, he thought they should be furnished with the names of the persons who claimed it.

Lord *Milton* wished to ask who would be benefitted by the measure? He believed he might answer the question by saying the landed interest. If so, it was not right that a general tax should be imposed for their particular benefit—that persons who possessed only funded property should be taxed? He thought the House ought to take care how they granted compensation at all; but if they did grant it, he thought it should come from the pockets of those who were to gain a benefit from the contemplated change.

Resolution withdrawn and the House resumed.

SCHOOLS OF ANATOMY.] Mr. *Warburton* moved the second reading of the Anatomy Bill. He said he would not detain the House by entering into details, as the subject had been already fully discussed, and as he considered that the objections which had been made against the measure would be more properly stated in the Committee, when the separate clauses were discussed. His wish was, if the Bill should be read a second time, to be allowed to go into the Committee *pro formâ*, and to introduce several amendments which had been suggested.

Mr. *Hunt* thought, that the bodies of all persons executed according to the sentence of the law, or even of persons dying after a conviction for felony. He would go further, and say, although it might not be popular, that he would appropriate the bodies of those who committed suicide to the dissecting knife. It would have a very salutary effect, and check its commission. His objections to the present Bill, in other respects, were very strong. It would lead to crime; and if it should not lead to murder, at least it would hold out a great temptation to those among the lower classes who had the care of their aged and infirm relatives, to neglect and ill-treat them. It was not his wish to impede any measure that it might be proper to bring before this House with a view to its undergoing full discussion. One of the objections he had to the Bill arose from a statement made by the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Gentleman stated the other night, that a surgeon never performed an operation until he had practised on a dead body. That was a most alarming fact. For if a medical man had a capital operation to perform, he must send Jack to kill Tom, in order that he might cure Will. He must, in order to procure a subject, send out a person to "Burke" another, or else to rob the grave. There was another part of the Bill to which he had an objection. It proposed to give to the Secretary of State a power to appoint three inspectors, one for the metropolis, one for Edinburgh, and one for Glasgow. To do any good, many more inspectors ought to be appointed. A much better plan to extend the knowledge of surgery would be, to open the hospitals in the country, instead of keeping them, as now, in a state of close monopoly. He had received a letter from Worcester, stating that no surgeon is allowed to go into the county hospital, unless some favourite, without paying *52l.* In several parts of the country—Exeter for instance—there had been a partial opening of the hospitals; but only think of these gentlemen, who talked so much about the science of anatomy, and yet said nothing of the gross monopoly that excluded the students from nearly all the hospitals in the country. It was a remarkable circumstance, that while, in this country, exertions were making to extend the science of anatomy by practising on the human body, in France they were endeavouring to abolish the dissecting system altogether. A letter had been published in the newspapers, from Dr. Payne, of Nottingham, to the hon. member for Bridport, which shews this to be the case. It was this:

"Dear Friend—I take the liberty of sending you the following lines which I have translated from the Paris Paper, the *Constitutionnel* of the first of December:—

"'The Minister of Public Works, charged also with the superintendence of the Arts and Sciences, has addressed to the Councils-General of the different departments throughout France, the report of the Royal Academy of Medicine upon the artificial corpse of Dr. Auzoux. We have been among the first to make known the importance of this discovery; we have said how the study of anatomy might be facilitated and shortened by means of these preparations, the necessity of dissection of bodies superseded, and a great assistance afforded to practitioners. Since that period Dr. Auzoux has been constantly engaged in his discovery, and now he has brought it to complete perfection. The hospital of Marine, of War, of the Colonies, and a great number of public establishments, both abroad and in France, are now taking advantage of this happy discovery. Let us hope, for the sake of humanity, that the departments will not be long without this resource, and that at a period when it becomes indispensably necessary that everything loathsome should be put aside and removed, the Councils-General will comprehend the wishes of the Institute, and the intentions of the Academy of Medicine, by voting the necessary funds, that at least one model of artificial anatomy may be at the disposal of each principal town in the departments.'"

He was not in error when he stated that they were endeavouring to abolish dissection in France. When the Bill went into Committee, he would propose that no surgeon whatsoever should be allowed to enter a dissecting-room, or use a dissecting-knife, till he had registered his name, and given an undertaking to allow his body, when he died, to be dissected. He should certainly oppose this Bill with all his powers. In consequence of the opposition which he had already offered to it, he had been attacked by the public press. A surgeon had threatened to dissect him; but let him take care, at least, that he did not Burke him first. He venerated the practice of surgery. He believed that the members of that profession were in general very benevolent persons; but he observed that they never neglected to receive their fees. He would again recommend that surgeons should set the example of giving up their own bodies for dissection; but he had no objection that those surgeons should be exempted who did not receive fees.

Bill read a second time.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, January 23, 1832.

MINUTES.] Returns ordered. On the Motion of Lord ELLENBOROUGH, a Letter of the Select Committee of Supercargoes in China to the Directors of the East India Company, dated the 31st of May, 1831, with the Consultations relating thereto; another of the same nature, dated the 18th of June, 1831; and Letters from the Directors of the East India Company to the Select Committee, dated the 9th of December, 1831, and 13th of January, 1832.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, January 23, 1832.

Minutes.] Bills brought in. By Mr. William Brougham, to amend and enlarge the provisions of the Act 1st William 4th, cap. 36, for altering and amending the Law regarding Commitments by Courts of Equity for Contempt.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. Pendarvis, of all Copper, and Copper Ore, Exported and Imported, for the year ending 5th January, 1832, distinguishing the different Ports from which it was exported and imported; also of Lead and Tin:—On the Motion of Mr. Hodgson, of the duty paid on Glass for the year ending 5th January, 1832, distinguishing the amount paid for England, Scotland, and Ireland, and on each description of Glass, and a similar return of the drawbacks allowed on exportation; of the quantity of Wine and other Liquors imported in Glass Bottles:—On the Motion of Sir H. Parnell, the total expense to the Public of the Royal Military Asylums at Chelsea, Isle of Wight, Southampton, Hibernian School, since their first establishment to the 31st of December, 1830 (expenditure on buildings, value of grounds, &c., inclusive); also, total number of Recruits furnished to the Army by these Establishments, specifying the number of those which became Non-commissioned Officers, as far as may conveniently be ascertained; the date of appointment of Mr. Brook T. Ottley as Trustee for the Crown in settling the affairs of the late Colonel Browne, as General Agent for Recruiting, stating the Salary and Allowances paid to him in each year; stating, also, what other public Offices or employment he held during that time, and the Salary and Allowances paid to him for such Offices in each of the years he was Trustee; of the Letter of Appointment of Mr. Brook T. Ottley as Trustee; statement of the balances due to the Public by the late Colonel Browne at the time of his decease, the Amount which has been repaid in each year, and the balance now due to the Public, and what assets or security the Government have for the balance.

Borough of Coleraine.] Mr. Alderman *Copeland* moved an Address to his Majesty, for "Returns by the proper officer or officers of the Corporation of the borough of Coleraine, in Ireland, of the several persons admitted, elected, or sworn as Freemen of the said Corporation, on and previous to the 1st of September, 1830; distinguishing those persons to whom the freedom was granted, those who were elected or admitted freemen, and those who were duly sworn freemen, with their residences and additions at the time of their admission, and at the time of their return:—Of persons admitted, elected, or sworn Freemen, or to whom the freedom was granted in the borough of Coleraine, in Ireland, from 1st September, 1830, to 1st January, 1831:—Of persons admitted, elected, or sworn freemen, or to whom the freedom of the borough of Coleraine, in Ireland, was granted, from 1st January, 1831, to 1st January, 1832. Of the several persons who had petitioned for, claimed, or personally demanded, the freedom of the Corporation of Coleraine, and of those who were refused admittance to same, from 1st January, 1801, to 1st January, 1832:—Of the several Aldermen, and other Common Councilmen of said Corporation of the borough of Coleraine now existing; stating the dates of their respective admissions to the Corporation, with their residences at the time of their admission, and their residences at the date of the Return, and their several additions, occupations, or business:—By way of rental, of the estates and properties of the Corporation of Coleraine, in Ireland; shewing the annual profit-rents received thereout, and containing the dates of the leases, deeds, or other instruments, under which the same are held; the head-rents payable for same, the leases, deeds, or grants made by said Corporation; the parties' names to whom same were so made; the dates and tenure thereof; the consideration given for same; the rents, fees, and duties reserved therein; and the person or persons in whom the same are now vested:—By the proper officer or officers of the Corporation of Coleraine, in Ireland, of the several officers of said Corporation, the salaries, or other perquisites payable to, or received by such officer, or officers, and the duties performed by him or them respectively."

Sir *John Brydges* objected to the motion, the latter part of it especially. He alluded to that which referred to "leases, or other instruments, under which Corporation property was held." Corporation property was not public, but private property, and he thought that the worthy Alderman was exceeding the line of his duty in making the Motion.

Mr. *O'Connell* contended, that the return ought to be ordered, for Corporation property was not private, but public property. It had been left for purposes of charity. The returns might be necessary for future discussions on the Irish Reform Bill, and as a particular family had great influence in the Corporation, it might be necessary to examine them, to prevent any misapplication of property.

Mr. *Crampton* said, the hon. and learned Member was mistaken when he said the estates held by the Corporation of Coleraine had been granted for charitable purposes. The property in question was as much the private property of the Corporation, as any property which belonged to any individual Member of that House, and, therefore, the House had no right to inquire into the particulars of it. The city of London, and every Corporation in the kingdom, might be subject to the same visitation, if such a precedent were established.

Mr. Alderman *Wood* said, all the particulars relating to the property of the Corporation of London were already before the

House. A part of the property of the Corporations of Coleraine and Londonderry had been granted by the Irish Society of London, for corporate purposes solely, and it was, therefore, necessary to see that it had not been converted to electioneering purposes.

Mr. Alderman *Copeland* said, he moved for the returns on behalf of the inhabitants of Coleraine, and he believed the statement made by the worthy Alderman, relating to the property of the Corporation of Coleraine, was correct.

Mr. *Paget* should always be ready to oppose the doctrine that "Corporation property" was the same as private property. It was generally left in trust for the benefit of the local community, or for the use of the public at large, and it was too often perverted from its proper uses. If there was nothing wrong, there could be no occasion for concealment; he, therefore, trusted, in spite of the cry of "Corporation robbery" the whole facts relating to such property would be brought to light. He would certainly vote for the Motion.

Mr. *Crampton* said, the property of Corporations was of two kinds—sometimes it was held in trust for public or charitable uses, and upon other occasions it was at the absolute disposal of the respective Corporations. This latter description of property the House had, in his opinion, no right to inquire into, but with regard to the former, he apprehended the law was strong enough to make the Corporations liable for any misapplication or abuse of it; this was the law of the land, and he, therefore, thought the terms of the Motion would open the door to the introduction of a principle of an improper character.

Mr. *O'Connell* was convinced that the private property of Corporations, spoken of by the hon. and learned Gentleman, was often expended in a most improper manner. He hoped, however, that would speedily be remedied by the Bill now in progress, which was intended to prevent the application of Corporate funds to election purposes. He was very desirous to come at the particular facts with regard to this property, because he had heard that an estate had been alienated by the Corporation in favour of a member of a particular family, for a very inadequate price.

Colonel *Beresford*, as a member of the family alluded to, would be glad to support the Motion, being quite confident, that by the production of the documents asked for, he should be able to disprove the insinuations which had been made, as certainly as he then repelled them with all the contempt they deserved.

The Returns ordered.

Reform—Petitions.] Sir *John Newport* presented a Petition from the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of the county of the city of Waterford, praying for Parliamentary Reform. The Petition was couched in firm, but respectful language. The petitioners stated it as their opinion, that the preservation of the freedom of the country, and the maintenance of the Constitution, materially depended on the speedy passing of the Reform Bill. He was quite sure the sentiments embodied in the petition were those entertained by the great mass of the Irish people, who considered that Reform ought not to be put on the footing of a favour granted to that country, but that it ought to be considered as their right, and as such conceded.

Mr. *O'Connell* supported the prayer of the petition; the Reform which Ireland required was an effectual and just measure; and she would insist upon Representation being granted to her upon the same principles as were now applied to England. Her constituency must be more extended, and the number of her Members increased, and as the Bill before the House did not meet these objects, it was looked upon as an insult to the Irish people, and the same beneficial results, therefore, could not be expected to follow from it as the English Bill was calculated to effect. He wished for no sacrifices from England; he did not desire to lop off one of her Representatives; he trusted the great majority of the Irish Members would support the English Bill; but he wished to see the question of Irish Reform there discussed on its own merits, and not by the merits of her connection with England.

Sir *John Newport* said, that his support of the English Reform Bill was totally independent of the Irish Bill, and he wished to see her stand by herself, and not be judged by the question of locality. In presenting the petition, he had carefully abstained from making any remarks on the Bill for reforming the Representation of Ireland.

Mr. *Sheil* said, that he had no wish to disturb the number of the real Representatives of England, but he desired to see such boroughs as Petersfield, where there were not more than 1,495 inhabitants (less than in some of the places in Ireland which were totally unrepresented), and such boroughs also as Midhurst, deprived of their Members, and he desired to see those Members given to Ireland.

Mr. *O'Connell* declared, if the House would grant no Reform whatever to Ireland, still he would support the Bill for England. He, therefore, trusted the hon. and learned member for Louth would not vex himself, and embarrass his countrymen, by summing up the fractions of the rotten boroughs of England.

Mr. *Sheil* begged to ask his hon. and learned friend, if he wished to see the gross numbers of the House of Commons increased.

Mr. *O'Connell:* Certainly.

Petition to be printed.

POOR LAWS AND TITHES (IRELAND.) Lord *Morpeth* rose to present a Petition which it was necessary he should preface with a very few observations. The petition had been agreed to at a meeting convened at the Court-house at Leeds, for the purpose of addressing the Houses of Parliament, to take into its consideration the best mode of immediately applying some measures of relief to the poor of Ireland, by the establishment of Poor-laws in that country. The petitioners were not only respectable, but so eager to affix their signatures, that in the short space of two days not less than 6,000 persons had signed the petition he now presented. They were determined not to permit any misconstruction to be put on their object or motive, and, therefore, prefixed to the prayer of their petition a request that the House would, previously to attempting the establishment of a provision for the poor, make a legislative arrangement for the application of the Church lands and Church property, in a due proportion to the purpose for which it was undoubtedly originally set apart—namely, the maintenance and relief of the poor. He thought the subject worthy of consideration.

Mr. *Strickland* acknowledged that he had once advocated the extension of the Poor-laws to Ireland, but, on a due consideration of the subject, he felt, if such a provision were made by Parliament, it must not take place until the question relating to tithes was settled, and then must be strictly defined and limited; nor should such a system of Poor-laws be introduced into Ireland as were now in operation in this country. It was a subject of considerable delicacy and difficulty, yet it was impossible not to acknowledge, that it was of such vast importance that it ought to attract the earliest attention of that House. Indeed the time was not, he thought, far distant, when it would be necessary that we should revise our own Poor-laws, which contained many very objectionable provisions. It deserved to be remarked, that the present petition was similar to one sent from the same place last year, but that was only signed by 800 persons, while this was signed by 6,000.

Mr. *James Grattan* concurred in the propriety of speedily taking the subject into consideration, and he did not think it would be an improper basis on which to found the superstructure, that Tithes and Church property should bear a large proportion of the charge for the support of the poor throughout Ireland. He trusted the Committee now sitting on the subject would recommend that.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, as the subject of the provision for the poor in Ireland had been started, he should now state, not by the way of giving a notice formally on the subject, but to prevent any one being taken by surprise, that he should to-morrow, before five o'clock, propose that Lord Killeen should be added to the members of the Committee above-stairs sitting on the subject of Church property in Ireland, and that, if opposed in that motion, he should certainly divide the House upon it.

Mr. *Hume* thought that it was merely an act of justice to make provision for the poor of Ireland. He would not, however, recommend that that object should be effected by the introduction of such a system of Poor-laws as existed in this country. That system had operated most mischievously in England; and before they could place the people in that situation of industrious prosperity in which they ought to stand, it would be necessary to new-model those laws. The tithe system had been most oppressive in Ireland; but he considered the tithe question to be effectually settled in that country. The people would no longer pay tithes. The House might vote as it pleased, but there was an end to the system; for the people were unanimously resolved not to pay tithes. What was the next great evil? Why, Church property; and if Ministers were anxious that Ireland should be pacified, they would institute a rigid and efficient inquiry, in order that they might see how far that property could be rendered available for the benefit of the people. He should be glad if that property were applied to beneficial public purposes. At the same time, he would provide liberally for the clergy—he meant to say, for that portion of them who worked. Ministers ought not to wait until the Legislature took up this subject, but should at once take it up themselves. Church property was public property, in every sense of the word, and he would carry the whole of it to the credit of the Exchequer, and only pay out of it those who earned their salaries.

Mr. *John Weyland* said, he desired to see a system of Poor-laws extended to Ireland, but he did not desire to see the whole charge of maintaining the poor fall upon the tithes and revenues of the Irish Church. The burthen ought to be shared in a just proportion by the proprietors of the land. It was equally unfair to say, as the petitioners did, "Don't redress the misery in Ireland, arising out of the want of Poor-laws, until you settle the questions of Tithe and Church property." The hon. member for Middlesex had told them exultingly, that the people of Ireland had settled the question of tithes—that they unanimously refused to pay them. They disobeyed the law, and certainly their disobedience ought not to be pointed at with approbation. Such language as that which they had just heard was too often used in that House, and that language he would always most strenuously oppose. If laws were bad, let them be altered and amended in the regular way; but it would be a disgrace to them as English gentlemen, and Members of the House of Commons, if they were to concede any point of this species of domination. Were they, because a number of people broke the laws, to yield obedience to them, and say, "We will alter the law conformably to your wishes?" He was ready to give the situation of the poor of Ireland all the advantage of a fair and deliberate inquiry; but he would not bow to any species of intimidation. It was a question of momentous consequence to the well-being of the State at all times, whether combinations of this kind should not be compelled to give way to the laws of the land, before even a necessary measure of reform or redress were even agitated. He, therefore, for one, was thankful to his Majesty's Ministers for having put this subject in a train of inquiry.

Mr. *Blackney* said, the statements made by the hon. member for Middlesex were quite correct; the tithe system was much worse in Ireland than in England. Ireland was disturbed from one end to the other by the tithe system. He was not a sectarian, and, therefore, did not feel peculiarly aggrieved. He only felt himself called upon to say a few words in consequence of what fell from the hon. Member who had last spoken. In six counties of Ireland—Kilkenny, Wexford, Tipperary, Carlow, Queen's County, and Kildare—the system of tithes was actually at an end. The people would not pay them, they had come to the resolution not to pay this unjust and oppressive tax. They were united to evade the payment of tithes, but they did not break the law. The system could not last. The goods taken on distraint could not be sold. There were eight or ten law processes by which the payment of tithes could be enforced, but they were all evaded. The opposition was given by the peasantry. He knew one parish in Kildare, in which the people had consented to pay 4*d.* an acre legally to resist the payment of tithes, and they declared, that they would rather subscribe 2*s.* or 5*s.* an acre than not resist the payment.

Sir *John Johnstone* said, he had been requested to support the petition, but he could by no means agree with the whole extent of its prayer. He was most desirous that the question should be settled as speedily as possible, and saw no reason why Church property as well as lay should not contribute equally to the provision to be made for the Irish poor.

Sir *Edward Sugden* said, it appeared from the remarks made by the hon. member for Carlow, that the people, in different parts of Ireland, resisted the payment of tithes, and evaded the law. Now he conceived that those who could encourage or defend such a system were the worst subjects of the King, and the worst enemies of the country. He would ask, whether, from the statement which had been made, they were to infer that Ireland was in so peaceable a state, and disposed to be so obedient to the law, as to render it wise, safe, or prudent to grant to that country so great an additional extent of franchise as was contemplated by the Bill then before the House. Would not this accession of political power tend to increase the existing evil?

Mr. *O'Connell* said, that judging from the observation which had just been made by the learned Gentleman, it would seem that he had not read the Irish Reform Bill. If he looked at the Bill, he would find that it did not extend the elective franchise at all. Before the Union there were 300,000 voters in Ireland. These had been cut down to 15,000 or 16,000, and the Reform Bill would not add more than 300 or 400 to the number. He denied that the people of Ireland were violating the law by their opposition to the payment of tithes. There was no law to prevent the evading the payment of tithes. Process might be served on those who were in arrear, and their property might be distrained and offered for sale; the law authorised that as the means of recovering the tithes. But men might turn their backs on the auctioneer, and refuse to purchase the goods so taken in distress. That, however, was not breaking the law; and he defied that House to make any law to compel the people of Ireland to purchase what they did not fancy or did not want. At the same time he wished it to be understood, that he desired to see the working Clergy of the Protestant Church fairly paid. He was sure that not a man in Ireland would object to a hard working curate getting 200*l.* a year, but every man objected to a rector getting 1,800*l.* and giving his curate, who did all the duty, 75*l.* The entire national will of Ireland was opposed to tithes; and he would ask of those who talked about the firmness of English Gentlemen, what would be said to them, supposing the English people to be as unanimous upon any given point as the people of Ireland were with respect to tithes, if they stood up, and recommended that the very great majority of the community should be coerced to make their opinions agree with those of a small minority?

Mr. *John Weyland* said, it was not very statesman-like in the hon. and learned member for Kerry to remark that the will of even a great majority of the people was to prevail over the law.

Mr. *Blackney* said, he for one would by no means countenance the breaking of any law. He had merely made a simple statement of facts.

Mr. *Callaghan* approved of the petition. The distress in several parts of the south of Ireland, particularly in Cork, was such as to admit no longer of delay. The half-yearly assessments were expended, and the poor were in a state of starvation and extreme misery.

Mr. *Sadler* said, he must deny that the meeting by which this petition had been adopted was so numerous as the noble Lord had represented. It was got up by the Political Union, who by previous concert, filled the apartment in which the meeting was held, and had it all their own way. Had the petition truly represented the feelings of the enlightened and respectable inhabitants of the town of Leeds, he was sure that its prayer would have been for the immediate introduction of a system of the Poor-laws into Ireland without regard to the tithe question. He, however, was ready to admit, that the system of collecting tithes as it existed in Ireland ought to be done away with. That was an opinion he had ever avowed, at the same time he would stand up for the right of the poor to support, and he would always advocate the just claims which the sick and the indigent in Ireland had to a legal provision for their relief. They had heard much about the great grievances that arose from tithes in Ireland, but was nothing to be said about the rack-rents which were enforced, and the grinding oppressions that were in many instances practised, by the landlords in that country? Abundant was the complaint as to the distresses levied for tithes, and the sale of the poor man's property to satisfy the demands of the tithe proctor; but were there not such things as the clearances of estates in that country by the great landed proprietors, and the turning adrift the population of a district? Were not the inhabitants driven from their houses without shelter and provision, and doomed to perish, because some unfeeling landlord, perhaps an absentee, considered their numbers too redundant. That was the case, and the landlord, knowing that he should not be called upon to contribute a farthing to their relief, calculated upon an increase to his already, exorbitant and grinding rents by their expulsion. Not only did the suffering and houseless poor of Ireland demand the most prompt and efficient relief, but it was also due to the working population of England that they should obtain it. The desertion, oppression and expulsion of the Irish poor from their own houses compelled them to seek employment and food in other countries, hence they flocked into every market of labour, and by undertaking all sorts of employment at the lowest terms on which it was possible for human beings to subsist, they greatly injured and deteriorated the condition of the English labourers, cruelly diminished the value of their wages, and increased the difficulty of their finding employment. A poor law for Ireland, therefore, was equally required by the industrious classes of all parts of the empire, and, to render it effectual, it must fall upon all property by whomsoever possessed and especially, upon the property of absentees. Ought the landed proprietors of Ireland, to escape that impost which should be justly laid upon their property for the support and maintenance of the suffering poor engendered on their estates because there were evils connected with the collection of tithes which required redress? One of the resolutions adopted by the meeting from which this petition had emanated, called for the refunding of all the Church property which had been formerly appropriated to the support of the poor, with a view to apply it to its original purpose. This retrospective resolution touched very deeply upon the vast estates of many of the lay impropriators, who no doubt would struggle to the last extremity before they surrendered their property, and the persons who framed the resolution knew this fact as well as the House. Without entering upon that question at present, however, he would merely remark, that if the introduction of Poor-laws into Ireland was to be postponed until such an object as that should be effected, they might thus put off indefinitely that most salutary and much-called-for measure. The question of Irish Poor-laws was one that it was not possible now to overlook: it would force itself on the attention of the Legislature, and he would take that opportunity to give notice, that he intended, with the least possible delay, to again submit to the House the justice and expediency of making a legal provision for the support of the poor of Ireland. That was a question, he would repeat, which must be settled before they could enter upon such a large and interminable question as that of Irish tithes.

Sir *John Brydges* said, he hoped soon to see a modified and improved arrangement of Poor laws introduced into Ireland, founded upon the English system, but leaving out the parts which were most objectionable in practice. As to the remark made by the hon. member for Middlesex, that the tithe system was at an end in Ireland, he begged leave to tell that hon. Gentleman, he did not consider himself to have a seat in that House for the purpose of obeying the mandates of certain discontented people however numerous. He, therefore, should strictly do his duty to all parties according to his conscience and the law of the land.

Mr. *Hunt* said, there would be no peace in Ireland until Poor-laws were introduced into that country. The noble Lord who presented the petition considered that it related to a different subject, when up got the hon. member for Middlesex and said, the business was all settled, people refused to pay the tithes. He wished to God they could make the hon. Member prove his words for then probably they should hear no more of the business. As to the meeting itself at which this petition was adopted, it consisted of about 800 persons out of a population of 130,000, and it was notoriously a packed meeting, which did not fairly represent the people of Leeds. The man, who was the principal agent in getting up that meeting was Mr. Baines, the editor of a paper at Leeds, and he was assisted by a Mr. Smithson a notorious individual, who he (Mr. Hunt) understood had roasted the Bible and had written against every species of religion. It was a little faction in the borough of Leeds that had got up this petition, and the design of it was, not to promote any measure for the relief of the poor of Ireland, but merely to thwart the benevolent objects and views of the hon. member for Aldborough.

Lord *Morpeth*, in moving that the petition should be printed, observed, that he would not follow the hon. member for Preston into the *arcana* of Leeds politics, but would only say as to the meeting being a packed one, that the petition was signed by 6,000 persons, and the only reason for the meeting not adjourning to the open air was, that the room was sufficiently capacious to hold the persons who attended. He was informed that the parties were most anxious to have another meeting in the open air, in order to satisfy the hon. member for Aldborough (Mr. Sadler) that the petition embodied the opinions of the majority of the inhabitants of Leeds.

Sir *Robert Peel* was surprised that no member of his Majesty's Government had risen on this occasion to protest against the doctrine that had been promulgated by the hon. member for Middlesex, with regard to the settlement of the tithe question in Ireland. Looking at the present state of that country, the Government was imperatively called upon, for the sake of the peace of society, putting all other motives for the moment aside, at once to protest against the doctrine of that hon. Member. Though there was no doubt that each individual clergyman in Ireland had as just and legal a claim to the possession of his tithe as any man who heard him had to the possession of his landed property, yet did the hon. member for Middlesex assert, openly in that House, that such claim had been, by the means of force and of combination, practically and actually defeated. What chance, on that hon. Member's own reasoning, would he himself have of resuming the Church property in Ireland for the purposes of the State, if the existing right to the possession of it could be in this manner effectually defeated? The landlords and landowners of Ireland might depend upon it, that if they sanctioned such a mode of dealing with tithes—if they supported or countenanced the doctrine, that by such illegal combinations as had lately taken place in that country, a legal title could be defeated—an interval of two years would not elapse, before that doctrine would be visited on themselves, and their claims to their rents met and defeated by similar means. The course which had been followed in resisting the just claims of the clergyman would, if successful, be immediately tried in resisting the payment of rents. What was there to prevent great bodies of men from combining together in passive resistance, as it was called, to the claims of the landlords, as well as to the claims of the clergymen? If the landlords of Ireland at all countenanced such illegal combinations against the just claims of the clergy, they were miserably deceived if they imagined that they could themselves escape a spoliation not more unjust, and equally easy of execution. He trusted that, in whatever the Legislature should deem it right to do with regard to the adjustment of the question of tithes in Ireland, care would be taken, that no persons there should profit by their own wrong. God forbid that any party should succeed in appropriating the Church property in Ireland to the State; but even that would be a less evil than the robbery of the Church for individual aggrandisement. If the State ever did confiscate to public uses the property of the Church—he apprehended that the landholders of Ireland would not, and he fervently hoped they might not, benefit by the change. It was said by the hon. and learned member for Kerry, that it was only by means of the military or the police they could enforce the payment of tithes in Ireland; but was it by such an argument as that that this great question was to be settled? It was for the Legislature to determine what modifications should be made in the tithe system; but as long as the law remained as it was, it was their duty, as legislators and as members of society, to take care that just and legal rights were not defeated either by force, or by any species of resistance, active or passive, to the law.

Lord *Althorp* observed, that the right hon. Baronet, as well as every other Gentleman in that House, was fully aware already of the course that had been taken by his Majesty's Ministers with regard to the question of tithes in Ireland, and it was not fair, therefore, that he should consider them answerable for the statements or views which might proceed from the hon. member for Middlesex on that subject. It was, besides, so very inconvenient to get up long discussions on petitions, that he (Lord Althorp) did not feel called upon, whenever any hon. Member might rise on such occasions, and give expression to sentiments in which he did not concur, to state his dissent from such sentiments. The course which the Government intended to pursue on this subject was before the House, and his right hon. friend the Secretary for Ireland, had already so clearly stated the grounds on which that course had been adopted, that he (Lord Althorp) did not think that there was the least occasion for his rising to protest against the sentiments that had fallen from the hon. member for Middlesex. He would only observe, that any course of proceeding which tended to defeat the just claims of any man, whether he be clergyman or layman, if not opposed and put down, must lead to the destruction of the whole frame of society. Whether combinations for such a purpose were within or without the law, mattered nothing. The security of property in Ireland depended upon the putting an end to such proceedings.

Sir *Robert Peel* admitted, that the practice of raising discussions on petitions was a most inconvenient one; but he must be allowed to express his gratification at having elicited such an explanation from the noble Lord.

Mr. *Sheil* acknowledged that, generally speaking, it was an inconvenient practice to get up discussions on the presentation of petitions; but the question to which this petition referred was one that pressed much on the public mind at present, and therefore, a discussion with regard to it, even in this incidental way, could not be avoided. There could be no doubt as to the right of the actual incumbent in Ireland to his tithe, under the existing law of the land; and he was ready to admit that, in abstract justice and right, his claim was equally well founded. But the Legislature ought, under the circumstances in which thi question now presented itself to them, to consider not only what the law was, but what the law ought to be, and should seek to provide some remedy for a state of things that could no longer be suffered to continue. The right hon. Baronet opposite could not deny that an alteration was necessary in the tithe system,but then he had not given them the benefit of his advice on that point—he had not told them in what way it appeared to him that a beneficial alteration might be effected in the law upon that subject. The landlords of Ireland would, no doubt, be obliged to the right hon. Baronet for his benevolent warnings; but he (Mr. Sheil) begged to assure the right hon. Baronet, that their case was, after all, not quite so deplorable as he seemed to imagine, and that he was mistaken in supposing that the payment of rents rested at all upon the same footing as the payment of tithes in Ireland. The parson had all the weapons which the landlord possessed, and out of the armoury of the law, he was provided with still more, for the purpose of recovering his tithes; but, against the tithe system, the public opinion in Ireland had revolted. Such a fact might be a deplorable one, but it was one that could not be denied; and such being the case, what was the remedy? Could they enforce the payment of tithes in Ireland? Was it a crime on the part of the peasant to refuse to buy the tithe-pig, or to go to the mart where the goods of his neighbour that had been seized for tithe were offered for sale? The right hon. Baronet had, to his eternal honour, in the instance of Catholic Emancipation, made a concession to public opinion. Shall there be no concession to public opinion in Ireland on the question of tithes? The policy of the Legislature was, to take measures on this subject in time. It was one that would not brook delay; and the only way to produce a good result was, to pass, as soon as possible, some measure on the subject that would satisfy the people of Ireland.

Sir *Robert Peel,* in explanation, said, that he had merely risen to protest against the doctrine of the hon. member for Middlesex; and that it was not for him, on such an occasion, to go into a subject which was at present under the consideration of a Select Committee of that House.

Mr. *Hume* said, that a great deal of unnecessary noise had been raised as to the expressions that had been used by him on this occasion. He utterly denied that a single word had fallen from his lips calculated to interfere with the rights of an actual incumbent. He had not said any thing that at all warranted the attack that had been made upon him by the right hon. member for Tamworth. He had merely called the attention of the Government to this petition; and, in so doing, he had said, that there were two evils in Ireland, the Tithes and the Church property; and that, with regard to the first of those evils, he might say nothing, as the people of Ireland had settled that question. He repeated that it was settled, and he would appeal, in proof of that assertion, to the statement of the hon. members for Carlow and Kerry, who had just come from Ireland, and who had told them that the people would pay no more tithes. There was nothing in what had fallen from him that at all warranted the insinuation that he would encourage the depriving any individual clergyman or landowner of his property.

Mr. *Blackney* said, he had also been misunderstood. What he had stated was, that the people were prepared to make great sacrifices to defeat legal processes to recover the payment of tithes. The idea that rents would be endangered because of the opposition to the payment of tithes he considered ridiculous. He could take upon himself to assert that rents had not been better paid these fifteen years than at present.

Petition to be referred to the Committee on Tithes.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—BILL FOR ENGLAND—COMMITTEE—SECOND DAY.] Upon the Motion of Lord John Russell, the House went into a Committee upon the Reform of Parliament (England) Bill.

Upon the reading of the words in clause 2, "that each of the thirty boroughs—"

Mr. *Goulburn* requested some reason would be given why the House was called upon to insert the word "thirty"? When the word "fifty-six" was objected to in the first clause of the Bill, and when it was asked, "Why pledge yourselves to fifty-six specific boroughs, when you give no opportunity of examining into the case of all the boroughs?" the only answer given was, "Because the Lords rejected one Bill with fifty-six boroughs, therefore, the Bill is to be sent back again with the same number." He, for one, strongly objected to the partial disfranchisement of thirty of the most ancient boroughs of the kingdom, until some specific information had been given to the House relating to their particular cases; and time was given to examine and digest such information. But he should defer making any motion upon the subject, until he had heard from the noble Lord some explanation of the grounds upon which his Majesty's Government had determined upon the particular number of thirty as the quantum of boroughs that were to lose a moiety of their Representation.

Lord *Althorp:* The right hon. Gentleman has stated only half the reasons which I gave for placing fifty-six boroughs in schedule A. I stated that the House of Lords having objected to the former Bill, which contained fifty-six boroughs in schedule A, the Government did not choose to place more than that number in the disfranchising clause of the present Bill. But I added, that we did not think it right to place less than fifty-six in the schedule, because that number had been approved of by this House and by the country generally. Therefore, in stating that the only ground upon which I justified the disfranchisement of fifty-six boroughs in the present Bill was, because the House of Lords had objected to that number in the last Bill, the right hon. Gentleman only stated half the reasons which I advanced as the ground upon which our determination was fixed. Having so far set myself right with respect to schedule A, I am now ready to explain why we propose to place thirty boroughs in schedule B of the present Bill, instead of forty-one, as proposed in the same schedule of the last Bill. Ministers, in reconsidering the Bill after it had been rejected by the House of Lords in the last Session, undoubtedly did wish, as far as they could do so consistently with the principle and efficiency of the Bill, to make such alterations and modifications as they thought best calculated to conciliate and to secure the approbation of those who were opposed to it. As one of the objections most strongly urged was the diminishing the number of the Members of the House, they did not think that they should affect the principle or diminish the efficiency of the measure, if they conceded that point; and therefore, in preparing the present Bill, they determined that the existing number of Members of the House should be kept up. Thus there were twenty-three Members to be disposed of; and in considering how they should be distributed, the Ministers thought that, if they threw the whole of them into schedule B, they might then be fairly and justly accused of acting partially towards twenty-three of the places enumerated in that schedule, and that, in fact, they should impair the efficiency of the measure at large. It appeared to them, therefore, that the fairest manner would be to give twelve Representatives to new constituent bodies, and not to take away the remaining eleven from schedule B. That was the original ground upon which we proposed to place thirty instead of forty-one boroughs in the partially disfranchising clause of the present Bill. To diminish the number of boroughs in schedule B to less than thirty would, in the opinion of Ministers, be to diminish the general efficiency of the Bill, and therefore it was, that, in preparing the present clause, they determined to fix upon that particular number.

Mr. *Goulburn* thought, that the noble Lord's explanation had not, in the slightest degree, removed the grounds upon which the House had reason to complain of the course which Ministers had adopted. As regarded the first clause, the House had reason to complain, because it was called upon to vote before the necessary information was produced; and, as regarded the second clause, it had reason to complain, because, although certain information had been laid before the House, sufficient time had not been allowed for any Member to make himself acquainted with it. So that, in point of fact, Ministers, conscious of the support which they would receive from a majority of that House, were determined to carry clauses for the total or partial disfranchisement of eighty-six boroughs before it was possible for any man to form a correct opinion as to the place which any one of those boroughs should hold in the two destroying schedules of the Bill. He was of opinion that it was too much for any set of men to ask the House of Commons to proceed in such a manner. To call for the determination of questions—such important questions, too, as the disfranchisement of boroughs—while the House was yet in total ignorance of the facts upon which that disfranchisement was said to be founded, was, he did not hesitate to say, the most unfair proceeding ever attempted by any Administration that ever held the reins of Government in this country. Further, he must observe, that when the hon. and learned member for Louth was about to move that the number of boroughs in schedule A should be sixty-one instead of fifty-six, the noble Lord evaded the proposal by saying, that number being inserted would not prevent any more being placed therein, although it would prevent any deduction from that number. If this principle was followed up with regard to schedule B, and the Committee assented to the precise number of thirty being placed therein; and if it was considered expedient hereafter to decrease that number, the noble Lord might turn round and declare, they were precluded from doing so by their having previously agreed to the enacting part of the clause. It was from these circumstances that he felt unsatisfied with the explanation which the noble Lord had given—unacquainted with the information which had so recently been laid upon the Table, and unwilling to lend his sanction to what he conceived to be the unwarrantable precipitancy of the Ministry, he should resist the introduction of the word "thirty," in the clause then under their consideration. He therefore moved, that that word be omitted.

Sir *George Warrender* rose to support the amendment moved by his right hon. friend, and, in doing so, begged to explain the grounds upon which he approached the question of Reform in its new and modified shape. He approached it with the most *bonâ fide* intention of endeavouring to carry through the Committee such a measure of Reform as should at once be consistent in principle and safe in operation. This the country demanded, and this he now thought it incumbent on Parliament to accede to. But though he was anxious for the speedy settlement of the question of Reform, he could not concur with Government in forcing the House to proceed to any particular vote in the absence of necessary information: and partly upon that ground he rose to support the amendment proposed by his right hon. friend. With regard to the thirty boroughs which were to be placed in the clause then under their consideration, he thought the Government must admit, either that they were nomination boroughs, not free in election, or that they were open boroughs, perfectly free in election. Then, in this dilemma were the Government placed—if they were nomination boroughs, they ought not, in accordance with the principle laid down in the Bill, to be allowed to return one Member; if they were not nomination boroughs —if their elections were free—they ought not, in accordance with the same principle, to be deprived of one Member. But he contended that they were not nomination boroughs, and that, therefore, they ought to be left untouched. To deprive them of one Representative each would be to create in them disunion and discontent, since it would be impossible for one Member to represent all their conflicting views and interests. If these thirty places were, therefore, to be partially disfranchised, on the ground of being nomination boroughs, then he said, they ought not to be touched until they were proved so. But if this plea was abandoned by those who supported the measure, then he was prepared to contend, that the principle of enfranchisement ought not to be based upon the disfranchisement of places against which there was no accusation. It was most unwise to resort to such a step, for it was opening the door to endless alterations. It was laying down a principle and establishing a precedent by which an increasing place, without Representatives, might call upon the Legislature to take the Members from a smaller place, and transfer them to itself. But, previously to his advancing any further argument upon these points, he begged to call the attention of the House for a few moments to a matter which related personally to himself. In the month of December last, he felt it to be consistent with his public duty to vote for the second reading of the present Bill. In consequence of that vote, he had been assailed in various publications, and subjected to all the vituperation in which the Press of this country was sometimes apt to indulge. He was, however, so much impressed with the general utility of the wholesome exercise of the liberty of the Press, that, however unmerited he felt the attack upon himself to be, he was not disposed to come down to that House and to found a formal complaint upon it. But, as there were, perhaps, some persons in the country who might think him really guilty of the inconsistency and dishonesty with which he had been accused, he felt it due to himself not to allow the calumny to pass unnoticed or uncontradicted. He would not mention the gross terms in which his conduct had been stigmatized; but to those who might think him guilty of inconsistency in voting for the second reading of the present Reform Bill, when he had voted against the second reading of the last, he begged leave very shortly to state the grounds upon which his latter vote had been given. In the first place, he thought that Ministers had made several very important concessions—concessions which removed many of the objections which had induced him to oppose the former Bill.

In the next place, he found that commerce and trade were paralyzed—that all hopes of a surplus of revenue, while the question of Reform was agitated but not settled, was annihilated—that dismay had taken possession of one class, turbulence and riot of another—that public confidence was shaken—the authority of the laws in abeyance, and some of the principal towns and cities of the kingdom in a state of insubordination. This was the result of the rejection of the former measure, and, under such circumstances, he felt it necessary that the question of Reform should be speedily settled, and that the responsibility which attached to it, should be thrown upon the shoulders of the Government who had introduced it. It was upon these grounds that he had voted for the second reading of the modified measure which Ministers brought in in December last. When the former Bill was under the consideration of Parliament, it was said hon. Members who resisted the measure "opposed everything, and proposed nothing." He was unwilling to obtrude himself on the patience and indulgence of the House; but when he stated that in one of the daily metropolitan Journals he had been distinctly accused of apostacy and gross treachery, he thought it was only natural, however unwilling he might be to place himself in contact with the Press, that he should be anxious to exonerate himself from charges which, though utterly without foundation, might still have their weight and influence with some. As that House was the only place in which any Member who was attacked ought to notice the charges which were made upon him, he trusted that he should be allowed to proceed with the few additional observations which he had to make. Having stated the grounds upon which he had voted for the second reading of the Bill, as well as the spirit in which he approached the present discussion of it, he would now proceed to state the objections which he had to the particular clause then under consideration. He had already stated, that he did not think that this clause, which went to the partial disfranchisement of thirty boroughs, came within the principle upon which Ministers declared that they were acting. He was, therefore, at a loss to conceive upon what principle it was that those boroughs were to be deprived of one Representative each. That the great commercial and manufacturing towns, where interests, industry, and wealth, were at once vast and important, ought to be admitted to the elective franchise, every one, he thought, must admit. To that extent he, at least, was willing to concede the question of Reform; but if the principle upon which the elective franchise were given was mere population, he must object to it. He could not consent to disfranchise places merely because they were not populous. If population were the principle upon which Ministers proposed to act, Ireland ought to have many more Representatives; and England, to give anything like the shadow of fairness to its Representation, ought to be divided into districts. But if property and respectable population were admitted as a ground of Representation, then ought none of the places in schedule B to be disfranchised. He should not object to the deduction of some of the Members allotted to the places mentioned in schedules C and D. Indeed, he thought they might be reduced with advantage; but he protested against the disfranchisement of any of the places mentioned in schedule B, which, containing partly a rural, and partly a commercial and manufacturing population, might be said to unite the interests of all. He thought that all the Members for the metropolitan districts ought to be struck off. He could not understand upon what principle it was, that they were to acquire so many Representatives. Had they any separate interest? None. Were they the seats of manufacture, or marts of commerce? No. It was not pretended that they had any other claim to additional Representation than that of mere population—a population, too, which he thought was not very likely to add, by its elections, to the useful Members of the House. Yet it was to give additional Representation to such places that Ministers proposed to diminish the Representation of the respectable, and many of them important towns, enumerated in schedule B. He felt that this would be unjust to the towns themselves, and injurious to the landed interests. He, therefore, concurred with the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman below him, and should vote for the rejection of the clause.

Lord *Eastnor* was anxious to avoid intruding upon the attention of the House; but as it was well known that he steadily opposed the last Reform Bill, he wished to show, that in taking a course somewhat different on the present occasion, he acted consistently with a faithful and honourable discharge of his duty as a Member of Parliament. It had appeared to him, with respect to the former Reform Bill, that it was not a reconstruction or amendment of the decayed portion of our Constitution, but that it was an entire new-modelling of the system, which would tend only to division and injury to our institutions. However, after the events of the last fifteen months, he would say of the proposed measures, that he believed they were not approved of by the great mass of the property of the country, although he would admit that they were approved by the great mass of the population and a considerable portion of the property of England. Upon these grounds, and judging from existing circumstances, he was of opinion that no Government could conduct the affairs of this country with the force and energy which could render it duly efficient unless the system of nomination boroughs was put an end to. With that feeling he had made his mind up to support this Bill —at least, as far as the object of the first clause went—which he did not construe as solely to refer to the fifty-six boroughs included in it, but which he did suppose to have for its object the destruction of all nomination boroughs. Though he agreed in this principle, he must say the Bill contained other provisions which would still prevent him from voting for it as it stood at present. His apprehension was, that the Bill, if passed with its present enactments, would go far to make that House the Representative of the passions of the people, instead of their discretion and their sense; and it was impossible for any Member to deny, that if it ceased to represent the sober sense and wisdom of England, and was swayed only by their passions, the Constitution must come to an end. Feeling this strongly, he must object altogether to the proposition for allowing the metropolitan districts to return Members and however desirous he was of seeing a reconstruction of what was decayed in the system, he could not vote for this Bill so long as it contained that clause. He thought it one likely to create mischief; for when there were so many popular Representatives, backed as they would be by the great body of their constituency, and in a manner so prompt and immediate as would not be possible with other portions of the population, he could not help feeling that such Representatives would always be compelled to act according to the opinions that for the moment might prevail amongst their constituents. The public Press, too, which exercised so strong a control over this class of persons, had an interest in creating excitement. and it would no doubt operate on their feelings so as to leave little scope for their judgment or their deliberation. With the sentiments he had expressed with respect to nomination boroughs, he also thought, that if a great alteration were to be made, the sooner it was carried into effect the better, for, so long as this question remained in agitation, due attention could not be paid to the general affairs of the country, particularly to its domestic concerns, such as the condition of the poor, and of agriculture, although he feared so much amelioration in their respective states was not to be expected from Legislation as was generally imagined; but while the country remained in a state of uncertainty, nothing whatever would be done or attempted. There were two or three other points in the Bill which ought to be altered. He felt that it would ultimately be injurious to the landed interest; for although the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell) had said he wished that interest to have its fair share of Representation he (Lord Eastnor) did not think this Bill would produce that result. As an instance of what he alluded to, he begged to advert to the smaller freeholders of cities being thrown into the counties as voters. These persons were of a different class of society, and had different interests from other freeholders of the counties.

Mr. *John Weyland* said, as they had now passed the clause which went to regulate schedule A, he thought they had proceeded far enough in the way of experiment, and that it would be adviseable to proceed no further in the way of disfranchisement. They had already taken 112 Members from Schedule A, which, with the two for Weymouth, would allow 100 Members to be divided between the great manufacturing towns, and permit fourteen to be allotted to Ireland and Scotland; and he put it to the House whether this was not, for one step, as great a change as ought to be ventured upon, till they saw how the principle worked? He considered the Bill an experiment, because it proceeded on no general principles. It was confessedly full of anomalies, and therefore there was no argument, as derived from general considerations, which should induce the House to stop short at one point rather than at another. But there were many arguments, as derived from expediency, which ought to induce them to stop at the point at which they were now arrived in the career of disfranchisement. They had been pressed by the conjoint influence of the Crown, the Government, and the people: and they had fully partaken in all the excitement which had influenced these different bodies; they had been acted upon, also, by the fear of losing popularity, and the consequences which often attached to men of ambition in that House, which often followed from a change in the public sentiment: furthermore, they had been acted on by the consequences which were likely to attend upon that accession of power and influence which the addition of more than half a million of additional voters would confer upon the popular interest. Nor could it be said, that the Political Unions, at one time indirectly countenanced by Ministers, had exercised no influence over their deliberations. Surely all these considerations ought to have sufficient weight to induce them to suspect the coolness of their past judgment on this matter, and called upon them to pause before they proceeded further. But, perhaps it might be said that such a course, if now adopted, would injure the success of the Bill. If he thought it would injure the success of a fair and just Bill, he should be the last to propose any measures likely to create delay—being now, as he had ever been, anxious to avow himself a fair and moderate Reformer; but he contended that there was no one expedient so likely to promote the complete and rapid success of the Bill, as that it should be brought forward upon terms satisfactory to the property and intelligence of the country. What was the great impediment now in the way of success, but the opposition of the other House of Parliament, representing, as it did, in this instance, the opinions of at least a fair moiety of that property and intelligence? The noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in alluding to this impediment as a reason for not making the Bill still more popular, stated his wish to send it up to the other House as nearly as possible in the shape in which they had rejected it; which appeared to him and others as a somewhat singular course of argument. But he believed that he perceived what was floating in the noble Lord's mind. That House had been told by authority higher than his, that if they rejected the measure of last Session, they would be forced to adopt a still more unsatisfactory one hereafter; and no doubt the noble Lord thought that the Government were treating the House of Lords with great forbearance, if they only presented for their acceptance a repetition of the selfsame dose, which they had formerly refused to take. But this appeared to him a very dubious policy in those who really wished to settle the question; for he could not doubt that in such a case the Lords would again reject it; at least, that this result could only be prevented by such an unconstitutional exercise of the Royal Prerogative as must tend (whenever the present excitement should have passed away) to degrade in the eyes of the people that prerogative itself, and the branch of the Legislature which it was strained to control. A popular poet well observed—

> ———"We love the King
> Who loves the law, respects its bounds,
> And reigns content within them. He is ours
> To administer, to guard, to adorn the State:
> But not to warp or change it. We are his
> To serve him nobly in the common cause."

But those were neither serving him nobly, nor serving the common cause, who would incur the risk of abusing the Royal Prerogative to annihilate the independence of the great conservative branch of the Legislature. Influenced by the preceding considerations, and anxious to avoid these evils, he implored the House to begin the work of compromise by rejecting this clause of the Bill; and to follow up this step by such a modification of its other clauses, as should lead to shortened deliberations and a more rapid conclusion, so that the undivided attention of Parliament might at length be turned to those great and vital discussions upon more important matters which had too long awaited its attention, and the neglect of which had brought it into disrepute in the eyes of the people.

Sir *Robert Peel* was proceeding to address the Committee, and had observed that he had no wish to revive—when he was interrupted by a stranger in the gallery, who exclaimed "Justice, verily justice—I am commanded by the Lord God to proclaim to you—it was in the month of January last that he revealed"—The individual was immediately taken into custody and removed. The right hon. Baronet then went on to say, that he had last Session so fully discussed the principle involved in the present clause, that he had then little to add, but that, after the maturest investigation of the subject, and wholly uninfluenced by what had been said on former occasions, he had arrived at the conclusion—similar to that formerly stated by him—that it would be as injurious as it would be unconstitutional to take away from the thirty boroughs set down in schedule B the right of returning two Members each. The very principle on which Ministers attempted to justify the total disfranchisement of schedule A, went to show that they were wholly unwarranted in depriving the boroughs of schedule B of a moiety of their Representation. For what was that principle? Why, that the boroughs in schedule A were mere nomination boroughs. Now, for the sake of argument, let it be granted that they were nomination boroughs, and that as such it was right to wholly disfranchise them, did it follow that therefore boroughs which Ministers did not and could not designate nomination ones, should in like manner suffer partial disfranchisement? Either the boroughs in schedule B were nomination boroughs or they were not; if they were, why, on the Ministerial principle of disfranchisement, were they to be permitted to return any Representatives whatever? If they were not, why deprive them of their full complement of Members? What abuse had they committed which justified the penalty of partial disfranchisement? He had, on a former occasion, so fully stated his reasons for preferring in all boroughs a right of double Representation to the return of a single Member, that he would not again discuss that point.

One word with respect to the clause fixing "fifty-six" as the number of boroughs to be contained in schedule A, on which he had expressed his sentiments on Friday last. On that occasion he had asked for delay, in order that they might have the evidence before them on which they were called upon to agree to a proposition for depriving fifty-six boroughs of their franchise privileges, but was left in a minority, Ministers refusing to grant this rational request. Judge of his surprise—indeed he would say humiliation—on finding on the morning of Saturday, on his table, the very information which Ministers refused to tarry for even one day, and on a motion to obtain which delay he had, at ten o'clock on Friday night, been out voted. The very promptitude with which the information was furnished showed, not only the justness and timeliness of his request for a short delay, but also the essential importance of the information required to a due investigation of schedule A; indeed, on this last head, there were the "instructions" of the Home Secretary of State to the gentlemen appointed to examine into and report upon the boundaries, population, taxes, rental, &c., of the several cities and boroughs included in the schedules of the present Bill, insisting upon the necessity of full and accurate information as of the last importance to the discussion of the details of those schedules. As, however, Ministers had refused to grant this information in the first instance, it was but fair to presume that the motion, fixing upon fifty-six as the number of boroughs to be contained in schedule A, did not preclude a discussion of the merits of the particular boroughs to make up that number. The evidence, he was sure, would shew, that it would not be possible to fill up that number without violating the very principles on which Ministers professed to ground their proceeding—but of this more on a future occasion. The argument of the noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), justificatory of the clause fixing upon the number fifty-six, struck him as unusually unsatisfactory. The noble Lord said, "We take fifty-six, because that is the number of boroughs set down for disfranchisement in our former Bill. We do not go further, because we might thereby risk the success of our measure in the House of Lords, it being not probable that those who rejected a Bill with fifty-six disfranchised boroughs, would sanction one containing more; and we cannot insert a less number, because the country which approved of the former Bill would not be satisfied with a less efficient disfranchisement schedule." This was thought triumphant reasoning for schedule A. But how did it apply to schedule B? how did it bear upon the preliminary selection of the number thirty for the number of boroughs of which schedule B was to consist? In the last Bill schedule B contained forty-one boroughs. Surely "the People" approved of schedule B with its forty-one boroughs, equally with schedule A with its fifty-six boroughs. If the circumstance of the country's having approved of a particular number in a former measure were an argument compulsory for that number being retained in the new Bill, how did it happen that Ministers themselves fixed upon "thirty" as the number for schedule "B," being eleven less than the number in the Bill approved of by "the people?" If the country would now be satisfied with thirty instead of forty-one boroughs as the complement of schedule B, was it not probable that it would be equally satisfied with fifty instead of fifty-six boroughs in schedule A? And if the number was to be thus taken at haphazard in the first instance with regard to schedules A and B, without any reference to circumstances, might not the country be dissatisfied that some pet number should not also be beforehand fixed upon for schedule C, which Ministers left to be determined by circumstances? He should like to hear these questions answered. The right hon. Baronet concluded with saying, that he would move at a future time, either that the present clause be omitted altogether, or, what would practically be the same, that each borough in schedule B should be permitted to retain its two Members.

Lord *John Russell* said, that the question in the present case, with regard to schedule B, was just the same as in the former case, as respected schedule A; and he saw no reason why they should be anxious for information as to the specific cases of particular boroughs, in order to arrive at the conclusion that thirty of the smaller boroughs should be partially disfranchised. If they had said, that thirty boroughs, with less than 2,000 inhabitants or 500 houses each, were to lose each one of their Members, then the right hon. Baronet might have some plea to object to the specific cases in the absence of information. But when, after the information obtained last Session, it was known there were upwards of 100 boroughs which came so close together in the scale of importance, that there was but a very trifling difference between some of the lowest and the highest, then he apprehended there could be little difficulty in coming to the determination that it was adviseable, that a certain number should be wholly or partially disfranchised. They had resolved, therefore, to take fifty-six of the one class, and thirty of the other, in order that the House might become, what it had not been for some time past—a real Representation of the feelings and opinions of the people. On this broad principle, it was of no importance as regarded the general Representation of the people of England, whether the right of returning Members was to be preserved by Midhurst or Milborne Port, although undoubtedly it was of considerable consequence to the inhabitants of these respective places. In many of the boroughs which at present returned Members, there was no returning-officer, no resident electors, nor any known or well-defined boundaries. Of Beeralston, for instance, which had been frequently mentioned in the course of the debates, the Surveyor of Taxes said—'I have had 'considerable trouble to ascertain the exact 'boundaries of this borough, but have now 'reason to believe the whole account to be 'correct. The boundaries of the town, 'as taken by the returning-officer, appear 'to be quite correct; but, in his statement, 'he has considered the whole town as included in the borough, which is not the 'case, there being twenty-seven houses or 'cottages contiguous to, and forming part 'of, the town, which are not in the borough. Perhaps I may be pardoned for 'mentioning a fact relative to Beeralston; 'which is, that no person exercising the 'elective franchise there resides in the 'borough, nor even in the parish in which 'it is situate; nor could I learn who was 'the returning-officer from any one in the 'place.' The right hon. Baronet had repeated the question of the right hon. Baronet (Sir G. Warrender), and asked, why the supporters of the Bill did not get rid at once of all nomination boroughs? But the right hon. Baronet seemed to forget, that Bath and Cambridge, although populous and important towns, were strictly nomination boroughs under the present system. Those towns, with places similarly circumstanced, were to retain their Members, because the means of free election and of forming a respectable constituency could be had within them. They were only to be freed from the manifold corruptions and abuses which at present prevailed, by restoring to the legitimate electors the rights which they had been deprived of, or which were in abeyance. If he were asked why he could not consent to allow the boroughs in schedule B to retain two Members, he would answer at once—because it would give them too much weight in the scale of Representation. It had been observed, that the possession of the power to return two Members prevented party animosities. He believed the very reverse to be the consequence of that power, and that where there were two parties, of which one constituted a small minority, the bitterest contests always took place for the return of one of the two Members, and that those engaged in it frequently observed they would not have minded it, if there had been but one Member to be returned. For instance, who ever heard of this bitter animosity at Abingdon or in Monmouth? On the contrary, the people of the county of Monmouth had requested that the number of places in that county sending one Member should be increased. The object of the Government was, to make the Representation speak the real feelings and opinions the people. By the present system, it was only during times of great excitement, such as prevailed during the No Popery cry in 1780 or 1807, when a dissolution happened to take place, that a majority was returned to the House of Commons who truly represented and who would give utterance to the feelings of the people. The consequence was, that the passions of the people were occasionally represented, their sober sense and sound judgment never. When the frenzy of some great popular excitement was to be gratified, the House could be made to represent the opinions of the people; but, in ordinary times, when the great object ought to be to return Members to control the public expenditure, and to return men who would keep a watchful eye over the public purse, or improve the national institutions, then a dissolution produced no change. The system of Representation at the present moment was, he conceived, the very worst that could be invented for giving effect to the real wishes of the people. The object of the Ministers was to improve it; and they hoped, by a removal of the abuses which had been flourishing for nearly a century, to procure the return of honest and enlightened Representatives, who would give effect to the wishes of the people, in their portion of the great Council of the Nation.

Lord *Sandon* said, he had given his cordial support to the proposition to include fifty-six boroughs in schedule A, without waiting for an examination into the cases of the particular boroughs which were to be placed in that schedule. He regretted that he felt himself compelled to withhold the same support from the present proposition. He was willing to fix the number of schedule A, because he was anxious to give at once a pledge to the country that he was honest and sincere in his desire to unite with them in abolishing the system of nomination. He was satisfied, that the choice of any number for that purpose must be arbitrary, and that no subsequent examination of details would assist the House in coming to a decision as to which borough was, and which was not, capable of being liberated from nomination by an alteration in the franchise. He was glad, therefore, to be assisted in placing his finger upon a given number, and he thought the reasons assigned by his noble friend for specifying fifty-six amply sufficient for the purpose. It was that number which had been finally adopted by the House in a former Session, and approved of by the country, as adequate to the object of extirpating the principle of nomination: it was therefore enough, and it was certainly desirable, not to do more than enough, considering the feelings of the other House of Parliament as to the extent of disfranchisement already proposed. Again, it was natural not to propose a smaller number than before, because at least that number of vacant seats would be required to represent other important interests. But which of all these reasons pressed them to fix, before examination, the number of schedule B? What principle of the Bill was involved in this schedule? Not the principle of destroying nomination; for if nomination were still likely to linger in these boroughs, they ought to be inserted in schedule A at once. The only principle which he could detect in such a schedule was one which had never hitherto been laid down as such by the proposers of the Bill—one not hitherto, in spite of the casual instances of Abingdon and Higham Ferrers, admitted into the Constitution, he feared it would be found most inconvenient at present and dangerous in its future consequences—it was that of proportioning Representation to population. He would not enter at large into the dangers and disadvantages of such a principle, nor into the inconveniences of a minor kind, not however inconsiderable, of leaving many towns with only a single Member. He would at least affirm, that it was their duty not to deprive any town of the advantage of a double Representation, until they were satisfied, by an examination of the subsequent schedules, that more important objects compelled them to that necessity. In fact, schedule B should consist of that residue which would be left, after a consideration and adjustment of schedules C and D—any alteration in them—the refusal of additional Members to the metropolis, to the suburbs of some other towns to which Members were therein assigned--the assignment of additional Members to any towns now in schedule D—additional Members assigned to or withheld from Scotland or Ireland—any alteration would affect the numbers in schedule B, provided they were agreed, as he understood they were, to maintain the original numbers of the House, and, therefore, until these points were decided, it was unreasonable and preposterous to fix the numbers to be contained in that residuary schedule. Neither could he share in the apprehensions apparently entertained by his noble friend, of the dangerous preponderance which would be gained in the Representation by the small rural towns, if each of the towns of schedule B retained its double Representation. He had heard complaints of the influence of nomination, and of the mischiefs arising from that influence in the hands of a few great men: but neither had he ever heard of, nor did he apprehend any dangerous results from the free elections of moderately-sized county towns, with a population of interests partly agricultural, partly of trade, and influenced by the calm, enlightened, and virtuous feelings of what was commonly considered the little aristocracy of such places and their neighbourhoods. So far from it, that he thought they would be found a desirable element in the new Representation. The Ministers had struck out, as obsolete, and at length mischievous, some existing elements of stability in the existing state of the Representation; but he hoped also they would take care and provide others as effectual and less obnoxious to public odium. He perfectly acquiesced in the proposition, that every Member of that House ought to have some effective body of constituents to which he should be responsible; but, at the same time, he did not desire to see the whole House consist entirely of Representatives of large popular bodies, exercising, as they would do, a constant and vigilant superintendance over every vote and action of their Representatives, and thereby depriving the House of that great advantage to every legislative assembly, a certain proportion of Members who relied on their own individual judgment; and thus formed, as it were, a sort of tribunal of opinion within the House of unimpassioned and uninfluenced judges. Desiring, therefore, rather to increase than diminish the number of these small but free constituencies, not, however, by any means denying but that they might find themselves driven by the necessity of providing Members for very important places to that of having a schedule B at last, possibly as numerous as that proposed; and seeing no advantage whatever, but much inconvenience, in clogging the subsequent parts of the Bill by this premature decision as to the precise numbers to be assigned to this schedule, he should feel himself compelled to vote for the Amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman, that the word "thirty" be omitted from the clause.

Mr. *Adeane* expressed his determination to vote against the Motion, as he would not be pledged to disfranchise the exact number of boroughs which had been introduced into the schedule, in the absence of all precise information concerning them. He was glad, however, to find, that the number of the Members of the House was not to be diminished. By the present Motion, if it were adopted, the Committee would be precluded from making any alteration in the number of boroughs included in the schedule, whatever might be the evidence which was brought forward in their favour; and, it might so happen, that this evidence would be of so satisfactory a nature that they could not disfranchise them with justice, in which case they must disappoint some place that now expected Representatives. He should not depart from the principle of the Bill, but, on the contrary, follow it up by voting for the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman.

Lord *Althorp* considered that the objection of the hon. Gentleman who had spoken last would apply stronger to the late than the present Bill, with respect to the number of boroughs introduced into the schedule now under the consideration of the Committee. The reason of partially disfranchising those places was, that it was thought that leaving them with two Representatives would give them too much influence. The House having consented in the last Session to forty-one boroughs being included in the schedule B, the hon. Member need be under no apprehension as to the present number being too large. They had increased the number of Representatives for large constituencies, and therefore it was right to diminish the number of those who were to lose one Member. His noble friend, the member for Liverpool, remarked, that the constituency furnished by such small country places were of a valuable description, but its utility must depend on its comparative amount, for, as his noble friend said, he disapproved of a Representation wholly formed of large popular constituencies, so, no doubt, he would equally object to a Representation entirely derived from the small towns. The whole was, then, a question of degree, and he trusted that the Committee would think with him, that the thirty boroughs in the schedule would be fully represented by having each one Member, and would give its sanction to the proposition.

Mr. *Croker* said, that the noble Lord, the member for Liverpool, had given an unanswerable answer to the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, for that noble Lord had concluded his speech by stating, that the measure was to restore the boroughs to that state which the Constitution intended, but of which they had been deprived by corruption and bribery for a century; and the noble Lord's proposition was, to place these thirty boroughs in a situation in which none of them had ever been before. It was not his intention to detain the Committee by re-arguing the general principle of this schedule; he rested his objections upon the able arguments of his right hon. friend (Sir Robert Peel), and the noble Lord, the member for Liverpool, who had so clearly shown the injustice and the inexpediency of this clause of the measure. By the very Bill now before the Committee, it would be impossible to carry into effect the proposition submitted without some alteration. He should be able to prove, if Gentlemen would be good enough to lend him their attention for a few moments, that thirty was a greater number than, upon any principle of justice and fairness, or even of rationality, could be maintained. Let the House suppose the clause carried, and thirty the number fixed upon as that of the boroughs which should be included in schedule B. The next thing to be done would be, to alter the Bill; for, by a curious fatality, there stood in the schedule, as liable to disfranchisement, the borough of Totness, which it was the intention of Ministers to remove from that situation, and to place Wallingford in its stead. If the arguments of the noble Lords opposite, drawn from the inconvenience of disappointing hopes and expectations which have once been raised, be worth anything, would they not consider the hopes and expectations of the town of Wallingford, which, in the printed Bill, was excluded from the number of the thirty which were to be partially disfranchised? But, by one of those legerdemain operations they had seen in the course of these proceedings, Totness, which stood 86 in the list, and was to have been disfranchised, now stood 87, and escaped disfranchisement; whereas Wallingford, which was to have escaped, found itself, at the command, "quick, *presto, pass*," in the fatal list. What was the difference between these two towns, that they should make so great a change with respect to them. He entreated hon. Gentlemen who were about to vote for the insertion of the number of thirty in this clause, to consider whether they could, in their conscience, even in the confined view of the question he thus brought before them, vote for more than twenty-nine, when his Majesty's Ministers themselves were so doubtful upon the point, that they had changed their minds upon it once or twice, or oftener, already. Look at the relative value of these places; Totness contained 502 houses, and paid 1,058*l.* to the assessed taxes, which, added together, gave 1,560 as the aggregate value of Totness. Wallingford contained 489 houses, and paid 1,073*l.* to the assessed taxes, and the aggregate of those two sums, which Ministers said was to decide the question, was 1,562, so that Wallingford was in its right place in the Bill, and in a wrong place in the new list, if considered only relatively to Totness. The hon. Gentlemen opposite said, indeed, that by Lieutenant Drummond's calculation, Wallingford was made inferior to Totness; but that was the very reason why he complained of those calculations; for it was made so by the influence of another part of the list—by a third element being brought into the calculation, with which those two boroughs had nothing to do. No impartial person could say, he thought, that Wallingford ought to be one of the thirty; for if a microscopic eye could discover any difference between it and Totness, it was in favour of Wallingford, and Ministers told them that Totness ought to be saved; so that here, at the very outset, they had not only reason, but the admission of Ministers, to prove that the number of thirty was practically erroneous.

The Committee divided on the original Motion. Ayes 210; Noes 112—Majority 98.

List of the AYES.

ENGLAND.

ALTHORP, viscount	*Northamptonshire*
ASTLEY, sir J. Dugdale, bt.	*Wiltshire*
ATHERLEY, Arthur	*Southampton*
BAILLIE, John Evan	*Bristol*
BARING, sir T. B., bt.	*Wycombe*
BARING, F. T.	*Portsmouth*
BARNET, Charles J.	*Maidstone*
BAYNTUN, S. A.	*York*
BENETT, John	*Wiltshire*
BLAKE, sir Francis, bt.	*Berwick*
BLAMIRE, William	*Cumberland*
BLUNT, sir R. Charles, bt.	*Lewes*
BOUVERIE, hon. D. P.	*Downton*
BRISCOE, John I.	*Surrey*
BROUGHAM, William	*Southwark*
BUXTON, Thos. Fowell	*Weymouth*
BYNG, George	*Middlesex*

Calcraft, Granby H.	*Wareham*
Calvert, C.	*Southwark*
Calvert, Nicolson	*Hertfordshire*
Carter, J. B.	*Portsmouth*
Cavendish, lord	*Derbyshire*
Clive, Edward B	*Hereford*
Cockerell, sir C., bt.	*Evesham*
Colborne, Nich. W. R.	*Horsham*
Cradock, Sheldon	*Camelford*
Crampton, P. C.	*Milborne Port*
Creevey, Thomas	*Downton*
Currie, John	*Hertford*
Curteis, Herbert B.	*Sussex*
Denman, sir Thomas	*Nottingham*
Dundas, hon. Thomas	*York*
Dundas, sir R. L., bt.	*Richmond*
Dundas, hon. John C.	*Richmond*
Ellice, Edward	*Coventry*
Ellis, Wynn	*Leicester*
Etwall, Ralph	*Andover*
Evans, de Lacy	*Rye*
Evans, William B.	*Leominster*
Evans, William	*Leicester*
Ewart, W.	*Liverpool*
Fazakerley, J. N.	*Peterborough*
Ferguson, sir R. C. bt.	*Nottingham*
Foley, John H. H.	*Droitwich*
Folkes, sir W. J. H. B., bt.	*Norfolk*
Fordwich, lord	*Canterbury*
Foster, James	*Bridgenorth*
Godson, Richard	*St. Alban's*
Gordon, Robert	*Cricklade*
Graham, rt. hon. sir J. R. G.	*Cumberland*
Grant, rt. hon. Robert	*Norwich*
Guise, sir B. W. bt.	*Gloucestershire*
Gurney, Richard H.	*Norwich*
Hawkins, J. H.	*Tavistock*
Heathcote, sir G., bt.	*Rutlandshire*
Heneage, George F.	*Lincoln*
Heywood, Benjamin	*Lancashire*
Hodges, Thomas L.	*Kent*
Hodgson, John	*Newcastle-upon-Tyne*
Horne, sir W.	*Newtown*
Hoskins, Kedgwin	*Herefordshire*
Howick, viscount	*Northumberland*
Hudson, Thomas	*Evesham*
Hughes, J.	*Grantham*
Hughes, William H.	*Oxford*
Hume, Joseph	*Middlesex*
Ingilby, sir W. A., bt.	*Lincolnshire*
Johnstone, sir J. V. B.	*Yorkshire*
Jerningham, hon. Hen. V.	*Pontefract*
Kemp, Thos. Read	*Lewes*
Knight, Henry G.	*Malton*
Knight, Robert	*Wallingford*
Labouchere, Henry	*Taunton*
Langston, James H.	*Oxford*
Lee, John L.	*Wells*
Leigh, T. C.	*Wallingford*
Lefevre, Charles S.	*Hampshire*
Lemon, sir Charles	*Cornwall*
Lennox, lord William P.	*King's Lynn*
Littleton, Edward John	*Staffordshire*
Loch, John	*Hythe*
Lopez, sir R. F., bt.	*Westbury*
Lumley, John S.	*Nottinghamshire*
Maberly, W. L.	*Shaftesbury*
Macdonald, sir James, bt.	*Hampshire*
Mackintosh, sir J.	*Knaresborough*
Mangles, James	*Guildford*
Marjoribanks, Stewart	*Hythe*
Marryatt, Joseph	*Sandwich*
Marshall, William	*Beverley*
Mayhew, W.	*Colchester*
Milbank, Mark	*Camelford*
Mildmay, Paulet St. John	*Winchester*
Mills, J.	*Rochester*
Milton, lord	*Northamptonshire*
Morpeth, viscount	*Yorkshire*
Morrison, James	*Ipswich*
Newark, viscount	*Bassetlaw*
Nowell, Alexander	*Westmoreland*
Nugent, lord	*Aylesbury*
Ord, William	*Morpeth*
Paget, Thomas	*Leicestershire*
Palmer, general	*Bath*
Palmer, C. F.	*Reading*
Palmerston, visct.	*Bletchingly*
Paine, sir Peter, bt.	*Bedfordshire*
Pelham, hon. C. A. W.	*Lincolnshire*
Pendarvis, Edw. W. W.	*Cornwall*
Penleaze, John S.	*Southampton*
Penrhyn, Edward	*Shaftesbury*
Pepys, C. C.	*Malton*
Phillipps, sir R. B., bt.	*Haverfordwest*
Phillips, Charles M.	*Leicestershire*
Poyntz, W. S.	*Ashburton*
Price, sir Robert, bt.	*Herefordshire*
Ramsbottom, John	*Windsor*
Ramsden, John Charles	*Yorkshire*
Rickford, William	*Aylesbury*
Rider, Thomas	*Kent*
Robinson, sir George, bt.	*Northampton*
Robinson, George R.	*Worcester*
Rooper, John B.	*Huntingdonshire*
Russell, lord John	*Devonshire*
Russell, Charles	*Reading*
Sanford, E. A.	*Somersetshire*
Scott, sir Edward D.	*Lichfield*
Sebright, sir J. S., bt.	*Hertfordshire*
Skipwith, sir Gray	*Warwickshire*
Smith, John Abel	*Chichester*
Smith, Vernon	*Northampton*
Smith, George R.	*Midhurst*
Spence, G.	*Ripon*
Spencer, hon. F.	*Worcestershire*
Stanley, J.	*Hindon*
Stanley, hon. Edw. G. S.	*Windsor*

Stephenson, H. F.	*Westbury*
Strickland, George	*Yorkshire*
Strutt, Edward	*Derby*
Stuart, ld. Pat. J. H. C.	*Cardiff*
Stuart, lord Dudley C.	*Arundel*
Tennyson, C.	*Stamford*
Thicknesse, Ralph	*Wigan*
Thompson, William	*London*
Thomson, rt. hon. Charles P.	*Dover*
Torrens, Robert	*Ashburton*
Townley, R. G.	*Cambridgeshire*
Troubridge, sir E. bt.	*Sandwich*
Tufton, hon. H.	*Appleby*
Tynte, Chas. K. K.	*Bridgewater*
Tyrell, Charles	*Suffolk*
Venables, William	*London*
Vere, Jas. J. Hope	*Newport, I. of W.*
Vernon, hon. George J.	*Derbyshire*
Villiers, T. H.	*Bletchingly*
Villiers, Frederick	*Saltash*
Vincent, sir Francis, bt.	*St. Alban's*
Waithman, Robert	*London*
Walrond, Bethel	*Saltash*
Warburton, Henry	*Bridport*
Wellesley, hon. Will. P. T. L.	*Essex*
Western, C. C.	*Essex*
Wilbraham, George	*Cheshire*
Wilde, Mr. Serjeant	*Newark*
Wilks, John	*Boston*
Williams, William A.	*Monmouthshire*
Williams, sir Jas. bt.	*Carmarthenshire*
Williams, John	*Winchelsea*
Wood, Matthew	*London*
Wood, Charles	*Wareham*
Wrottesley, sir J., bt.	*Staffordshire*

SCOTLAND.

Adam, admiral	*Kinross, &c.*
Dixon, Joseph	*Glasgow*
Fergusson, R. C.	*Kirkcudbright*
Gillon, William D.	*Selkirk, &c.*
Grant, rt. hon. C.	*Inverness-shire*
Jeffrey, rt. hon. F.	*Perth, &c.*
Johnston, James	*Inverkeithing*
Kennedy, Thomas Francis	*Rothsay, &c.*
Loch, J.	*Tain, &c.*
M'Leod, R.	*Sutherlandshire*
Mackenzie, J. A. S.	*Ross-shire*
Sinclair, George	*Caithness-shire*
Stewart, Edward	*Wigton*

IRELAND.

Blackney, Walter	*Carlowshire*
Boyle, hon. John	*Cork*
Brown, J. D.	*Mayo*
Browne, Dominick	*Mayo*
Brownlow, Charles	*Armaghshire*
Burke, sir John, bt.	*Galwayshire*
Callaghan, Daniel	*Cork*
Carew, R. S.	*Wexfordshire*
Chapman, Montague L.	*Westmeath*
Clifford, sir A.	*Bandon Bridge*
Copeland, Alderman	*Coleraine*
Doyle, sir J. M.	*Carlowshire*
French, Arthur	*Roscommonshire*
Grattan, James	*Wicklowshire*
Jephson, C. D. O.	*Mallow*
King, hon. Robert	*Corkshire*
Lambert James S.	*Galwayshire*
Leader, Nicholas P.	*Kilkenny*
Mullins, Frederick W.	*Kerry*
O'Connell, Daniel	*Kerry*
O'Connell, Maurice D.	*Clare*
O'Connor, Don	*Roscommonshire*
O'Neil, hon. J. Rd. B.	*Antrimshire*
Parnell, sir H. B., bt.	*Queen's County*
Ponsonby, hon. George	*Youghall*
Power, Robert	*Waterfordshire*
Russell, John	*Kinsale*
Ruthven, Edward S.	*Downpatrick*
Sheil, R. L.	*Louthshire*
Walker, Charles A.	*Wexford*
Wallace, T.	*Drogheda*
Westenra, hon. H. R.	*Monaghansh.*
White, Samuel	*Leitrimshire*

TELLER.

Rice, rt. hon. T. S.	*Limerick*

The question was then put, that each of the boroughs enumerated in the schedule should return one Member.

Mr. *Dominick Browne* said, that he did not think it expedient that Irish Members should interfere with the number of Members to be chosen for England, and he, therefore, did not propose to offer any opposition to the English Bill; but he would take an opportunity of moving, hereafter, that a certain number of Members be fixed upon to represent the kingdom of Ireland, in proportion to the numbers which were allotted to England, and he was persuaded the Scotch Members would make common cause with the Members for Ireland.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* had noticed a discrepancy which appeared between the returns made by the Parliamentary Commission with respect to the number of houses in Tavistock, which he required to have explained. It was set down in their returns as containing 600 houses, while the returning officer gave 619. It behoved the noble Lord to give some explanation why the returning officer's report was, in this case, considered right, while, in other cases, the Commissioners' return was taken.

Lord *John Russell* said, that he would immediately give the explanation required by the hon. Baronet. With respect to Tavistock, in the first instance, the returning officer had given the number of houses at 696; and the Parliamentary Commissioners gave the number about seventy less. They stated in their return that the borough contained 600 houses; but that, beyond the borough, there were twenty-six houses—making a total of 626. This caused a further inquiry to be made, and the Surveyor of the Ordnance was sent down for that purpose and he fixed the number of houses at 623, which was the number actually given in the last reports.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* had reason to complain of the inconsistencies of Ministers, who in some places preferred the returns of the Parliamentary Commissioners, and in others those of the returning officers. Now there was often a considerable difference existing between the two, as, for instance, in the case of Ashburton, where one set of papers stated the numbers of the houses to be 446, while another stated them at 549; in Westbury 536 were reported by the Commissioners, while the returning officer gave 588; and in Wilton 406 by the former, and 363 in the latter; and in the case of Tavistock, there was appended a little note, which increased the number of 600, as made by the Commissioners, to the number of 623, as stated by the noble Lord. The differences here might not appear very important, but they were sufficient to show that the returns were not correct, and thus to make every one feel that he was about to act upon insufficient information. It might be true that a careful comparison of all the different papers, and of the different parts of them, would enable a Member to correct the inaccuracies; but then it was too much to expect, that every Member should thus go through every return with a view to satisfy himself of its accuracy. He protested against this loose manner of conducting the business of disfranchisement.

Lord *John Russell* said, he must again admit, that there had been a difference between the returns of the Parliamentary Commissioner and of the returning officer, with regard to the number of houses in the borough of Tavistock. The returning officer stated them at 696, the Parliamentary Commissioner returned them at 626—there being a difference of seventy between them. The return of the Parliamentary Commissioner stated the number of houses in the borough itself to be 600, and in the suburb immediately adjoining, twenty-six. He had observed the difference, and a strict inquiry had accordingly been made, and the result of that inquiry was, the return, reporting them at 623. He could not, under these circumstances, conceive how he could be accused of favouring inconsistencies in the returns, when he had taken the utmost pains to set them right.

Mr. *John A. Smith* noticed by the report, that the number of houses in the borough was 600 in the town, out of the limits of the borough twenty-six, from which three warehouses must be deducted; the actual number of houses, therefore, was 623, a number which made its relative position No. 95 in the list.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* thought the noble Lord had only made out his case of complaint, for he had complained that there were differences between the returns of the Parliamentary Commissioner and of the returning officer, and the noble Lord had proved the correctness of the statement. In the instance of Tavistock, the returning officer's return was taken, while in the instance of several others, that of the Parliamentary Commissioners was adopted on the scale of the paper called the Relative Returns.

Lord *John Russell* understood the accusation of the hon. Baronet, but he could again assure the Committee, that the hon. Baronet was incorrect. He had directed an inquiry because of the complaint made as to the difference between the returns of the returning officer and of the Parliamentary Commissioner, and the result was such as he had stated. He had certainly, therefore, done all that he could to remove the ground of complaint arising upon the inconsistency of these two sets of returns.

Mr. *Croker* said, he believed he could explain the apparent difference between the noble Lord and his hon. friend. They were considering two different papers, and when his hon. friend made his statement, he had not read the paper marked No. 8, containing the amended list, correcting some of the admitted errors of the original list, but leaving the great error of the principle on which it was formed still the same.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, Ministers had acted in a most precipitate and unjustifiable manner. The House was called upon to disfranchise boroughs upon the most contradictory returns, before they had time to understand or disentangle the obscurities in which they were enveloped.

He had no doubt there were many places in both the schedules which would necessarily give rise to much discussion.

The question carried, and the clause ordered to stand part of the Bill.

The 3rd Clause was then read, which enacts "That each of the places in schedule C should, for the purpose of this Act, be a borough, and should as such borough include the place or places respectively comprehended within the boundaries, to be settled and described by an Act to be passed in the present Parliament for that purpose, and that each of the said boroughs, named in the said schedule, should, from and after the return of the present Parliament, return two Members."

Lord *John Russell* proposed, that as no place in schedule C had been yet the subject of discussion, the Committee should proceed to the discussion of the adoption of the next clause, as part of the Bill, and of the schedule D as part of it, and when the number of places had been agreed to, they could read the schedule as part of the clause. Such was the course adopted in the last Parliament.

Mr. *Croker* hoped that the noble Lord would not persist in this arrangement, for it would take the House completely by surprise, by adopting in schedules C and D a course different from that which had been pursued in schedules A and B.

Lord *John Russell* was unwilling to put the right hon. Gentleman to inconvenience in that way, but he thought the course he had recommended was the most adviseable.

Mr. *Croker* said, as there was to be a Bill to ascertain the boundaries of the newly-created boroughs, as well as of the old ones, and as, indeed, the number and respectability of the new constituency, and consequently, the right of the borough to enjoy the representative franchise, would, in both cases, be determined by the limits to be assigned to them, it followed that they could not proceed to examine the individual claims, either of the new or the old boroughs, till they had some information as to their local composition and extent.

Lord *John Russell* said, it was intended that the new boroughs should be included in the Bill.

Mr. *Croker* had no doubt that it was so intended; but he thought it should be speedily introduced, for if it were not, every step they took might be taken in error. If there was, as was admitted, a necessity for this Boundary Bill with respect to the schedules A and B, it was certainly equally necessary with respect to the schedules C and D.

Lord *Althorp* said, the boundaries of all boroughs would be settled by the bill which it was proposed to bring in.

Mr. *Goulburn* observed, that the clause referred to contained a provision that the boundaries of the new boroughs should be settled by Act of Parliament; and that, in like manner, the boundaries of the old boroughs should be so settled. Now he thought that these bills ought to be introduced at once, for it was impossible for them to come to a good decision upon any one of the boroughs that might be submitted to their consideration, till they knew how those boroughs were to be constituted, and what were to be their limits. Upon their knowledge of the intended limits of these boroughs must depend their opinion of the propriety of preserving or destroying their right of voting. Looking upon the Boundary Bills to be most important, he wished to know when they were to be introduced?

Lord *Althorp* said, that the arrangements for these Bills were in a great state of forwardness, and that they would be produced at the earliest possible period.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* thought that the Boundary Bill and the Reform Bill ought to go hand in hand together, as he had no doubt discussions would constantly take place as to whether the boundaries proposed by the Bill were proper or not.

Lord *Althorp* said, the Bills would be brought forward before the schedules were discussed.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, it was utterly impossible that he could decide on the fitness of some places to be constituted boroughs, and of the necessity of disfranchising others, until the boundaries of each were specified by legislative enactment; he, therefore, begged to give notice, that unless these boundaries were fully stated, in such a manner that he could understand them, he should object to decide upon the case of any one borough.

Mr. *Croker* begged to call the attention of the noble Lord to an apparent inconsistency, with regard to the borough of Calne, in the returns. It was stated, that in the month of March last, a census had been taken of the population of that borough, which then amounted to 997, but the returns now gave a much greater number of persons as living in that place; he, therefore, wished to learn the date of the last return, and the cause of the difference?

Lord *John Russell* replied, that a specific census had been taken of the population of Calne, and on that the returns were made on which they had acted.

Mr. *Croker* said, this explanation was not quite satisfactory; for it appeared the number of inhabitants had become larger as the limits of the place were contracted. It was quite clear, that there had been some management as to these returns from Calne, and the noble Lord's failure to give anything like an explanation, rendered the case still more suspicious.

Lord *Newark* took the present opportunity of troubling the Committee with a very few words in support of the proposition which, as no one else had given notice of any similar motion, he should feel it his duty to submit to the Committee; and he would say at once, that nothing but the strong conviction of its expediency on several grounds, in preference to the arrangement of the schedules as now proposed, could have induced him to be the person to bring it forward—aware as he was, that its success might be endangered by his want of ability in recommending it to the notice of the Committee, as well as by the little weight which so young a Member as himself could hope to bring to its support. He thought that the object of his proposed alteration was sufficiently apparent upon the very face of it—it was, to get rid altogether of schedule D, without interfering with the adjustment, in point of numbers, of the sixty-three new borough Members, with the sixty-three new county Members, as proposed by his Majesty's Government. The Committee would recollect, that when the principle of schedule D was so ably attacked by the noble Lord, the member for Northamptonshire, who moved in the Committee, in August last, that the twenty-six boroughs then in schedule D should return two Members each, one principal ground of resistance to that noble Lord's motion which was urged, was, that it went to destroy the balance, and that it would be a sort of breach of faith to the agriculturists, if, for the sake of getting rid of schedule D, they were to have added twenty-six Members to the commercial towns. But, if his memory served him, it was at the same time admitted by most of the speakers, and on almost all hands, that schedule D was faulty in principle, though the mode then imposed did not appear to the House to be the best way of getting rid of it. It was the recollection of what passed then which had induced him to guard his proposition against any similar objection. He did not propose to destroy the balance as now adjusted, or in any way to affect the balance or the numbers; except that as sixty-three happened to be an odd number, that would make a difference of one in the numbers he proposed to create by his schedule C, as compared with the present schedules C and D; and that one, he thought, if it were given to the West Riding of Yorkshire, would not derange the balance much, by being taken out of the schedule of boroughs. His proposition then rested upon the inexpediency of first creating a schedule D; and that inexpediency his Majesty's Ministers, it appeared to him, had tacitly acknowledged, if not openly proclaimed, in the course which they had taken as to these very schedules. For, by the former plan of these schedules, C and D contained together fifty-three Members, out of which actually a majority was given to schedule D; whereas now, out of the sixty-three, less than one-third were left in that schedule. In short, it appeared that having ten more Members to give to the towns, they had preferred that schedule C should have nine of them, rather than add ten more places to schedule D, at one Member a-piece. So that he thought it looked very much as if they had no great fancy, upon the whole, for these Cyclopean boroughs in schedule D. Now, his objection to the principle of a schedule D was twofold; first, as to the places themselves, because he thought it was furnishing the majority in those populous towns with the power of utterly extinguishing and overpowering the wishes and opinions of the minority; and because he thought nothing so likely to provoke violent contests; and it ought not to be overlooked that, in many of these places, that majority would probably be of the lower, rather than the higher order of voters. And next, as to the general effect upon the country; he could imagine no means more conducive than the creation of this schedule D, to a succession of interminable claims on the part of many other places, now treading close upon the heels of the smaller places in the schedules, and which must infallibly and irresistibly urge those claims if they see the principle of one Member acted upon: and he would ask, what should we be then prepared to meet them with, or how should we make room for them, but by re-opening the question of disfranchisement? How should we resist Bradford, in Wiltshire, and Trowbridge, and Doncaster (all above

10,000), and Leek, in Staffordshire, and Mansfield, in Nottinghamshire, and Congleton, in Cheshire, with little short of 10,000 each, unless we drew some definite line, and did away with this plan of one Member? These were some of the grounds upon which he objected to a schedule D, and it now only remained for him to say a few words with respect to the manner in which he had ventured to propose to get rid of it. Of course there were three ways of doing this; he might have proposed to merge the whole of D in C, but that would have required an addition of disfranchisement, for the two together would have required eighty-two Members instead of sixty-three; or he might have proposed to omit the enfranchisement of any of the places now in schedule D; but this would have destroyed anything like a balance between the new county and new borough Members, as the former would then have been sixty-three, and the latter only forty-four. There remained the third course, which was, to adhere to the numbers as now proposed; but to say to the towns, "We will give to the thirty-one most considerable among you, each its two Members, and whichever of you can prove yourselves so entitled shall be enfranchised accordingly." This, therefore, was the course which he ventured to propose. He was not prepared at the present moment to say which were the places which would probably fail in making out their claim, but the test of houses and assessed taxes being once applied would leave no doubt or difficulty in determining that point. In urging these considerations, he had no desire to see impaired the great and substantial boon which this Bill offered to the people. It must be unnecessary for him to state, that he brought forward this proposition from no feeling of hostility towards the Government or their measure. At the same time, it was equally unnecessary for him to say, that their only title to his humble support must rest upon the merits of their measures. He trusted that his conduct as an unpledged Member of Parliament, through the Committee on the late Bill, would have sufficiently proved that he was not one of those who were liberal merely from compulsion, or whose patriotism was merely to be measured by the extent of their pledges. In bringing forward this alteration, his only desire was, that that settlement to which their efforts had been so earnestly and long directed, should be as satisfactory and as nearly final as possible.

Mr. *Croker* concurred in the general opinion of the noble Lord. Representation by *two* Members was, for a great variety of reasons, preferable to that by *one*. And though, in the mode the Ministers had chosen to proceed, he did not see how they could effect double Representation every where, yet still he thought that it might be properly introduced in the cases proposed by the noble Lord.

Lord *Althorp* said, the noble Lord had very correctly observed, that in the last Session many Gentlemen had expressed objections to the mode of enfranchising towns which was proposed to be adopted. The noble Lord was also correct in observing, that Ministers had considered these objections as having some weight, for they had, in part, acted upon them in selecting some places which were then in schedule B, to be saved from partial disfranchisement by the present Bill. He differed, therefore, from the noble Lord, rather in degree than in principle. The proposition made by the noble Lord, he did not consider as opposed to the principle of the Bill, but upon the best consideration he could give the question, he was inclined to prefer the mode in which the Bill was at present shaped, to that recommended by the noble Lord, and he must, therefore, resist his proposal.

Consideration of the schedule postponed.

The Chairman then put clause 4th, which enacts that each of the places named in schedule D shall be a borough, and return one Member to Parliament.

Agreed to.

The Chairman then put the question on clause 5th as follows:—" And be it enacted, that the borough of New Shoreham shall, for the purposes of this Act, include the whole of the Rape of Bramber, in the county of Sussex, save and except such parts of the said rape as shall be included in the borough of Horsham, by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament; and that the borough of Cricklade shall, for the purposes of this Act, include the hundreds and divisions of Highworth, Cricklade, Staple, Kingsbridge, and Malmesbury, in the county of Wilts, save and except such parts of the said hundred of Malmesbury as shall be included in the borough of Malmesbury by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament; and that the borough of Aylesbury shall, for the purposes of this Act, include the three hundreds of Aylesbury, in the county of Buckingham; and that the borough of

East Retford shall, for the purposes of this Act, include the hundred of Bassetlaw, in the county of Nottingham, and all places locally situate within the outside boundary or limit of the hundred of Bassetlaw, or surrounded by such boundary, and by any part of the county of York, or county of Lincoln."

Mr. *Croker* said, he objected to the maintenance of these anomalous boroughs of Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and Bassetlaw. He could not understand why places which, if they stood alone, did not deserve to be placed even in schedule B, were, by having been heretofore disfranchised for corruption, to preserve the right of sending two Members. He thought it would have been much better to deal with these places according to the importance of the towns, and not by preserving the districts which had been created by the former disfranchising acts; but he would not divide the Committee on the subject—he only desired to record his opposition to the principle.

Mr. *Goulburn* observed, that this clause proceeded upon a principle for which he and his right hon. friend had, in a former stage of the discussion, contended—namely, that the boundaries of the boroughs should be stated in this Bill, instead of leaving them to be defined by another Act.

Clause agreed to.

The Chairman next put the question on the clause which enacts, that the towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis shall be deemed and taken to be one borough; that the towns of Penryn and Falmouth shall be deemed and taken to be one borough; that the towns of Sandwich and Deal shall be deemed and taken to be one borough, and that each borough thus formed shall return two Members to Parliament.

Mr. *Freshfield* objected to the union of the two towns of Penryn and Falmouth, which he believed would be productive of nothing but disgust, confusion, and disorder. There had always existed a considerable degree of jealousy between these places. The boys belonging to them were accustomed to fight battles with each other, and no Penryn man was ever known to marry a Falmouth woman, and *vice versa.* The towns were rivals in trade, and had no one common interest between them. If they should be united, every election would be attended with contests which would disturb the public peace. If Ministers thought that Falmouth ought to return a Member, they might place it in schedulde D. Under these circumstances, he would move as an Amendment, that all that part of the clause which related to Penryn and Falmouth be omitted.

Lord *John Russell* said, that all the information which Government had received showed the propriety of uniting the two places.

Mr. *Goulburn* complained, that Ministers kept all their information to themselves, and gave none of it to the House. That which they had received might be satisfactory to them, but all the House had heard was quite the contrary. The local condition and circumstances of the two towns, made a union between them appear to be most unadviseable, if the reports of Gentlemen connected with their localities and situation could be relied on.

Mr. *Croker* begged to ask the noble Lord, if he had any objection to lay the information Ministers had received with respect to this particular case on the Table of the House?

Lord *John Russell* said, he saw no necessity for doing so; the question was decided during the last Session of Parliament without any such information.

Mr. *Croker:* That question was decided under different circumstances; population was then made the basis of Representation, but by the application of the present rule, one of these towns might alone be entitled to return two Members.

Lord *John Russell* said, he assured the right hon. Gentleman, that he had no desire to prevent the House having the same information as they had received during the last Session.

The Amendment negatived.

Mr. *Freshfield* said, he had another objection to the wording of the clause; as it at present stood, it included only the "towns" of Penryn and Falmouth, but the limits of the borough of the former place extended beyond the town. If these words were not altered, all those electors who at present lived in that part of the borough would be disfranchised: he therefore proposed to introduce the words "borough and town" as applicable to both places.

Lord *John Russell* had no objection to the Amendment, which was agreed to.

On the question being put, that the towns of Sandwich and Deal be considered, for the purposes of this Act, as one borough,

Mr. *Goulburn* said, this union would be very objectionable, as it would deprive the former place of any share in the Representation, particularly if the towns of both

Upper and Lower Deal were to be included. He, therefore, begged leave to ask the noble Lord if that was to be the case?

Lord *John Russell:* It was; both the towns of Upper and Lower Deal were to be included within the boundaries of the borough.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, that remark of the noble Lord furnished the strongest argument he had yet heard of the necessity of having the Boundary Act before them.

An *Hon. Member* said, the inhabitants of all those places deprecated the union.

Mr. *Croker* begged to call the attention of the House to the proposition he was about to make. It would be in the recollection of the House, that he had last year objected to the uniting of boroughs; but now, when he found that it was proposed to extend the boundaries of several places by the addition of suburbs, and even distant places, he thought it his duty, on the principles thus adopted by Ministers, to propose a union of two other sets of boroughs, much nearer to, and more closely connected with each other, than Falmouth and Penryn, which they had just voted, or than a dozen places which were united by schedules C and D. The House must bear in mind that Aldborough, in Yorkshire, was taken out of schedule A last year, by the addition of a neighbouring parish, which made up the necessary amount of population which entitled it to retain its franchise. Now, that parish contained the borough of Boroughbridge, which lay within a few furlongs of Aldborough, and which he thought ought, according to the principle adopted in this Bill, to be added to it. He should not have the slightest hesitation in proposing to take the sense of the House on this reasonable proposition, did he not find, that these boroughs, thus united, would only stand fifty-sixth in the list; and, therefore, observing the rule he had always prescribed to himself, of not troubling the Committee when the principle of the Bill was not departed from, he would not press the noble Lord on this point, unless, on further inquiry and calculation, he found that Aldborough and Boroughbridge united would stand fifty-seventh or fifty-eighth in the list, in which case he should move, on the Report, their insertion under those numbers in schedule B. The other boroughs the union of which he proposed, were Aldeburgh and Orford, in Suffolk—these towns were situated on the same river, or rather within the same harbour. They were considered as one port; they were distant from each other only three miles, and had a complete identity of interests, and lay in a district which would not have another borough within thirty miles of it. They were not liable to the objection made in the former case, for their united numbers would carry them high into schedule B; and he almost flattered himself that, under such circumstances, the proposition would not be opposed by the noble Lords, it being according to the principle they had adopted, in the case of all the boroughs, old and new, which had had suburbs, districts, and even distant towns added to them. He wished, on the present occasion, only to call the attention of the noble Lord to these two towns, which were nearer to each other than Deal was to Sandwich, and quite as contiguous as Falmouth and Penryn, and which had this additional claim, that they were both of them now in possession of the franchise, a claim of existing right which neither Falmouth nor Deal had; he, therefore, hoped his proposition would be acceded to, and that these two places might be united together, and be placed in schedule B.

Lord *John Russell* said, the two boroughs mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman were both inconsiderable places, and had no pretensions to the distinction to return a Member under an improved system of Representation.

Mr. *Croker* said, that the noble Lord was mistaken. Aldeburgh alone stood forty-ninth on the noble Lord's own list, and the two towns, taken together, had the number of houses, and paid a sufficient amount of taxes amply to deserve one Member.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* concurred with the right hon. Gentleman, and thought it would be a good principle to unite boroughs in order to enable them to retain their Representatives. The towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis furnished an example of union which ought to be followed out. He would hereafter refer to the subject.

Mr. *Croker* would not take the sense of the Committee at present, but would renew his proposition on some future occasion.

Clause 6th was then ordered to stand part of the Bill.

The 7th clause was then read—" And be it enacted, that every city and borough in England which now returns a Member or Members to serve in Parliament (except the several cities and boroughs enumerated in the said schedule A, and the several boroughs of New Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and East Retford) shall, for the purposes of this Act, include the place or places respectively which shall be comprehended within the boundaries of such city or borough, as such boundaries shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament; which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith; and that every such city or borough shall, together with the place or places respectively so to be comprehended therein as aforesaid, be a city or borough for the purpose of returning a Member or Members to serve in all future Parliaments.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* said, when the first Reform Bill was brought under the consideration of the House, Ministers proposed to take upon themselves the responsibility of appointing the Commissioners, who were to determine the boundaries of the respective boroughs; but this intention was abandoned, and it was settled they were to be appointed by the Act itself. These Commissioners accordingly, on the Bill passing that House, proceeded upon their duties, and the result of their labours was now to be brought before them. He therefore wished their divisions, additions, and distinctions to be clearly understood, that the House might not proceed without that due deliberation which the importance of the question fully deserved. He therefore should propose that their report should be referred to a select Committee, to be chosen by ballot, which Committee should have the power to call for evidence and records, to enable them to arrive at an equitable conclusion with respect to the boundaries of the respective boroughs which would be submitted to them. At the same time he must say, that the returns now before the House went into the very minutiæ of the cases of certain boroughs.

Lord *Althorp* said, in the course of the discussion that had taken place, it had been repeatedly urged, that it was necessary to have every particular species of information clearly defined; with that view it was, that in a certain number of boroughs the names of the owners of houses, their situation, and the extent of the jurisdiction of the borough itself, were particularly described.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, no definite instructions appeared to have been given to the Commissioners, relating to the boundaries of boroughs; local knowledge of the various places detected many errors in the returns. As far as he was concerned, he should apply this rule to Tamworth, and he, therefore, begged leave to ask, was it intended to include the whole of that town within the limits of the borough, and for what portion of it were the assessed taxes calculated?

Lord *John Russell* said, the document on the Table proceeded from the returning officer of Tamworth. It certainly did him no credit, for it appeared so inaccurate on the face of it, that another return had been required, and he believed the latter would be found correct.

Sir *Robert Peel*: Then, according to the noble Lord's own showing, Government had been at the expense of printing returns which they knew to be inaccurate. What object could they have in view, and how could any person say it was a document prepared by the returning officer, when even his name was not signed to it?

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, these returns had already run to the length of eight or ten folio volumes, without containing correct information. If nobody else did, he, therefore, would move to suspend the clause till the information laid on the Table was accessible in a convenient form, and tolerably accurate.

Lord *John Russell* said, the hon. and learned Gentleman, who had last Session censured the Government for intrusting the settlement of boroughs to persons without adequate information, now turned round and found fault with the Government for laying too much information on the Table. The Ministers thought it right to lay every species of information, as it was sent to them, on the Table of the House.

Mr. *Croker* said, the inaccurate return, according to the noble Lord, was made by the returning officer, who was the officer of the Government; but it seemed that the return made by the Town Clerk, who was the officer of the borough, was correct.

Mr. *James L. Knight* said, a complaint made against the last Bill was, that it suspended the prerogative of the Crown; but this clause did that very thing. It provided "that the boundaries of cities and boroughs shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament, which Act, when passed, shall be taken to be part of this Act." He should, therefore, give notice, that this Bill should not take effect till the Bill providing a constituency and boundaries of boroughs should be passed into a law. He would make such a motion at the end of the clause.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, Ministers appeared determined to decide the question first, and give the necessary information afterwards.

Mr. *Wilks* said, he must protest against an opposition to this clause being imputed to disinclination to Reform. Reform he was determined to advocate; but the provision contained in this clause he would steadily resist. This provision, in all its new and dangerous universality, had no necessary connexion with any of the principles of the Bill. Neither the excision of all nomination or corrupt boroughs, nor the enfranchisement intended by the Bill, required the extraordinary powers and proceedings which this clause would confer and promote. The House probably had not attended to the comprehensive nature of the measure this section propounded—otherwise they would perceive, that there was no Member who might not be affected by its operation, or whose constituents it might not injure, alarm, or excite. Had the clause only declared that the boundaries of all new boroughs intended to be created by the Bill, or the boroughs included in its schedules, should be subject to such arrangements as the Commissioners might suggest, as the Government might approve, and as Parliament, by a Boundary Bill, might enact, so far these arrangements would have been considered as expedient, and been deemed connected with the cause of Reform. But when the clause ventured to enact that every city and borough in England should be subjected to intermeddling and change, and, though otherwise unaffected by the Bill, might be visited by these Commissioners, and be liable to such additions, or subtractions, or change, as they thought proper to advise, it presented a needless and dangerous innovation against which the precautionary voice should be raised, and which should be steadily and sternly opposed. As though there were not already sufficient difficulties in the pathway of Reform, by this provision new trouble and dangers were formed; a new apple of discord was to be cast into every hamlet of the country, and new sparks were to be struck to enkindle strife and conflagration, where all hitherto had been tranquillity and content. What had already occurred under an intimation of this provision, made him deprecate the changes thus to be introduced. By this provision, the boundaries of the largest and most populous boroughs might be subject to discussion and change. Their antiquity, their extent, their local distinctness, the number of the independent electors they contained, would afford no protection from the objections and conflicts which the demon spirit of change, urged on by the ambitious, or the interested, or the prejudiced, would obtrude and create. Who did not know that an opportunity would be hereby afforded for those intrigues and attempts which the histories of all boroughs recorded? The owner of contiguous houses might seek to add value to his estate, and acquire power for himself. Some noble or wealthy proprietor of adjoining estates would seek to create a political influence, by additions he might propose, injurious to the freedom of the people, and that independence the House professed to desire. Applications would be invited; discussions would ensue; misrepresentations probably would triumph, as individual interest would be more acute, and clamorous, and persevering, than the general body of a constituency whose rights might be prejudiced and honour assailed. As far, too, as the convenience and character of that House were concerned, he felt there were objections to the clause. By this provision many additional cases might be appended to that Boundary Bill, which would be sufficiently voluminous and perplexing, if confined only to the boroughs which the schedules affected. Hours and days, and weeks and months, would scarce suffice for the investigation of the new and needless subjects that would be forced upon the attention of the House, and from which no adequate advantage, either local or public, could ever result. Under such convictions he should now propose, as an amendment, that the following words be omitted—" Every city and borough in England which now returns a Member or Members to serve in Parliament (except the several cities and boroughs enumerated in the said schedule A, and the several boroughs of New Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and East Retford)"—and that the following words be introduced, " Every borough in England enumerated in the said schedules, B, C and D." That amendment, he trusted, the House would sanction, and even the Government approve; as, while it averted the general interference which he deprecated and condemned, it would provide for all the interference and arrangement which the cause of Reform could require.

Mr. *Robinson* supported the amendment.

If the clause, as proposed, was carried into effect, he was convinced it would lead to results which the Government would deplore. It would disturb the settlement of ancient boroughs, and would be a gratuitous insult upon those places where no causes for complaint had ever arisen.

Mr. *John Campbell* opposed it. He thought the alteration in many places made it necessary to include within the limits of boroughs, the inhabitants who lived outside their ancient walls; generally speaking, the most respectable of the inhabitants of these places lived in the suburbs, and had at present no votes.

Lord *John Russell* said, if the amendment of the hon. Member were agreed to, the boundaries of many a borough would exclude the constituency of the town belonging to it.

Mr. *Croker* had always been of opinion, that those additional parts of certain towns should be added to the boroughs to which they were attached, but the objection now made, and in which he concurred, was, that they were about to subject every borough in England to the operation of the proposed Boundary Bill, and this Boundary Bill was still in embryo, so that, if some additional provisions were not added to the clause, and by any accident the Parliament should be dissolved, the greatest confusion would inevitably ensue.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, there were several places where it would be very desirable to add the other parts of the town to the borough, and he thought the amendment proposed by the hon. Gentleman would confine the operation of the clause within its proper limits. He would take the case of Tamworth, where the castle was built before the Conquest, and the Charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth. He did by no means desire to prevent the inhabitants of all parts of the town from being allowed to vote for Members of Parliament, but he wished the limits of the borough, as settled by ancient records, should be preserved.

Mr. *Wilks* begged to understand whether a formal advantage was to be taken to resist the amendment he had proposed, because he had not interfered when the Chairman was reading the early part of the clause.

Lord *Althorp* said, he considered the hon. Gentleman had allowed the proper time to go by before he had proposed his Amendment.

Mr. *Wilks* begged leave to give notice, that he should propose the Amendment on the bringing up of the Report, as the question was too important to be eluded by a side wind.

Mr. *James L. Knight* proposed an Amendment as an addition to the Clause, to the following effect, "Provided also, that this Act shall not take effect till the Act of Parliament settling the boundaries and constituency of boroughs shall be passed." He had apprehended that the Bill was not to take effect until that point had been accomplished, but the clause as it stood seemed to allow it might be brought into operation before the Boundary Bill passed, by which great inconvenience might arise to the old constituency; he therefore desired its effects should be limited by the provision he had proposed. He believed no substantial objections could be made to the adoption of these words as part of the clause, and, therefore, he now begged leave to move that they be inserted therein.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* considered the Amendment absolutely necessary, and he trusted the noble Lord did not think it was brought forward to create delay and cause vexation. The clause certainly could not be agreed to without some such additional provision as was proposed by his hon. and learned friend.

Lord *Althorp* considered the Amendment unnecessary, inasmuch as the Bill, as it stood at present, contained a clause providing against the contingency which the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite supposed to be possible.

Mr. *Goulburn* thought, with his hon. and learned friend (Mr. Knight), that if a dissolution of Parliament should take place before the passing of the intended Boundary Bill, many boroughs would have no constituency.

Lord *Althorp* said, that he should have no objection to consider the proposition of the hon. and learned Gentleman, if it were brought forward, not as an Amendment, but as a separate clause.

Mr. *Knight* said, that if he understood from the noble Lord that such a clause would be inserted in the Bill, he would not press his Motion.

Lord *Althorp* trusted that he should not be pressed to divide at once on a proposition for which he was wholly unprepared.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, they had better delay the further consideration of the subject, to allow the noble Lord an opportunity of considering the matter maturely. In many boroughs it was a question affecting the rights of property as well as of voting.

Mr. *William Bankes* said, that since it appeared that the noble Lord had met with an unexpected difficulty, which he required time to consider, surely he would not require Gentlemen upon that (the Opposition) side of the House to divide at once in favour of the clause as it at present stood, without having time to consider whether the Amendment now proposed would be equally effectual if proposed as a separate clause.

Mr. *Croker* suggested that the Chairman should report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Agreed to. The House resumed.

VESTRIES' ACT AMENDMENT BILL.] Sir *John Hobhouse* moved the second reading of the Vestries' Act Amendment bill. Its object was to improve the former Bill in certain matters of detail; without such improvement, indeed, the present law would be inoperative. In the late Act it was enacted that it should not be compulsorily adopted in any parish except one half of all the parishioners attended the Vestry and voted for its adoption, but that no parishioner should be at liberty to vote until he had paid up all his arrears of parochial taxes. It was not stated in the Act what were to be deemed parochial taxes, and he immediately thought difficulties would arise on that account, and he, accordingly, had moved for certain returns to elucidate the question; by these returns he understood, that in the parish of St. James's, Westminster, out of 2,850 persons who were rated, only 135 persons would be qualified to vote. In fact, the whole power of the parish was in the hands of those who refused to attend the Vestry, or even to qualify themselves to vote, because the existing law had not specifically defined what were or what were not to be considered parochial taxes. His great object by the proposed Bill, therefore, was, to declare and define exactly the qualification of a voter, and he hoped the House would allow the Bill to go into a Committee to have that question fully discussed. He had one or two further Amendments to propose of a trifling nature, he therefore begged leave to move, that the Bill be read a second time.

Mr. *Mackinnon* said, he had been intrusted with a petition against the Bill, by some of the most respectable land and house holders of Marylebone parish; he had been prevented from presenting that petition at an early period of the evening, by the long discussion which took place on the Irish tithe petition. As the rules of the House prevented him from then presenting it, he would proceed briefly to state his reasons for opposing the second reading of the Bill. The Vestry Bill that passed last Session, enacted that two-thirds of the rate-payers in any parish must give their consent, in order to carry its provisions into operation. This was a fair majority of the parish, and an equitable enactment. But the present Bill upset the whole of that clause, and gave the entire control and choice of the parish to the majority of those who might be assembled at a vestry meeting, on four days' notice being given. Could any provisions of an enactment be more preposterous than this? It was notorious that, in the metropolis, in the months of August and September, most of the upper and middle classes went out of town, and those who did remain commonly at that season of the year, left town on a Saturday and returned on the following Monday. If notice, therefore, of a vestry meeting for this purpose was given on a Friday, the parties most interested, from their wealth and station in life, might be absent on the Saturday, Sunday, and part of Monday; and on Tuesday the meeting would take place, and be attended, perhaps, by ten, or fifteen, or twenty persons, little above the station of those who received parish relief; and a majority of such persons, so assembled, was to be considered as conveying the sense of the parish under this Bill. Again, the Bill enacted that the parishioners paying poor-rates alone should be entitled to vote, without specifying that all other parochial rates must also be paid. What did this distinction amount to but an attack on the Church, and an inducement to those (already disinclined in many places to do so) not to pay the Church-rate? There was also a proviso inserted in one of these clauses, that all parishes out of the city of London or liberties of Westminster, should have the qualification reduced from 40*l.* to 25*l.* The parish of Marylebone, the most populous and wealthy parish in Great Britain, was thereby left out of the exception, and placed on the same footing as a small petty parish in a country town, while the other parishes in London and Westminster were to retain the qualification of 40*l.* How was it possible for the hon. member for Westminster to reconcile himself to such monstrous absurdities as these? The fact was, that the hon. Gentleman got the last bill passed in order to obtain popularity with his constituents, the radical portion of whom, however, were not satisfied with it, and now urged him on to carry this new republican Bill through the House. This Bill, in short, was quite the prototype of the Reform Bill; which, if it was passed, would please no one, and its framers would be obliged, in order to secure their mob popularity, to amend it next year by one still more popular, till at last the proposed Universal Suffrage and Election by Ballot be carried. He intended to oppose both these measures, and he now moved that this Bill be read a second time this day six months.

Mr. *John Weyland* said, that if the 2,800 rate-payers mentioned by the hon. Baronet would only pay up their rates, they would be able to vote under the last Act. The only effect of the Bill would be to promote the ambitious views of those persons who desired, for their own purposes, that every parish should be placed under the control of the lowest class of the householders.

Mr. *Lamb* joined with the hon. Gentleman opposite in requesting that the hon. Baronet would not press the Bill. It seemed to him to be a very premature piece of legislation, for the bill which passed last Session had not yet been tried. It would not come into operation until March next, and it ought to have a fair trial before the House agreed to set aside its provisions for the Amendments proposed by the hon. Baronet.

Sir *Charles Forbes* also thought, that the Bill passed in the last Session ought to be fairly tried before the House entertained any new proposition.

Mr. *Hume* was sorry to see so much opposition offered to the Bill in its present stage. The bill of last Session was a good Bill when it went up to the Lords, but some of its best provisions were destroyed in the other House. If the Bill should be sent to a Committee up-stairs, or if evidence were received upon it at the bar, he would undertake to prove, to the satisfaction of the House, that the last bill, unless amended as the hon. Baronet proposed, could never be brought into operation in many parishes.

Mr. *Hunt* supported the original Motion. He was satisfied that the Act in its present shape could be of no use.

Sir *John Hobhouse* contended, that many parishes would be wholly excluded from the benefits of the bill passed last session, unless the Amendments proposed by the Bill now before the House should be adopted. That Act stated, that every individual, to be qualified to vote at a parochial meeting for the adoption or rejection of the Act of last session, must have paid up all parochial rates within six months. Supposing, therefore, that the existing parochial authorities intended to oppose the adoption of the Act, they would make a rate which the parishioners would resist. The question between them must then be decided before the Courts of Law, and until it was so, the Act could never be adopted by the Parish. Was it to be believed the House of Lords calculated by their amendments that the effect of them would be to throw this possible power into the hands of the parochial authorities? Certainly not; but this late Act gave it to them, notwithstanding. Then as to the question of what were parochial taxes, did hon. Members know that the land-tax had been decided by the Court of King's Bench to be a parochial tax. In Marylebone, this tax was very trifling; in St. James's it was a shilling in the pound; in other parishes it had been redeemed; but when that was not the case, questions of very great nicety might, and did frequently, arise. The House of Lords could have had no desire, when they amended the late bill, to involve the parishes in such questions. He had frequently inquired in the proceedings relating to this question, if there was any Act of Parliament to be found in which those who did not vote had been given an effectual power to oppose those who did. But, by the operation of the late bill, those who stayed away from a vestry meeting had a negative power of that sort. Again, all those who gave their votes might be examined by the proper authorities to prove their having duly paid their rates; but those who did not vote were exempt from the same examination. These considerations would, he hoped, prevail on the right hon. Gentleman, the Under-Secretary of State, when he reflected upon them, to withdraw his opposition to the present measure. That right hon. Gentleman had approved the bill of last session, and his only objection to this was, that it was necessary to try how the former would work before they attempted to amend it; but as it stood at present, it never could be carried into practice. He must further state to hon. Gentlemen, that if they would condescend to give due consideration to the question, they would find that those who had money to pay, both for public and parochial purposes, required to have some control over those who were to dispose of it. He had as great an objection to turbulence as any hon. Member in the House, but he would advise, as an improvement upon the existing state of affairs, that, instead of always shutting the valve downwards, they should direct it upwards, and, by that means, allow the effervescence to escape. He should, therefore, from all these considerations, press the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. *John Weyland* explained, that the hon. Baronet had left the main argument against his Bill untouched, and that was, that a small proportion of the parishioners, both in number and amount of rate, might, by the means of it, transfer the government of a parish to themselves; whereas the former bill enacted that only a majority of the whole rate-payers of the parish, being present at a Vestry, whether high or low, could adopt that Bill. This was the great difference between the Bills.

The House divided on the question that the word "now" stand part of the question. Ayes 40; Noes 44—Majority 4.

Bill to be read a second time that day six months.

List of the NOES.

Althorp, Visc.
Baring, F. T.
Burge, W.
Campbell, T.
Copeland, Ald
Courtenay, Rt. Hn T. P.
Crampton, P. C.
Duncannon, Visc.
Dundas, R. A.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Forbes, Sir C.
Freshfield, J. W.
Fresmantle, Sir T.
Goulburn, Rt. Hn. H.
Graham, Rt. Hn. Sir J.
Grimston, Visc.
Herbert, Hon. E. C. H.
Hodgson, F.
Holmes, W.
Hughes, Hughes
Jenkins, R.
Jolliffe, Sir W.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Lamb, Hon. Geo.
Mangles, J.
Palmerston, Visc.
Peel, Rt. Hon Sir R.
Ponsonby, Hon. Geo.
Porchester, Lord
Praed, W. M.
Rice, Rt. Hon. T. S.
Robinson, G. R.
Rose, Rt. Hon. Sir G.
Ross, C.
Russell, C.
Sandon, Visc.
Smith, R. V.
Somerset, Lord G.
Stanley, Rt. Hn. E. G.
Stormont, Visc.
Wason, W. R.
Willoughby, Sir H.
Yorke, Captain

TELLERS.

Mackinnon, W. A.
Weyland, John

List of the AYES.

Benett, J.
Blamire, W.
Blackney, W.
Briscoe, J. I.
Blunt, Sir C.
Bouverie, Hon. H. P.
Bourke, Sir J.
Brougham, W.
Carter, J. B.
Calcraft, G. H.
Calley, T.
Ellice, E.
Ewart, W.
Gordon, R.
Hoskins, K.
Hunt, H.
Lefevre, C. S.
Marshall, W.
Marjoribanks, S.
Noel, Sir G.
Nugent, Lord
O'Connor, Don
Paget, T.
Pendarvis, E. W.
Phillips, Sir R. B.
Ruthven, E. S.
Sanford, E. A.
Spence, G.
Strickland, G.
Strutt, E.
Stuard, Lord D. C.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Thicknesse, R.
Venables, Ald.
Walker, C. A.
Warburton, H.
Williams, W. A.
Wood, John
Wyse, T.
Wilde, T.

TELLERS.

Hume, J.
Hobhouse, Sir J. C.

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HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, January 24, 1832.

MINUTES.] Bills. Brought up from the Commons and read a first time; the Land Revenue (Buckingham Palace), and Charitable Funds.

IRISH MAGISTRACY—FEES ON COMMISSIONS.] The Earl of *Wicklow* said, that in rising to put a question to the noble Viscount regarding the state of the Irish Magistracy, he had no wish to augment the embarrassment in which he knew the noble Viscount and his colleagues in the Government were now placed by the difficult and dangerous situation of Ireland; but, for several days past, he had been anxious to gain some information on the subject, though he had refrained from troubling the noble Viscount with any questions, in the hope that he should hear, directly or indirectly, something that would be satisfactory upon the subject. It was unnecessary for him to draw any picture of the present wretched condition of Ireland. One whole province, in the centre of the kingdom, was in actual hostility to the laws of the country, and marshalled and arrayed against the forces of the State, at the bidding of a set of demagogues and Jesuits. Religious animosities were revived, and were glowing with a malignity unprecedented even in that country. He was aware, that the noble Viscount might allege, in answer to his observations, that if there were now no Magistrates in the Commission of the Peace in Ireland, it was not the fault of the Government; and the noble Viscount could make that allegation with perfect truth. He was aware, that it was necessary for Magistrates at the commencement of a new reign to receive new Commissions. He was aware, that the fees on those new Commissions were regulated by Act of Parliament, and that they were not placed at the disposal of the Executive Government. He was also aware, that he might be told, that the Government of Ireland was guilty of no fault in preparing these new commissions of the Peace. He knew that the old Commissions were not cancelled until due notice had been given to the Magistracy, that the new commissions were ready to be issued. But it was a libel on the Magistracy of Ireland to suppose, that any portion of them, in refusing to take out those new commissions, were influenced by a wish to reduce the paltry fees paid upon them. He knew that these fees had been reduced from 10*l.* to somewhere about 3*l.*, and he would not degrade the Magistracy by stopping to vindicate them from the charge of being reluctant to pay so insignificant and wretched a fee. He thought it right, however, to state the reasons which he had heard advanced as the real grounds for their refusing to take out these commissions. They had learned that the fees paid by the Magistrates of England, under similar circumstances, were much less than those which they were called upon to pay; and they thought that the fees in Ireland ought to be reduced to a level with those in England. They also conceived, but erroneously, that the necessity for taking out these commissions arose out of the act of last Session for the establishment of Lords-lieutenant in the different counties of Ireland: for they supposed that they had all received new Commissions at the accession of his present Majesty, William 4th. They conceived, too, and on this point they were equally mistaken, that all these fees were the perquisites of the Secretary of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He was sorry that they entertained any such notion. For that noble and learned Lord he entertained great respect. He believed him to be as honest and upright a statesman as he knew him to be an able and eloquent orator. It was the misfortune, however, of Lord Plunkett, that the unpopularity of the Government to which he was allied was visited at present upon his head. He was sure that their Lordships must see the necessity of remedying the evil which had arisen out of the operation of these reasons. Let them suppose what would be the consequences, if any one county, even in this tranquil country were left entirely without a Magistracy: and then let them judge how aggravated these consequences would be when such was actually the case in Ireland. He had that morning received a letter from the paymaster of the militia regiment which he had the honour to command, informing him that he could not transmit the requisite affidavits, owing to the want of a Magistracy in the county to attest the signatures. He had also received a similar letter from a very respectable quarter, stating, that from the want of a Magistracy, the most ordinary magisterial acts could not at present be performed. He would add, that if an assault, or even a murder were committed—and there were such things as assaults and murders in that part of the world—there were no Magistrates at present before whom the informations could be sworn. He therefore rose to ask the noble Viscount—not what measure he had in contemplation, for there was no time now for contemplation, but, what measure he had in preparation or in progress, to remedy this evil, and to induce the Magistrates to resume their functions?

Viscount *Melbourne* begged to acquaint the noble Earl, that he had no measure either in progress or in contemplation upon the subject. He hoped that the statement which the noble Earl had just made would remedy the evils of which he had complained; for the noble Earl, in that statement, had explained the misconceptions on which he was convinced the magistracy of Ireland had refused to pay these fees, and to take up their commissions. The noble Earl had begun his question with a series of observations, not of the most regular character, in which he had drawn a picture of what he was pleased to denominate the painful state of Ireland. Undoubtedly there were dangers in the present condition of Ireland; but, without following the noble Earl into the discussion which he had somewhat irregularly introduced, he would say, from what had come to his own knowledge, that the noble Earl had painted those dangers in too deep colours, and had attributed to them a more violent character than that which they really possessed. He trusted that the noble Earl's statement would teach the Magistracy of Ireland what course they ought to pursue. The Act of the 1st of King William 4th, cap. 43, did away with all fees payable on the renewal of commissions which expired on the demise of the Crown, but it also stated, that the officers who prepared those commissions should have due compensation for such fees upon terms to be settled by the Lords of the Treasury. The Lords of the Treasury accordingly had fixed the terms of that compensation; they had reduced the fees from 10*l.* to 2*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, and the Magistrates were in error when they supposed that this was a larger fee than that which was paid for the performance of a similar duty in England. The Commissions of the Peace in Ireland were placed on a different footing from the Commissions of the Peace in England. A Commission of the Peace in England was addressed to the individual Magistrate only; but in Ireland, it was a commission which included the name of the individual in a commission that was made out for all the Magistracy of the county. Therefore, as it was a work of some time and some labour, the fee charged was not too large a sum for the remuneration of the officer who settled the commission. He trusted that the Magistrates of Ireland, when they read the statement of the noble Earl, would listen to the dictates of reason, and would not deprive the country of the benefit of their services. On these grounds he thought that all further comment upon the observations which had fallen from the noble Earl was quite unnecessary.

Earl *Grey* trusted, with his noble friend, that the good sense of the Magistracy of Ireland would remedy the evil of which the noble Earl complained. As there could be no doubt but that the fees charged were legal, he did not see how the Government could interfere. At the same time, he wished to remind their Lordships, that a bill had been brought into the other House some years ago by General Ponsonby, which had for its object to do away with the necessity of renewing Commissions of the Peace on the demise of the Crown, but that Bill was altered in its progress at the suggestion of the late Lord Castlereagh, and its operation limited to the accession of George 4th, in consequence of the number of commissions which had been issued during the Regency. He would make no further remarks on the noble Earl's statement with regard to the unpopularity of the Government and the Lord Chancellor in Ireland, than to observe, that it was unfortunate in this case that unpopularity attached to the Lord Chancellor's Secretary, who received only 17*s.* 6*d.* out of the sum of 2*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* which was to be paid on the renewal of the commissions.

The Earl of *Wicklow* deemed the answer of the noble Earl so far satisfactory, that he hoped the Irish Magistracy would be induced by it to take out their commissions without delay. At the same same time, he must express a hope that these fees would be assimilated in England and Ireland.

Viscount *Melbourne* said, he was not aware that any difference existed between the amounts of fees as payable on the renewal of commissions in both countries.

Earl *Grey* said, there was such a difference; the fees were much less in England than in Ireland.

The Marquis of *Westmeath* said, from his own knowledge he could assert, that the principal objection to renewing these commissions arose from the amount of fees charged upon them.

CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.] Lord *Ellenborough* rose to make two motions, for returns to which he supposed that no objection would be offered. The first motion was, for "An account of the number of vessels seized and condemned in each year, by the Mixed Commission under the several treaties with foreign States, for the suppression of the Slave-trade, specifying the countries to which such vessels belonged." And the second for—"An account of the number of vessels belonging to his Majesty's navy, which have been employed from the year 1817, inclusive, to the present time, under special instruction for the suppression of the Slave-trade." He would avail himself of this opportunity to make a few observations on the convention which had been recently made between his Majesty and the king of the French, for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade, and to ask for explanations on one or two points connected with it from the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government. When he heard the expression used by his Majesty in his most gracious Speech on the opening of Parliament—namely, that this convention had for its basis the concession of reciprocal rights, and would, he trusted, enable the naval forces of the two countries, by their combined efforts, to accomplish an object which was felt by both to be so important to the interests of humanity—when, he repeated, he heard that expression fall from his Majesty, he did expect that the treaty so concluded would be not less efficient than preceding treaties. Great, however, had been his disappointment on reading the convention which had been recently placed on their Lordships' Table, for he found it much less efficient than those which had gone before it. First of all, it wanted the instructions which formed part of all the other treaties: next, it wanted a provision for the indemnification of his Majesty's subjects, in case of any abuse of the right of search now conceded; and last of all, the limits under which that right of search was to be exercised were more strict and definite than they had been in any former treaties. There was no such limitation in the treaties which we had formed with Spain and with Portugal, in which the right of search had been reciprocally conceded, as was contained in this treaty. In the treaties with Sweden and with the Netherlands it was provided that the right of search should not be exercised in the Mediterranean or in any other European sea—a limitation which made the right of search as extensive as it was necessary, inasmuch as no slave-trade was carried on within those seas. In this treaty the limits were more restricted than in any other, for they were confined to that part of the western coast of Africa which runs from Cape Verd to ten degrees south of the Equator; to the islands of Madagascar, Cuba, and Porto Rico, and a distance of twenty leagues from their coasts; and to the same distance from the coast of Brazil. Moreover, the right of search was not to be exercised beyond those limits, unless the cruisers to whom it was given came up with the slave-ship beyond those limits without having ever lost sight of her; so that, if a night intervened, the right of search could not be exercised beyond the space which he had already mentioned. If their Lordships would only take this point into their consideration, they would see that this limitation nullified the provisions which were included in the treaties which we had made with the other four Powers. There was another difference between this convention and the preceding conventions, which he deemed still more important. In the conventions with Spain and Portugal there was no limitation as to the number of vessels of each kingdom which were to be employed under them. In the conventions with the Netherlands and with Sweden, there was a limitation that not more than twelve vessels should be so employed. But in this convention it was provided, that in no case should the number of the cruisers of the one nation be more than double the number of the cruisers of the other. France, therefore, by declining to employ any vessels, would prevent us from employing any, and would thus be enabled to nullify every provision of the treaty. There was also an article in this convention, by which the contracting parties to it agreed to invite the other maritime powers to accede to it within as short a period as possible, so that any maritime power, by declining to employ any vessel, might nullify this convention with regard both to England and to France. It could not be desired by us, that the four Powers to whom he had already alluded—namely, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and the Netherlands, should accede to this convention, inasmuch as they would be less restricted by it than they were at present. Under all the other treaties the vessels seized were carried before a mixed commission. By the present convention, the vessels captured for being engaged in the slave-trade, or as being suspected of being fitted out for that infamous traffic, were to be delivered over without delay to the jurisdiction of the nation to which they belonged, and were only to be judged according to the laws in force in that nation. This clause of the convention, therefore, enabled France, by a change in her municipal laws, to deprive the treaty of any value. When he made these observations on the discrepancies of this convention and of its predecessors, he trusted that it would not be supposed that he objected to the Government for having made some concession with regard to the mixed commission; for he knew that in America, and he believed in France also, there prevailed great objections to allowing their citizens to be tried by a mixed commission. Neither did he object to the Government having agreed to these narrow limits, if wider ones could not be obtained. What he objected to was this: that Government had accompanied this convention with provisions which enabled France, if so inclined, to nullify it altogether. In every other convention, the instructions accompanied the convention; here they were to be drawn up and agreed upon by the two Governments: so that, until they were drawn up and agreed upon, the convention was a dead letter. The instructions here were extraneous from the treaty, and must form a supplemental treaty by themselves; and very important and very delicate would be the question, when the two Governments should come to consider what the instructions ought to be. The instructions would be most important as to what should be admitted to be proof that a vessel was engaged in the slave-trade, or that it was fitted out with a view of being engaged in that trade, when there were no slaves on board. There were also cases which ought to be excepted from seizure, where there were slaves on board a vessel either as servants or as sailors, and not for traffic. In our trading vessels from the East and West Indies it was possible that slaves might be on board under circumstances which would render it difficult to decide whether they were slaves or not. There was another point of importance on which it would be necessary that there should be some positive instruction, and that was, what should be the right of search when a vessel was under the convoy of a vessel of war belonging to another State. That would be a question of great difficulty —first, as to whether any right of search should be given under such circumstances; and next, as to the manner in which it should be exercised, if given. There was also another question of difficulty to which he wished to call the attention of the noble Earl, and that was, whether any right of search could exist when a vessel was within cannon-shot of the shore of another State. All these questions must be decided, and they could only be decided by a supplemental treaty. It was therefore not only immature, but also impolitic, to bring this convention under the notice of Parliament before all these points were arranged. Let all this be done; there remained that of which he did not understand the omission—he alluded to the means of indemnifying his Majesty's subjects who might be stopped unjustly by French cruisers. There could be no objection, on the part of France, on point of principle, to grant this indemnification. By this convention, so little restrictive on France—for she had but few vessels on which we could exercise the right of search —by this convention we subjected to search all our numerous vessels which were engaged in the South American trade, the African trade, the West-Indian trade, and in our trade with the country parts of the East Indies. He therefore thought, that it was absolutely necessary that there should be a provision in this convention, as there was in all its predecessors, for the indemnification of British subjects, in case of any abuse of that great power which we were now granting to France, for the sake of the interests of humanity. He, therefore, desired to know, first, what progress had been made in drawing up these instructions? and next, what fund, if any, was provided for the indemnification of British subjects, for losses which it was possible they might incur under the operations of this convention?

Earl *Grey* expressed his satisfaction that the noble Baron, though he found fault with the details of the convention, did not object to the principle on which it was founded. He thought that by this convention a great advantage had been gained, not only for England but for humanity in general, by the further prevention of that inhuman traffic in the sinews and muscles of man — the slave-trade — which he trusted would be the result of the execution of this convention. He thought that his Majesty had not been ill-advised to make that statement in his opening speech to Parliament to which the noble Baron had alluded. It was true, that this treaty was not so extensive as those which had been made with Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and the Netherlands; but their Lordships must be aware—and none more than the members of the late Administration—of the difficulty of making any arrangement on this subject with France. Their Lordships must know the jealousy which existed in that country as to the right of search. It existed not only in France, but also in the United States of America, and he believed it was also felt by the officers of our own navy. He therefore thought, that much had been done in obtaining the agreement of France to the provisions of this convention; for though it was not so extensive as our conventions with the other Powers, it was sufficiently extensive to enable the navies of the two countries to check that trade which disgraced humanity, and of which both Governments anxiously wished to see the termination. The noble Lord had complained that the limits were more restricted under this than under any former convention. They were so; but after the best inquiries that could be made, and the best information that could be collected, it was believed that the right of search, within the limits and under the conditions mentioned in the convention, would be most effectual. Besides, that very limitation might serve as some counterpoise to the danger which the noble Lord anticipated our shipping would incur from the concession of this right of search. The noble Lord had stated his apprehension, that as the number of cruisers to be employed by each of the Powers was not specified, and as each was restricted to employ not more than double the number of the cruisers of the other, one of the Powers, by refusing to employ any cruisers, might compel the other to do the same, and would thus nullify and defeat the convention. Now this supposition took it for granted, that there would be a want of good faith on the part of France in the execution of the treaty. If there were that want of good faith on the part of the French government, he did not know by what form of words he could possibly bind it. With respect to the mixed commission alluded to by the noble Lord, whatever disposition the French government might feel with regard to an arrangement of that nature, it was totally inconsistent with French law. It was incompatible with the law of France that the property of any French subject should be brought for adjudication before any other than a French tribunal. The French law might perhaps be altered hereafter, but at present it opposed an insurmountable objection to the plan of trying these cases by a mixed commission. For the present, however, a part of that difficulty had been got over. It was proposed to appoint a French consul with full power to decide on all such questions as might arise out of this treaty, such consul to be resident either at Sierra Leone or Fernando Po, to save the necessity of vessels proceeding further than was absolutely necessary for the purpose of adjudication. The noble Lord had proposed two questions, having for their object to ascertain in what state the instructions were, and whether any measures would be adopted to procure indemnification for English subjects who might be injured by improper conduct on the part of the French cruisers. He could not give the noble Lord a satisfactory answer to either of the questions the noble Lord had put. He was not prepared to say in what state the instructions were; but he believed he might state with some confidence, that there would be no difficulty on the subject, and that they would be placed on a most satisfactory footing. With respect to the noble Lord's second question, as to the procuring of indemnification, all he could say was, that until some specific arrangement could be made (and he was not prepared either to admit or deny that this would be done), any undue exercise of power by the French cruisers would stand on the same footing as any injury committed by one State against another. A representation of the injury would be made, and redress, he hoped, obtained, where the justice of the case required it. This was all that he felt himself called upon to say on the present occasion, and he would therefore sit down with once more remarking, that, even by the admission of the noble Lord, considerable advantage had been gained by the treaty.

Lord *Ellenborough* remarked, that the noble Earl had stated, that injuries to British property would be redressed in the usual manner, on proper demand for reparation being made. So they might without this treaty; but the object of it ought to have been specifically to put an end to such a practice, by rendering the demand for such redress unnecessary. It was, also, perfectly clear, that the Crown, of its own authority, could not carry into effect this or any other treaty upon the subject without coming to Parliament for its sanction. The King possessed no power to permit foreign ships of war to search British merchant-vessels, nor could the Crown of its own right indemnify the subjects of other States if injured in the process of carrying such a treaty into effect. As to another point to which the noble Earl had alluded, he begged to call to the recollection of the House, that both the South American and the Indian trade, by the usual course of navigation, came within the limits defined by the treaty.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* said, that the treaty under consideration was the first he had ever known to have been laid before Parliament as an original treaty in the French language. It had been the invariable practice, since Lord Grenville was in the Foreign Office, to have every original treaty in the English language. He did not wish to press this point as of undue importance (though it was not wholly unimportant); but he had felt it necessary to allude to it, lest the present proceeding might be drawn into a precedent.

Viscount *Goderich* observed, that a copy of the treaty in English was also laid upon the Table.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* replied, that the document on the Table was a translation; but there ought to be two original treaties, one French, and the other English.

Earl *Grey* expressed a wish that there should be no departure from any rule which existed on the subject. For his part he knew nothing of the matter. He took it for granted that the papers would be sent to the Foreign Office in the usual form.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* said, that the noble Earl did not seem to understand the point to which he had referred. The mistake which had been committed could not be remedied. Our Ambassador had signed a French treaty, instead of signing one in French and another in English. The omission was, of course, accidental on the part of Lord Granville. He did not mean to do more than advert to it.

Motion agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, January 24, 1832.

Minutes.] Bills brought in. By the Lord Advocate, to provide for the due carrying on of the business of the Court of Session in Scotland, when interrupted by the death or absence of a Judge:—By Mr. Crampton, to amend the Acts 58th and 59th George 3rd, to establish Fever Hospitals, and for the prevention of Contagious Disease in Ireland.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. Croker, the authorities on which the Commissioners fixed the boundaries of Boroughs and Towns; and an account of the Assessed Taxes paid by each with relation to the Reform Bill:—On the Motion of Mr. Littleton, of the quantities of British Iron, Hardwares, and Cutlery exported during each year from 1825 to 1831, inclusive, distinguishing each year, and the countries to which the same was exported; of Foreign Iron imported and exported again during each of these years, distinguishing the several sorts, and the Countries to which it was exported:—On the Motion of Mr. Freshfield, for a Copy of the Rules and Orders for regulating the New Bankruptcy Courts made by the Judges of Review.

Petitions presented. By Sir Edward Scott, from the Burgage-Freeholders of Lichfield, praying that the residence of Freeholders in that place might be enforced. Against the General Registry Bill, by Mr. Sanford, from Somerton and Crewkerne, Somerset:—By Lord Sandon, from Liverpool:—By Mr. Strickland, from Bridlington, Yorkshire:—By Lord Cavendish, from Derbyshire. By Mr. Jephson, from the Parishes of Whitchurch and Garracloyne, in the County of Cork, complaining of the amount of Grand Jury Assessments; and from the Inhabitants of Greenagh, for an Amendment of the Tithe-laws. By Mr. Drake, from Agmondesham, against the Reform Bill. By Mr. Hunt, from a number of Mechanics in the Parish of Lambeth, against the Anatomy Bill. By Mr. Hume, from the Inhabitants of Dingeston, Tregare, and eight other places against the Tithe Laws in Ireland; and one from a place in the County of Monmouth on the same subject. By Mr. Sanford, from John Ward, against the regulations for the Silk Trade.

Exports and Imports.] Mr. Littleton moved for an account of the quantity of Hardware and manufactured Iron exported from England to the last year.

Mr. *Hume* expressed his regret that he did not see any of his Majesty's Ministers in their places on this occasion, as he was anxious for some explanation of the fact why an annual account was not laid before the House of the amount of exports and imports of the United Kingdom. Such an account would be of the utmost importance, as well for the information to which Members would thus have easy access, as also for the great saving of expense which it would occasion. He had no doubt that a saving of some 30,000*l.* a-year might be made, by having one general account of exports and imports laid before the House every year, at the commencement of each Session. From the want of such account, Members who desired information as to any particular branch of our exports and imports, were obliged to move for separate returns, by which great expense, and often great delay, were occasioned; and then the information was not obtained in that satisfactory manner which was desirable. He had that morning got an account from the United States of America, in which one might find at a glance the amount of exports and imports for any year during a number of years, and he did not see why a similar account should not be published by the Government of this country every year. He did not know what Ministers had to do that they could not publish such an account.

The motion was then agreed to.

Schools of Anatomy—Explanation.] Mr. Hunt presented a Petition from a person named Robert Thomas Webb, of York-street, Marylebone, Surgeon, stating, that he was what was called an Atheist, and was perfectly indifferent as to what became of his body after his death. He, therefore, had no objection that his body should be dissected for the benefit of Science, but he had a wife and family who all professed the Christian religion, and in regard to their feelings he would object to dissection; he, therefore, prayed the House not to pass the Anatomy Bill.

Lord *Morpeth* would take this opportunity of correcting an error as to what fell from the hon. member for Preston, in alluding to the petition from Leeds, which he (Lord Morpeth) had presented last night. The hon. Member had alluded to a person who was instrumental in getting up the petition, and stated that he was a man who had roasted his Bible, and had rejected all religion; but in some of the papers this act had been attributed to a highly respectable individual, Mr. Baines, of Leeds, on whom he was sure it was not the hon. Member's intention to cast any such imputation.

Mr. *Hunt* was sure the recollection of the House would bear him out in the declaration that he had made no such charge aginst Mr. Baines, whom, whatever objections he might otherwise have to him, he believed to be a religious man, and incapable of any such act as had been coupled with his name in the report. What he stated was, that a person named Smithson, and others, who had assisted Mr. Baines in getting up the petition, were persons of the character he had mentioned; and it was one of them (Smithson, we understood) who had roasted his Bible. Although Mr. Baines had been in the habit of attacking him behind his back, in his paper, he would not make any charge against him which he did not believe to be well founded, and certainly he had made none of the kind alluded to.

Mr. *Strickland* said, that any person who had heard distinctly what fell from the hon. Member (Mr. Hunt) must recollect that he had not used the words imputed to him. The error, no doubt, arose not from intention, but from the difficulty of hearing. No man who knew Mr. Baines could believe him capable of the act which had been erroneously attributed to him. The hon. member for Kirkcudbright (Mr. Cutlar Fergusson) had, on a former evening, made some remarks on Political Unions, and particularly on the subject of the Political Union at Leeds, which the hon. Member stated to be contrary to the Constitution.

Mr. *Warburton* rose to order, and said, that that question had nothing to do with the subject before the House.

Petition to lie on the Table.

TITHES (IRELAND)—PETITIONS.] Mr. *Hume*, in presenting a Petition from the Roman Catholic Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Agnes, in the Diocess of Cork, against Tithes, took occasion to observe, that phrases were sometimes used in the heat of debate which were not intended. He admitted, that he himself often, in the course of debate, used words which, on more cool reflection, he should wish not to have used. He supposed that it was in this way the word "disgraceful" had been applied to his statement as to the Tithe Question in Ireland, by an hon. Member opposite, and had afterwards been repeated by the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel). He did not think it disgraceful to state important facts which came to his knowledge on this subject, and he thought the disgrace would only lie upon the suppression of such facts. In the petition which he now presented, it appeared that in this parish there were only four Protestant families, consisting altogether of fourteen persons, but there were 2,800 Roman Catholics, from whom the tithe was exacted, though there was no Church, and no clerical duty of any kind belonging to the Established Church performed. The petition further stated, that the tithes, before the Composition Act, amounted to 610*l.*; but that they had since that time increased one-seventh in amount, the whole of which addition had fallen on the petitioners. Was it not natural that the parties in this case should object to the payment of tithes? Could any man reasonably expect that any body of men, no matter of what creed, would be content with such a system? He would beg the attention of the House to the concluding paragraph of the petition, in which the petitioners stated, that 'considering 'that Church rates and tithes are exacted 'in a situation where there is no Church, 'and no duty performed, we have come to 'this conclusion, that there is no moral obligation on us to pay those taxes.' When a feeling of this kind was avowed, and was every day spreading in that country, he would ask, whether it did not impose a strong obligation on the Government to take the whole subject of tithes and Church property into its earliest and most serious consideration? For his own part, he would say, that if he were in the situation of the petitioners, he would not pay such a tax. He would do what his ancestors did in Scotland—he would resist the attempt to exact such a tax, for which no sort of duty was performed. He thought, that all fair means of redress should be first resorted to, and, in his opinion, the Irish people had resorted to such means, but without effect. Could it, then, be a matter of surprise that they should now resist the payment altogether? Did the House think, that this country would consent to the payment of an immense military establishment in Ireland, for the purpose of enforcing the collection of tithes, and protecting the property of the Irish Church? We had now an army of 20,000 men in Ireland, though in the year 1792, the whole of our military force in that country did not exceed 8,000 men; but at one time, and not very long ago, our force there amounted to 26,000 or 27,000 men. Would the people of England consent to the maintenance of such an establishment, the chief object of which was, the protection of Church property and tithes? He was sure they would not, and therefore he earnestly hoped that Ministers would lose no time in submitting the whole question to the consideration of Parliament.

The Petition read.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that anything which had fallen from the hon. member for Middlesex would not divert him from the real question before the House. He was not conscious of having used the word "disgraceful" in reference to the hon. Member's argument; but if such a word had been applied, it was to the principle involved, and indeed avowed, in the hon. Member's speech—that the spoliation of Church property was a measure which the Government and the legislature ought to adopt—than which no principle could be more unjust. He would admit, that when the Government determined on the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the system of tithes in Ireland, it must have had in view the question, whether some other mode of paying the clergy might not be devised; but it never was admitted for an instant, that the inquiry had any reference to the spoliation of the property of the Church. He had been all the morning engaged in that Committee, in pursuing the inquiry relating to the collection of tithes, but he would not go into the matter at that moment. The subject to which the hon. member for Middlesex had referred, when he made the statement complained of, was the question mooted by the hon. and learned member for Kerry, that a noble Lord should be added to the Tithe Committee. The hon. member for Middlesex said, the whole Committee was unnecessary, as the Tithe Question in Ireland was already settled. How the hon. Member could make such a statement, when he must have known, what indeed was perfectly notorious, that tithe was paid without objection in many parts of Ireland, he could not tell. He would not say whether such a statement was disgraceful or not, but certainly no man could hear with approbation such a declaration as that of the hon. member for Middlesex—that if he were an Irish Roman Catholic he would not pay tithes. Was it right to encourage the people to resist the payment of tithes, to which the owners had as much legal and moral right as the hon. Member had to receive rent from any tenant on his estate? He did not say, that the present system might not admit of some modification, but he would contend, that the property of the Church was held by as good and as sacred a title as that of any gentleman to his private estate; and if once that property was invaded, there would be no security for property of any kind in Ireland.

Mr. *O'Connell* did not rise to enter into any discussion of the Tithe Question at present; but after what had fallen from the right hon. Baronet, he could not avoid saying a few words. No one, he was sure, would be disgraceful enough to wish to take away the life-interest of any of the present holders of tithes or Church property, but no one who saw the operation of the system in Ireland, and witnessed its effects, could, in his opinion, come to any other conclusion than that after the life-interest of the present possessors had ceased, a change ought to take place. The subject was now taken up so warmly and by so many, that he doubted whether, unless the Question was considered by Government with a view to some serious change, that sort of property would be worth anything whatever in Ireland. The appointment of the Tithe Committee was a measure which had by no means given satisfaction in Ireland; for the Committee was appointed on a wrong principle. The studious exclusion of Roman Catholics from it seemed to imply that Roman Catholics had nothing to do with tithes, but to pay them; as if they were to be allowed no deliberation whatever on the subject. He would not say, that the people of Ireland had settled the Tithe Question, but there could be no doubt that they had made up their minds upon it; and, though the refusal to pay tithes was not now general, let hon. Members recollect the great spread which that resistance had made within the last year, and they would see, that it might soon become so. The hon. member for Middlesex had alluded to the resistance made by the people of Scotland to the attempt to impose a Church upon them against their will; that attempt was certainly a most complete failure, for the Scotchmen drew their broadswords and took to their hills. The Irish were adopting a different course; the Catholics were opposed to the present system, but they were not alone in their opposition; the Protestant Dissenters and the Protestants of the Established Church were now following the example of the Catholics, and were prepared in many places to refuse the payment of this tax; and if the matter were left to the people, the question would soon be settled. Any provision that was necessary to minister to the spiritual wants of the Protestants of Ireland would never be grudged or withheld by the Catholics. But it was a matter worthy of observation, that those individuals who now usually did the duty were by far the worst paid. There were instances in which gentlemen received 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* a-year, while the active duty was performed by a curate who received the splendid salary of 69*l.* 7*s.* 10½*d.* There was, he repeated, no party in Ireland who felt any disposition to resist the fair claims of the working clergy; but a general disposition did prevail, and would prevail, to oppose ecclesiastical sinecures.

Mr. *Stanley* said, he did not mean to enter on this occasion into a discussion of those very enlarged questions which were connected with the present state of feeling in Ireland on the subject of tithes, nor would he have addressed the House at all, but for the remark which had been made by the hon. member for Kerry, with respect to the appointment of the Committee on Irish tithes. It would have been well if the hon. Member had attended when the appointment of that Committee took place, because he could then have discussed the proposition of his Majesty's Ministers: he might then have made such remarks as occurred to him, either with reference to the principle on which the Committee was proposed, or with respect to the individuals whose names were selected. The hon. member for Kerry had complained, that the Committee was formed on a wrong basis. But let the facts be fairly considered, and it would be found, that the formation of the Committee proceeded on the most unobjectionable principle. In forming that Committee, care was taken that no Members should be sent up-stairs who had expressed, either on one side or on the other, a decided determination on this Question. Ministers did not wish, on the one hand, that those Gentlemen should be placed on the Committee who were totally adverse to any consideration of this subject—who were anxious that the matter should remain just as it stood at present—and they were equally unwilling that others should be placed on it whose minds were closed against all argument, and who would be satisfied with nothing less than the total abolition of tithes. Ministers endeavoured to constitute the Committee, of men who well knew the opinions that were entertained on both sides—of men whose feelings and principles were moderate, and who would carefully and dispassionately hear and decide upon the evidence that was submitted to them. It was not on the ground of any jealousy or suspicion, that Roman Catholics were not proposed as members of this Committee. They thought that it was expedient to abstain from placing Roman Catholics on the Committee, but their determination did not arise from any doubt that Roman Catholics, if placed on the Committee, would perform their duty honestly and conscientiously. If they could have entertained the thought that, placed in such circumstances, Roman Catholics would be likely to swerve from the honest discharge of the duty which was imposed on them, neither he, nor a considerable number of those who now composed the Government, would, for many years, have voted for the Catholic claims, and for the admission of Roman Catholics to take their seats as Members of the Legislature. The object of Ministers in the formation of that Committee was, to convince both sides that fair and impartial justice would be extended to them; and therefore they had not placed on the Committee any persons who were interested or biassed one way or the other. They wished to give satisfaction to the different parties; and they felt, that complaints might be raised if a question of this kind were referred to Roman Catholics. It was a subject which bore immediate reference to the Protestant Established Church, and therefore Ministers felt it to be more delicate and more prudent towards the Roman Catholics themselves, that they should not appear on the Committee. Ministers thought that it was better, when a subject was delegated to the consideration of a committee, whose decision might lead to extensive alterations in matters appertaining to the Protestant Church—they deemed it better, under circumstances of that description, that such alterations should not appear to be forced on the Protestant Church by those who did not belong to it, but that they were recommended by the members of the Protestant Church. If, however, the hon. member for Kerry would look to the list of names on the Committee, he would see, that though no Roman Catholics were included in it, still individuals connected with Ireland were to be found there, who were able to speak the wishes, and advocate the sentiments of large bodies of Roman Catholic constituents. He had thus thought it necessary to state at once, that the omission complained of by the hon. member for Kerry did not arise from accident, but that the Government had adopted this course because they conceived that it would be more generally satisfactory. He did not know whether the hon. member for Kerry meant to bring forward his motion on this subject, but if he did, he should certainly oppose the placing on the Committee Lord Killeen, a noble friend of his. He was extremely glad, that the hon. member for Kerry had selected his noble friend on this occasion, because opposition to him would not leave the least ground for suspicion as to the purity of the cause on which it proceeded; since he believed that no man could be found more completly unexceptionable than his noble friend.

Mr. *Ruthven* expressed his conviction that the Irish Roman Catholics would object to be represented in the Committee by Protestants, because the omission of members of that religion seemed to imply that they were considered as the Representatives of a particular portion of the people instead of being general Representatives. The Committee, on this account, was not calculated to give satisfaction to the people of Ireland. There were Gentlemen on that Committee who though they would act with reference to other questions in the most impartial manner, yet were likely, on this particular subject, to give way to a certain bias. There was, throughout the people of Ireland, a feeling against the payment of tithes, but in the course of the discussions that had taken place on this subject, the people of that country had been represented to be in a state of more mischievous agitation and tumult than was really the case. He had himself recently come from a part of that country where there was no resistance to the payment of tithes; a circumstance mainly owing to the discreet conduct of the Clergy of that district, of whom it might be generally observed, that they were more kind and considerate in their demands than the lay proprietors of tithes. There was a strong impression, however, even among them that some alteration, or settlement of the system, would be effected by Parliament. Their objection did not go to the right of the present incumbents, but they viewed with jealousy the claims that might be made by their successors. They could not recognize any right in the latter, and they thought that the Church property belonged to the State, and ought hereafter to be appropriated to public purposes. Much had been said about combination and intimidation. He would not suffer his opinions to be influenced by either. He would proceed in his own plain view of the case, and what he would say was this—" Place the law, without delay, in such a state as will remove all cause of combination, and satisfy the great body of the people: do this, and we shall hear no more of intimidation or of combination."

Mr. *Wyse* said, that the resistance to the payment of tithes was rapidly extending. Last year it was only manifested in a small portion of the Queen's County, and in a confined parish of the county of Kilkenny. But now the principle appeared to be pervading the country in every quarter from north to south. It should be remarked that the opposition was shown—not against individuals, but against the principle. Where the clergyman had excited feelings of kindness, the people had not been backward in acknowledging it. He knew one instance where a clergyman, who for several years had been actively benevolent, had recently been refused the payment of tithes. Two Roman Catholic clergymen, however, addressed their congregations, and having shown to them the benefit which they had derived from the conduct of the clergyman, demanded of them whether they would not spontaneously grant to him that which by law he had a right to claim. Those people did subscribe the money required, they gave it to the clergyman as a donation, but they would not give it as tithe. The Catholics in general were disposed to acquiesce in the title of the present clergy to the tithes, but they considered Church property, after their life interest was expired, as applicable to the purposes of the State, and subject to the disposal of Government. With respect to the appointment of the Committee, he would only say, that if his name had been mentioned as a member of it, he would have refused to act—not because, as a Roman Catholic, he did not feel that he should deliver his opinions as impartially as any other Gentleman, but lest any feeling of jealousy might be generated by his appointment to the Committee. When, however, he said this, he was nevertheless of opinion, that some Roman Catholics ought to have been placed on the Committee, in order to satisfy the Catholic population of Ireland.

Colonel *Perceval* rose to contradict the statement of the hon. member for Kerry—namely, that all the Protestants of Ireland were favourable to the present atrocious conspiracy against the payment of tithes.

Mr. *O'Connell:* I did not say all the Protestants of Ireland, and I did not say atrocious.

Colonel *Perceval* said, an atrocious conspiracy did exist, and it was fomented by those desperate agitators who were the curse of Ireland. He was sorry to use such strong language, but these were his feelings, and when they were roused he must give them vent. The Protestants of Ireland, almost to a man, were disgusted with that atrocious conspiracy, which was encouraged by meetings held in Dublin, under the very nose of the Government, from whom the Protestants of Ireland had expected protection. If it were not for that conspiracy, the Roman Catholics would be very willing to pay the tithes. The fact was, that under the system which prevailed in Ireland, if the Catholics refused to act as they were commanded, their houses would be burned, their cattle would be houghed, and their property destroyed.

Mr. *Hunt* regretted, that the hon. member for Kerry was not present to advocate the propriety of putting Catholics on the Committee appointed to inquire into the tithe system, when that Committee was nominated. It was, in his opinion, an unjust preference to exclude them, and he was sure that not placing Roman Catholics in the Committee would cause great dissatisfaction in Ireland. If such persons were members of the Committee, they would be able to bring forward such evidence as they thought proper, and sift that which was brought forward. He hoped that some Catholic Members might yet be placed on the Committee, as that would give satisfaction to the people of Ireland.

Mr. *Sheil* did not think, that the gallant Colonel could have visited many parts of Ireland when he asserted that the Protestants of that country were to a man disgusted with what he called a combination against the payment of tithes. Surely he would not say that the Presbyterians of Ulster were strongly in favour of the tithe system. The fact was, that in every part of the country the impression against that system was hourly increasing. The hon. member for Downpatrick had asserted, that there were no combinations against the payment of tithes in that part of Ireland with which he was acquainted; but that through the whole south of the country there existed a great abhorrence to that odious tax, was a fact that could not be controverted. In the county of Wicklow the Protestant farmers were as much opposed to the payment of them as the Catholics, and he believed evidence had been laid before the Committee to prove that fact. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stanley) had stated, that Government had felt a solicitude to appoint individuals on the Committee who were not actuated by strong party feelings, and also that they had, out of delicacy to the Catholics themselves, excluded individuals of that religion from the Committee. Now he thought it would have been as well if they had allowed to Roman Catholic Members the option of refusing to serve on the Committee, instead of thus sparing the nice sensibility of their feelings. The name of Lord Killeen had been mentioned; but he believed that noble Lord participated in the general surprise of his friends, when he found that no Roman Catholics were appointed on the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman had thrown a new light on the subject when he affirmed that none but unbiassed and impartial Members were selected for the Committee. Yet he must observe, that there were acting on that Committee three Members for Universities, and a right hon. Gentleman formerly Chief Secretary for Ireland. For the future, he presumed, under the dictation of the right hon. Secretary, these hon. Members must be considered as men of large and liberal views, and incapable of being biassed by those predilections which were, no doubt erroneously, attributed to them. To this Committee there were two questions referred; the one the collecting of tithes, which was the Protestant department, and the other the payment of them, which was the Roman Catholic department. It had formerly been complained that justice was not fairly administered in Ireland, because its administration entirely rested with one party. Might not the same complaint be made here, when on a question of fact, some of those who had most interest in its decision were not allowed to assist in the investigation? That House, however, might be considered the tribunal of the last resort. The Report of the Committee would have to receive the sanction of the House, and on that the Roman Catholic Members might vote; but they must not make suggestions in the Committee. The Roman Catholics, then, would have a power to vote, but not the power to get the information which might enable them to vote correctly. It might be said that justice would be done in the Committee, and he had no doubt that justice would be administered. But the question was, would the people of Ireland be satisfied with this course of proceeding? Like Cæsar's wife, justice ought not only to be pure but unsuspected. It would perhaps be alleged that the Irish were a suspicious people—he admitted that they were; but what had made them so? Long continued wrong, and grinding oppression. To dissipate any such suspicious feeling, some Roman Catholics ought to have been mixed up with this Committee. He should like to know how the addition of two or three Roman Catholics could affect the decision of that Committee; surely it would not be said that they would have the power to overturn the legal orthodoxy of the Protestants of England, which was fully represented in the Committee. He sincerely hoped that Government would not interfere in opposing the intended motion of the hon. member for Kerry, to allow Lord Killeen, and one or two other Catholics, to be placed as members on the Committee. If those hon. Gentlemen were added, a report proceeding from them would be received as emanating from a pure and uncorrupted source; but if the Committee were to consist entirely of Protestants, although some of the members were fully entitled to his entire confidence, yet it would not be considered as calculated to act fairly towards the Catholics of Ireland.

Sir *Robert Inglis* begged to inform the hon. and learned Gentleman, that he was not a member of the Committee.

Mr. *Ruthven* explained, that the Protestants in his part of the country generally were averse from the payment of tithes, but they did not like to take part in the plan for resisting them.

Lord *Althorp* wished to say a few words with respect to the constitution of the Committee. It was very well known that prejudices existed on both sides of this question, and therefore Ministers had selected none of those who had expressed strong feelings on the one side or on the other. They had selected a Committee, the members of which they believed were well acquainted with the subject, and were most anxious to do justice impartially. If, in selecting the Committee, they had not placed on it men who were well acquainted with the present state and situation of Ireland, and who had deeply considered this question, then the appointment of the Committee would have been open to all those objections that had been made to it. But amongst the members of that Committee there were no less than seven Gentlemen who represented very large bodies of Catholic constituents. Having selected those Members, it did appear to him, that it was impossible for any one justly to say, that the Catholic interest would not be carefully and impartially attended to in the consideration of this great question. On the other hand it should be recollected, that on investigating this subject they had not merely to look to the feelings of the people of Ireland, but to the feelings of the people of England also. It was necessary to keep in view the sentiments of the Protestant population of both parts of the empire. This being the state of the case, he would ask, when the question under consideration of the Committee was one particularly applying to the interests of the Protestant Church, whether great jealousy would not be excited against the settlement of that question, if Roman Catholics had been allowed to take a part in its decision? After the most serious consideration which the Government could apply to the subject, they thought that the mode best calculated for a satisfactory adjustment of the question was, to place on the Committee the names of men to whom the Roman Catholic interests could be safely confided; but not to place on it Roman Catholics, against whom Protestants might feel a degree of, perhaps improper, jealousy.

Mr. *Cresset Pelham* said, he had waited in the expectation that some other person would have placed the question before the House in one particular point of view, but as no one else had done it he conceived it to be his duty. He had always understood it as a declared and received principle of the bill which admitted Roman Catholics to sit in that House, that they should never interfere with questions relating to the Protestant Church. In the most friendly and charitable spirit he cautioned Gentlemen against violating that principle of the compact if they wished it to be held sacred.

Mr. *Walker* said, he could take upon himself to declare, that some Protestants were as averse to the payment of tithes as Catholics. Indeed, he was acquainted with one parish where the High Churchmen and Orangemen endeavoured to persuade the Catholics to join them in opposing the tithe composition, but the latter refused.

Mr. *Hume*, in moving that the petition be printed, took the opportunity to deny that he had ever sanctioned any plan which had for its object the spoliation or robbery of the Church. Some years ago he had laid resolutions on the Table of that House with respect to Church property, one of which directly went to preserve to individuals the right which they might at present possess to any such property.

Sir *Robert Peel* assured the hon. Member, that he had no desire to make an unfair attack upon him: he had understood the hon. Member to state, that the resistance now offered to the collection and payment of tithes, justified the Legislature in committing a spoliation on that species of property; under that impression, he had certainly said, that such language was unjust. If the hon. Gentleman had not used the language imputed to him, he had spoken under an erroneous impression.

Mr. *O'Connell* congratulated the right hon. Secretary for Ireland on the change that had taken place in his opinions with regard to the nature of Church property, and the power of Parliament to dispose of it. He should postpone his motion for placing the name of his noble friend Lord Killeen on the Tithe Committee until the next day.

Mr. *Stanley* said, that his opinions with regard to Church property had undergone no change whatever. He had always held that it would be most unjust for the Legislature to interfere with the property of the Church, with a view to convert it to purposes that were not ecclesiastical; but he would at the same time always assert the power of Parliament to regulate the property which the Church, as a corporation, held in trust, and for the due management of which it was, like every other corporate body, responsible to the Legislature of the country.

Petition to be printed.

IRISH MAGISTRACY.] Mr. *George Dawson* rose to move for "Returns of fees claimed by the Secretary of the Lord Chancellor in Ireland and other public Officers upon the Issue of new Commissions to Justices of the Peace in Ireland, consequent upon the demise of the late King; and of fees paid by the Magistrates in England upon taking out their Commissions of the Peace, consequent upon the demise of the late King." These returns, the right hon. Gentleman said were connected with much more important matter than many would imagine. He had no wish to delay the House from entering upon the current business of the night; but still he felt it to be his duty to state some few facts. At present, on the demise of the Crown, the Magistrates of Ireland were subject to a heavy fine for the renewal of their commissions, while the Magistrates of England were subject to no such fine. He might be told that the demand made in Ireland by the Lord Chancellor's Secretary, of 2*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, was a legal one, and he was ready to admit that it was legal with reference to new Commissions; but he contended it ought not to be demanded on renewals. The charge was felt to be a grievance and an exaction, and the impression was so strong against an exaction of such a character, that, if it were persevered in, it would leave large districts in Ireland without any Magistrates at all. The House would perhaps hardly believe, that the counties of Donegal and Sligo were at that moment almost without Magistrates. And really the conduct of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland had been most extraordinary with respect to this subject. At the very moment when a great political meeting was to be held in Donegal, when there was every inducement to give the police all possible strength, the Lord Chancellor sent down an order suspending all the Magistrates who would not submit to this monstrous exaction. Such was the fact, and the Magistrates, indignant at such treatment, applied to the Government for an explanation, but they had received none. The state of things in Ireland was melancholy. There was, in fact, no legal government. If any one wished to appeal to the Chief Secretary, that right hon. Gentleman was no where to be discovered—he was *non est inventus.* But though there was no legal government in Ireland, there was an abundance of party. There were three parties. First, there was the Roman Catholic party, strong in numbers and physical force, and headed by the hon. and learned member for Kerry; then there was the Protestant party, which embraced almost all the respectability and independence of the country; and lastly, there was the Government party, managed by Lord Anglesey, Lord Cloncurry, Dr. Doyle, and Sir William Gosset. When Lord Anglesey became Lord Lieutenant great hopes were indulged, that he would do Ireland great service, but his whole government was a miserable failure—and the first happy day Ireland could hope for was that which saw him quit her shores, for, with the exception of the persons he had mentioned, and a very few more, no one was satisfied with the administration of the noble Marquis. But with respect to those fees, if the exaction of them was persisted in, for no other purpose, that he could perceive, but the putting 3,000 or 4,000*l.* in the pocket of the Lord Chancellor's Secretary, many Magistrates would not renew their commissions, and he had reason to believe that Derry and Tyrone especially would nearly be left without Magistrates. He asked the right hon. Secretary, how long such a system was to be kept up by the Government? They had been told respecting the tithes that if people would not pay them they would not; and perhaps he should be told the same with respect to those fees—if the Magistrates would not pay them they would not. These were some of the effects of the conduct of the present Government, and as he mentioned them to show the importance of attending to the subject, so he moved for the returns with a view of affording information, and enabling hon. Members to examine into the matter.

Mr. *Stanley* said, the right hon. Gentleman had put a question to him, and if the right hon. Gentleman had not wished to delay the current business of the night he thought he might have done so in much fewer words, and without raking up, as he had done, all the topics he could reach of angry discussions. With respect to the fees paid by the Magistrates of Ireland on the renewal of their commissions, they were not imposed by the Government, but by Act of Parliament. Government had nothing to do with them; and in looking into the Acts of Parliament on the subject, he was surprised to find that Magistrates in Ireland, in taking out new Commissions of the Peace on a demise of the Crown, were subjected to higher fees than the Magistrates in England were liable to on a similar occasion. A Magistrate in Ireland had to pay *2l. 13s. 6d.* for such a renewal, while the sum which an English Magistrate had to pay was merely a nominal one. The manner in which the difference of the law in the two countries on this point had arisen was this:—The 1st George 3rd. c. 33, superseded the necessity of suing out new commissions in England on a demise of the Crown, but that Act did not extend to Ireland. By the 1st William 4th it was provided, that no fees should be payable for the renewal of commissions on the demise of the Crown, except for the labour actually done in making out such commissions, and that the Treasury should have the power of determining the amount of remuneration to be awarded for such labour. The fees payable for the labour performed were accordingly reduced more than one-half by a Minute of the Treasury, and thus the Magistrates of Ireland, instead of having to pay *7l. 15s. 6d.*, had only to pay *2l. 13s. 6d.* The greater part of the fees did not go to the Lord Chancellor's Secretary, but to the Deputy Clerk of the Crown in the Hanaper office. Although he thought that the labour alone ought to be remunerated, still he did not see what Government could do to relieve the present parties. He understood the documents to be prepared were very voluminous. Labour had actually been incurred, and it ought to be paid for. Since 1760 the attention of Parliament had not been called to this subject, but, now that it was, he would not say that it would not be proper to introduce a bill for the purpose of assimilating the laws in the two countries on the subject.

Colonel *Perceval* said, he had been requested by some of the most respectable of his constituents to call the attention of the House to this subject. The right hon. Secretary had talked of the labour of making out those documents. There was very little labour in their preparation. They were a mere bit of parchment, with some printing on it, and one name written with a pen. He knew this to be the case, because he had had one of those renewals in his hand, and examined it, although he had not been fool enough to take up his own. The Magistrates of Ireland had been very differently treated in the reign of George 3rd. The Government of that day did not feel it necessary to exact burthensome fees to swell the pockets of the family of the Lord Chancellor. These fees were not merely odious as an exaction, but they were odious also because they were a tribute to the family of a man who had no claims to any such recompense. He was instructed to ask the right hon. Secretary if it was the intention of the Government to pass a short bill to relieve the Magistracy from this unjust charge? The duties of an Irish Magistrate were not easy or agreeable, and it was rather too much to call upon that body to pay thousands to enrich a family not deserving. A meeting was called in the county with which he was immediately connected, for the 11th of January, and on the 10th of January the different Magistrates received letters, informing them that they must renew their commissions immediately. Nor was that the only ground for complaint. The High Sheriff had required the assistance of the constabulary police, and the police had refused to attend, on the ground that they had instructions from the Government to the contrary. The High Sheriff appealed in writing, but he received a similar answer in writing. That looked as if it was the wish and intention of the Government that those who had acted as Magistrates should be maltreated and insulted; but fortunately they had sufficient friends to protect them. The High Sheriff had written to a Sir Something Gosset—calling for an investigation, and the High Sheriff had afterwards written to the same Sir Something Gosset, tendering his resignation; but in reply he had been informed, that nothing of the kind was necessary. He should take an opportunity of moving for copies of that correspondence, with a view of submitting such a motion upon it as might appear necessary.

Mr. *Stanley* said, that his Majesty's Government would not at present promise to introduce any such Act of Parliament. On the contrary, he did not think that it would be just to take away the remuneration from those who had already undergone the labour of making out those Commissions, each of which, by the way, contained more names than the hon. Member had stated; for he believed it was necessary in the Commission issued to an Irish Magistrate to recite the whole Commission of the county. At the same time, as he had already said, he thought it would be a desirable thing to assimilate the laws in the two countries on the subject. With regard to the hon. and gallant Member's statement, that those fees went to recompense a member of the Lord Chancellor's family, he would not attempt to answer such a charge. He was sure the House regarded it at its full value. As to the letter which the hon. and gallant Member complained of, as having been sent to the Magistrates of Sligo, perhaps it would be a full justification for him to state, that the whole of the existing Commission expired on the 16th of January, and with respect to the police and constabulary force, they were expressly prohibited from attending party meetings, but they were assembled and ready to act on all occasions to preserve the public peace.

Colonel *Perceval* maintained he was even critically accurate. He had himself been a Magistrate for two counties. The letter respecting the renewal in one was dated December 26th, and that respecting the renewal in Sligo was dated the 9th of January, two days before the meeting. Again, upon the subject of the police, he had a letter from the High Sheriff, containing a copy of the letter from the chief of the police. That letter the right hon Secretary might see and read. The right hon. Secretary was wrong if he imagined he (Colonel Perceval) would make any statement, either in that House or elsewhere, that he was not prepared fully to sustain.

Mr. *E. J. Cooper* said, as it was not the practice to charge fees on the renewal of the Magistrates' commissions in this country, he held it to be invidious and improper that such a charge should be made upon the Irish Magistracy.

Sir *Robert Bateson* expressed an earnest hope that relief would be afforded. The amount of the fees was not so much as the unfairness of the charges. The right hon. Secretary unfortunately knew little or nothing of Ireland: he never lived there. He believed the right hon. Gentleman had not resided in Ireland more than four days consecutively since he had been in office. If the right hon. Gentleman were better acquainted than he was with Ireland he would soon see its real interests. Looking at the conduct of the Government towards the Irish Magistracy, he should suppose its object was to get rid of the Irish gentry as Magistrates, with a view of appointing a stipendiary Magistracy, of such persons as would be entirely subservient to the Ministers.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, the present regulations were made by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dawson) who now complained of them.

Mr. *George Dawson* assured the hon. and learned Gentleman that he was incorrect in his statement, as he had no doubt the right hon. Secretary would inform him.

Mr. *Stanley* said, the Treasury Minute was made in November, 1831, but the scale of fees, in accordance with which that Minute was made, was settled by the previous Administration.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, at any rate it appeared that the principle was laid down by the late Government, but now it seemed the good and worthy exclusive Protestant Magistrates were determined to enter into a conspiracy to resist the payment of those trifling fees. It must be admitted, however, that the charge was unquestionably too much; for the only trouble given to the officer was, the insertion of the name into the parchment document, and transmitting it to the party postage free.

Mr. *George Dawson*, in reply to the statement of the right hon. Secretary for Ireland, admitted that it was perfectly true a great number of instruments had been issued by the late Administration immediately previous to their abdication of office, at, however, one-half of the usual rate of fees. But he could not see that the present Government had any right to throw the onus on the shoulders of that Administration, for the issue of any instruments since that period at the same rate, inasmuch as it was competent for them to order a still further reduction.

Mr. *Hume* deprecated the general principle of demanding fees on commissions, a practice which pervaded all branches of the public service. He had before alluded to a case where the Captain of the Guard had pocketed a sum of 1,350*l.* by the issue of commissions. If he had known that he should have had such a favourable opportunity for detailing the facts of this case, which he begged to remark he had in a state of preparation, he would have brought down to the House the necessary documents for so doing. He was of opinion that means should be taken to compel persons who had taken fees on commissions to refund them. He implored Irish Gentlemen not to pay the exaction, for he was convinced it was illegal. Why should English Magistrates be required to pay but three or four shillings for their commission, while in Ireland they were called on to pay between two and three pounds?

Mr. *Ruthven* concurred with the hon. member for Middlesex, that these fees ought not to be paid. The full charge for inserting the name of a gentleman in the Commission of the Peace in England was between 5*l.* and 6*l.*, while in Ireland the sum demanded for the same purpose was above 10*l.*, and the charge now complained of was merely for a renewal of these commissions on which so much had been said. To demand 2*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* for such renewals was a gross imposition, and he, therefore, trusted Government would prevent their exaction by passing an Act for that purpose.

Mr. *Hunt* said, whenever an imposition was detected, this excuse was immediately made, "Oh, we were not the first to practisé it, our predecessors were guilty of similar conduct." He wanted to be informed upon what principle of justice 2*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* was demanded from an Irish Magistrate for the renewal of his commission, when an English Magistrate had to pay but 5*s.* for the same renewal.

Motion agreed to.

THE VAUDOIS.] Sir *Robert Inglis* trusted that the House would believe, that, opposed as he was to almost every measure of his Majesty's Government, he did not bring forward his present Motion as a party question; it was too nearly connected in his mind with considerations of religion to be so degraded. At the same time, while he would not shrink from declaring that he looked upon the situation of the Vaudois as peculiarly deserving the sympathy of this country, on account of their religion, he thought that he could satisfy the House, that they had a right to claim its support on grounds entirely distinct and political. In fact, if they were Jews, Mahometans, or Heathens, their right to the interference of England would be the same; for it was founded on specific treaty.

As this was the first time for many years, he believed, that their name had been brought before the House, it was necessary to state something of their history and present condition, as the ground-work of the Motion. The people in whose behalf he now claimed the support of England, inhabited three vallies in the Alps of Piedmont; and they had been known for ages as the Protestants of that region. They are, indeed, part of that great family who, in the mountains of Dauphiné, in the Cevennes, in the Pyrenees, and in theseAlpine recesses, maintained a pure faith amidst darkness and persecution. The motto of one of their chief towns (Luzern) *Lux in Tenebris,* is, indeed, exactly characteristic of their condition; and in a very distant age, from these vallies were sent forth those who were a light to other countries. They continued exposed to alternate violence and neglect till the year 1655, when the persecutions of the Duke of Savoy, their sovereign, threatened their total extinction. Their sufferings and their common faith excited the sympathy of all Protestant Europe. Oliver Cromwell took the lead in their behalf, and the magnificent letters of Milton, in his name, in this cause, ought to be known to every one. But the sonnet of Milton has better familiarised the sufferings of this people to every Englishman:—

Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;
E'en them, who kept thy truth so pure of old
When all our fathers worship'd stocks and stones,
Forget not.

Cromwell interposed strongly in their behalf; he authorised a general collection in England for their relief; he summoned every Protestant state to aid him; and said that he would send a fleet to Civita Vecchia, and his cannon should be heard in the Vatican. His policy was Protestantism, and he almost realised his own threat, that he would make the name of an Englishman as much feared as that of an ancient Roman. The result was a cessation of this persecution; and the Vaudois sunk into quiet neglect again. But after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the court of France roused the Duke of Savoy to the extirpation of his Protestant subjects.

Another persecution arose, almost as bloody as the last, and, for the time, more effectual. All of the Vaudois who were not massacred or imprisoned, were exiled; and there was not left one of them in their own vallies. The return of a band of them, the *glorieuse rentrée*, as it was called, was one of the most heroic military enterprises which an equal body of men ever accomplished; but any further allusion to it would be foreign to the present Motion. It was sufficient to say, that sympathy for their sufferings, and admiration of their gallantry, again won for this people the support of England. Up to that time the support had been founded on feeling; it was henceforth to rest on positive engagement and treaty. King William 3rd in 1690, made a treaty with Savoy, the States-General being a party to it, by which he stipulated, and the Duke of Savoy consented, that the Vaudois should be replaced and preserved in all their ancient rights, customs, and privileges, both as related to their habitation, business, and the exercise of their religion, and as to every thing else. The Ministers of King William and of the States-General were instructed and authorised to regulate the execution of this article with the Ministers of the Duke of Savoy. The noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, must look with peculiar interest to this proceeding, because it was mainly the result of the zeal of Rouvigné, Lord Galway, the uncle of that illustrious woman who had conferred so much honour on the name of Russell.

If it were said, how would England have liked that, three years ago, the Minister of the king of Sardinia should have insisted on interfering here on behalf of the Irish Roman Catholics, the answer was easy. The sovereign of these Vaudois had, by solemn treaty with England, engaged that they should be preserved in all their civil and religious rights; and England had, consequently, the obligation of supporting them, irrespective altogether of a community of creed. The treaty of 1690 was confirmed in express terms by the Duke of Savoy, in the treaty signed in 1704 with England. The groundwork of the Motion was thus established. The Vaudois were put under the protection of England; and, if aggrieved, had a right to its interference. That interference was exercised in 1727, and formed the subject of the second part of his Motion. Mr. Hedges, the English Minister, then at Turin, wrote to his Government as follows, in reference to grievances then endured by the Vaudois:—

'I believe, if the Marquis d'Aix (the 'Sardinian minister in London) perceived 'an earnestness in England of having this 'affair remedied, it would very much facilitate it.'

'On another occasion he said (and, with all deference to the noble Lord, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he (Sir Robert Inglis) ventured to call his particular attention to this quotation; it was dated Turin)—'I cannot but be of 'opinion, that one great reason of the coldness I meet with here on those subjects, 'arises chiefly from the little warmth with 'which it is urged to the Marquis d'Aix at 'London; and as they are points by no 'means agreeable to the king of Sardinia, 'I do not doubt but he informs his master 'we have them not so much at heart as to 'oblige him to make many alterations in 'either case; for the treaties are so express 'with regard to the Protestants, that they 'cannot possibly have any thing to say in 'defence of their present behaviour to 'them.'

There was another passage, to which he begged the noble Lord's attention, as showing the way in which only the subject ought to be treated:—

'I can assure you that talking firmly to 'them, and *that* by persons of authority, 'and who they think are able to make good 'their words, is the only way of obtaining 'the most just and reasonable demands at 'this court; and nothing but great steadiness on our side, and insisting strongly on 'our treaties and the king of Sardinia's 'promises, can preserve the Protestants of 'the vallies from sure and certain destruction. The inveteracy against our religion 'is incredible, and if it be not supported with 'some warmth, since it is attacked with so 'much, it must give way to superior power.'

He now came to the third part of his Motion. In the course of the French revolution, the vallies of Piedmont were annexed to France; and the Vaudois enjoyed, with the other subjects of the French empire, a perfect equality of civil rights, and the free exercise of their religion. By the treaties of Paris in 1814 and 1815, and by the Congress of Vienna, the states of the king of Sardinia were restored to him, but they were restored on condition that none of the inhabitants should be molested in person or in property; and it might well be asked, how far the circumstances to which the Vaudois were on this restoration exposed, could be considered as other than a molestation. By a decree of a few lines, the king of Sardinia revived, in 1814, all the laws which for four centuries his predecessors had enacted, including all against the Vaudois. At this day, a Vaudois could not be a physician nor an advocate; he could not purchase property out of his vallies. The Vaudois stated their grievances in two petitions to their authorities. He held these petitions in his hands. They stated, in 1814 (and the fact continued), that they could not establish schools, and could not print books of their own faith. And here it might be observed, that independently of their religious character, they might claim the sympathy and support of those who were called the liberal party of the world; because, two centuries before the establishment of a national education in Scotland, these people had in every commune a school. They were now forbidden to introduce any system of mutual instruction in their schools; and a college opened at La Tour, only so late as March last, was in a fortnight closed by order of the government. It had been re-opened, indeed, lately, but under great restrictions. In their municipal councils, the majority must always be Roman Catholics, though the aggregate of the Roman Catholics scattered among them was not more than one-eleventh of the whole, and, in the place where they were most numerous, was only two-sevenths, and, in the principal place, was only one-fiftieth. If it were said, that all this was turning the old pro-Catholic arguments against those who now urged the cause of the Vaudois, it might be replied at once, that the rights of the Vaudois were secured to them by specific treaty, to which England was a party; and, whether any other people ever suffered the same grievances or not, the duty of England to interfere and remedy these was clear and obvious. One of those grievances remained to be mentioned; it existed in law at least, whatever might be done in the matter. The penalty of death was enacted against such as would dissuade a Vaudois from turning Roman Catholic. Thus if a Vaudois pastor attending one of his flock in the last sickness, should find him yielding to the inducements of another to exchange his own faith for that of the Church of Rome, he would be liable to the penalty of death for an endeavour to rescue him. It was an old edict, revived in 1814: 'His Royal Highness 'inhibits those of the pretended reformed 'religion from diverting or dissuading any, 'whosoever he be, of the said religion, who 'would turn Catholic, under the same 'penalty of death; giving it in charge 'particularly to the ministers of the said 'pretended religion, inviolably to observe 'the abovesaid, upon pain of answering the 'same in their own persons.' Under these circumstances he had made out his case. He had claimed the protection of England in favour of this people on the ground of specific treaty. He had proved those treaties. He had proved the intervention of England in 1727, under those treaties. He desired to obtain the recognition of the same obligation on the part of the Government now, and he wished to see how, since the year 1814, that obligation had been discharged. He could not sit down without acknowledging the obligations which he felt, in common with all who took an interest in this subject, to Mr. Gilly, who having, with many other good and pious men, visited these vallies, and excited the sympathy of England in their behalf, in relation to their condition and their faith, had collected those materials, particularly in reference to the treaties, which had furnished the largest part of the authorities on which the present Motion rested. He begged to move for copies or extracts of the treaties of 1690 and 1704, so far as they related to the Vaudois, the correspondence of Mr. Hedges on the subject in 1727, and any correspondence on the same subject since 1814.

Mr. *O'Connell* seconded the Motion, upon the ground that, whatever might be the stipulations of treaties, it was our duty, as Christians, to interfere for the protection of those who suffered simply for the sake of religion; and he complimented the constancy of those sufferers, whose persecution was disgraceful to the nominal Christianity of those who inflicted it.

Sir *George Rose* meant, in conformity to the wish of his hon. friend who made this Motion, to have seconded it, but thought it right to abstain when the hon. and learned member for Kerry rose to do that, in a manner honourable to himself; but having felt it his (Sir George Rose's) duty, when the Vaudois, in their utmost need sought the aid of England a few years since, to take a prominent part in the adoption of measures for their relief, he deemed it imperative on himself to give his aid to the present Motion. He would be very brief; their virtues, their industry, their peaceable and orderly conduct, their resignation, their loyalty, and their many excellent qualities, had excited a very strong feeling of interest in their cause; and although it was his intention to rest their claim on Great Britain on political grounds, he would not dissemble the deep feelings of religious sympathy with which his heart was filled towards those sufferers under oppression. He did not mean to have adverted to the origin of religious opinions, but after what the learned member for Kerry had said, as to that of their Protestant faith, he would inform him, that, according to the results of the most recent, elaborate, and deep researches, it was made perfectly clear that there was no trace to be found of their having separated from any Church, and that they had unquestionably held their present tenets unchanged from the highest antiquity. These tenets were essentially the same as those held by the Church of England; and they had a form of liturgy. As to interference on their behalf, there was not a Member of the House more incapable of taking part in any endeavour to lead it to measures of undue intervention on the part of his Majesty's Government with that of any foreign State, with respect to its relations with its own subjects, than he was. He sought merely to ascertain whether England had any right to interfere in behalf of the Vaudois, and whether she was called upon to exercise it. Their virtues and unmerited sufferings, and a strong and national feeling of religious sympathy, had long interested the British nation in their behalf; Cromwell, even Charles 2nd, though he robbed them of their money, William 3rd and Queen Anne, all took their part against their sovereign; and the grounds of this interference were so strong—it was so natural, and so long acquiesced in, in point of fact, by Piedmont—that England might be said, in fairness, to have acquired a prescriptive right to exercise it, especially as Holland did the same; the Sardinian government, indeed, never appeared very jealous of such remonstrances, so that they might, in all probability, have been ventured upon with little risk. Prussia, also, through her envoy at Turin, exercised lately a most active intervention in behalf of the Vaudois without its having produced any inconvenience in the relations of the two governments, as far as he could learn. But still he would not argue upon this ground, but upon that of a positive compact between States alone. There were now before the public, extracts of a secret Treaty of 1690 between the king of England and the Duke of Savoy, confirmed by one of the year 1704 between the two States; but they were printed in a private work, which, though of unquestionable authority, was not one on which the House could proceed, as their official authenticity must be previously established. It was impossible, moreover, to judge of the effects that treaties ought to have, by mere extracts, which might not contain the most important points; and it must also be observed, that subsequent treaties, or other diplomatic acts, might modify or annul the whole or parts of any treaty, and it was, therefore, indispensable that official copies of treaties should be produced. But here it was material to state, that the secret stipulation in the Treaty of 1690, in favour of the Vaudois, confirmed by that of 1704, was bought by Great Britain, for a valuable consideration, of the Duke of Savoy. It might be said, that a difficulty arose as to their production, because that of 1690 was "secret;" but as far as it regarded the Vaudois, it was, in point of fact, the secret of the comedy which every one knew; moreover, it was scarcely possible that the stipulations of that treaty could, after such a lapse of years, affect now, in any degree, the honour or interests of either of the contracting States; but if this was not so, and there was still anything in this compact unfit to be submitted to the public eye, it would be right to let that part of it be kept from it. But, if England had by treaty a right to interfere in behalf of the Vaudois, would it be asked whether or no Great Britain was for that reason, required and called upon to exercise that right? In his opinion, the mere act of a nation, in taking the unfortunate and the oppressed under her protection, and acquiring a right, admitted by their Government, to intervene in their behalf, in all justice, as well as according to all high and honourable feeling, gave the sufferers a distinct claim to her good offices —one which could never be questioned by a high-minded people; and if such due interference was called for, and was honourable in proportion to the suffering on the part of the oppressed, and their extreme need—then, indeed, would such intervention redound eminently to the credit of Great Britain, as exercised in the behalf of this excellent and interesting people—deplorably trodden down, and vexed, and humiliated.

Viscount *Palmerston* assured the hon. Baronet, that the Government shared fully the sentiments of interest and sympathy expressed for this class of persons by the hon. Baronet, and those who supported his Motion. Neither had the Government any indisposition to exert every interference, that it could legitimately employ, for the protection of the Vaudois from ill usage or persecution. It did not appear, however, from what had been urged by the hon. Baronet, that he had established the fact of any injury being suffered by these people at present, as his statement referred only to the year 1814, and since then he had not heard that there was any reason to complain. The laws to which the hon. Baronet referred were probably obsolete. The treaties of which copies were now asked for had been secret at the time they were made, and a difficulty might have arisen in that respect; but, from the length of time which had elapsed, he should not now make any objection on that ground to their production. As to the correspondence that had taken place more than a century ago, it could not be supposed to have much application to the present day; and he presumed the hon. Baronet would not press for that. With respect to the correspondence from 1814 to 1829, that part of it which he had looked over led him to the result, that there was no oppression now practised towards the Vaudois. In that, too, which had passed between our Minister at Turin and the Government still later, it was mentioned that deputies from the Vaudois had been well received by the king of Sardinia, and that no complaint was made by them of the Government. He would, therefore, suggest, that it would be enough for the hon. Baronet to take copies or extracts of the treaties referred to, without putting the public to a great expense in printing a correspondence, the chief part of which was more than a century old, and the latter part of which, from 1814 to 1829, having reference to proceedings under a former reign, might revive unpleasant recollections. He, however, assured the hon. Baronet, that if there were any infraction of rights respecting which this country was entitled to interfere, he (Viscount Palmerston) would be ready to take such steps as might be requisite, whether for the restoration of those rights, or for the security of any privileges the Vaudois were entitled to.

Sir *Robert Inglis* said, that he had been misunderstood. The noble Lord had assumed him to admit that no present grievances existed. On the contrary, though the state of the Vaudois might be improved, grievances still existed; for instance, at this moment the College of La Tour could not admit more than fifteen students, and theological lectures must not be given; all the books must be submitted to the inspection of the Roman Catholic Intendant of the province; the masters must be approved by him and he was the visitor of the College. A Vaudois could not at this day purchase property out of the vallies, and could not be a physician or an advocate. As the noble Lord had recognised the general obligation of England to secure their rights to this people, and had stated his willingness to interfere, if there should be any infraction of those rights, he consented to withdraw so much of his Motion as related to former instances of interference on the part of this Government.

Motion, as amended, agreed to.

COURT OF SESSION (SCOTLAND).] The *Lord Advocate* moved for leave to bring in a Bill "to prevent obstruction of business in the Court of Session of Scotland." He would only say, that the Bill was necessary, because, if a Judge now fell ill, there was no power to call in another Judge to supply his place.

Sir *George Clerk* said, the present Bill was rendered necessary by the anxiety of the hon. and learned Lord's predecessor to reduce the judicial establishments of Scotland as low as possible, so much so, that it appeared that the temporary indisposition of a Judge stopped the whole business of his division of the Court, and compelled the adoption of a plan to procure the assistance of another Judge to dispose of that business. This Bill was rather a curious commentary upon another bill which had been brought forward by the learned Lord, and which proposed to abolish the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, and transfer its duties to the Court of Session, although it appeared, by the present Motion, that that Court was unable to get through its own proper duties. While he was speaking on the subject, he would express a hope that the learned Lord would, at the same time, apply himself to placing the Scotch Judges on a footing with their English brethren on the score of remuneration for their labours. At present, the Scotch Judges did not enjoy one-half the salary of the English Judges, though their duties and acquirements were at least equal.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* said, the late Administration had augmented the duties of the Court of Session, without increasing, in a corresponding ratio, the salaries of the Judges. Although the late Government had neglected that duty, he hoped it would be taken up by the present one, and that it would see the justice and necessity of placing the Judges of Scotland somewhat more upon an equality with those of England than they were at present; the former had only 2,000*l.* per annum, while the latter had 5,500*l.*

Mr. *Goulburn* agreed with both hon. Gentlemen as to the justice of increasing the salaries of the Scotch Judges. The Administration of which he had been a member, had brought in a bill for the purpose of carrying this increase into effect, but, in consequence of the abrupt termination of the Session, owing to the demise of his late Majesty, the bill was not passed into a law.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, if the number of Scotch Judges was not sufficient, they could easily spare three from the new Bankruptcy Court. He hoped, that whenever there was a question again about increasing or diminishing the number of Judges, more attention would be paid to the subject than was shewn in the late creation of four new Judges, where one would have been quite sufficient.

Mr. *Hume* did not rise to oppose the Bill, but, on the contrary, to support it. He should be glad to see greater reductions made in the Courts of Scotland —he should be glad to see the number of Judges reduced from fifteen to eight, who would be quite sufficient, and capable of getting through all the business of the Court. By simplifying the judicial proceedings, seven or eight would be quite enough. He was not surprised that all the learned Gentlemen rose, one after another, to condemn the insufficient salaries, but he must protest against the intention of the late Government to increase the salaries of the Scotch Judges. With the present salaries, there was no want of able men in Scotland to accept of situations on the Bench. He wished there might be a deficiency in the Revenue for the next four years of 1,000,000*l.* a-year, because that would impose a necessity of reducing all salaries. He should be better pleased to hear a proposition for reducing the salaries of English Judges, than for increasing those of the Scotch. He agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman, that one Judge would have been quite sufficient for the new Bankruptcy Court.

Sir *Edward Sugden* said, he could not but express his surprise at the haste with which the noble Lord (Lord Althorp) hurried a bill through the House at the close of last Session, appointing four new Judges, at a salary of 9,500*l.*, when it was proved, that the whole business which could come before them might be disposed of by one Judge, at a salary of 6,000*l.*, in the course of thirty-five days. He did not know what the salaries of the Scotch Judges were, and, therefore, could not say whether it was too much or too little. If the noble Lord was so ready to squander thousands in legal appointments, he should not be surprised to hear, that the salaries of the Scotch Judges were increased before the close of the Session, if a proposition were made to diminish them.

Leave given to bring in the Bill.

CONVENTION WITH FRANCE.] Captain *Yorke* said, that in the late Convention entered into between France and this country, agreeing to a mutual right of search, it was provided, by the 7th article, that vessels taken with slaves on board should be delivered over to the jurisdiction of that Power to which they belonged. This was quite a new regulation. He wished, therefore, to know whether the effect of it would be to take away from the captors of slave-vessels the usual remuneration?

Sir *James Graham* observed, that the point was to be matter of future arrangement.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—BILL FOR ENGLAND—COMMITTEE—THIRD DAY.] Lord John Russell moved the Order of the Day for the House going into Committee on the Reform Bill.

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, he was still as much opposed to the Bill as ever. It was going down very fast in the opinion of the country. The greatest apathy was felt about it in the county of Lincoln. He heard it reported, that the supporters of the Bill were determined to remain silent, and let those on his side have all the talk to themselves. Let them do so; let them but pay attention, and he did not fear that they would be able to unsay all that had been said in favour of it. Much was said about the support of high personages. He believed the very highest was not so favourable to it as some persons wished to persuade themselves. He heard so at Brighton. He again asserted, that there was a great and comfortable re-action. He heard some of the farmers say, that they expected no good from the present Administration. He never saw a more raw, unsightly, unfinished set of Ministers. They never could come to any maturity. He rose, however, to ask if the Ministers intended to retain in the Bill the clause giving the franchise to tenants at will renting a farm of *50l.* a-year; to that clause he laid some claim as his own, though it was fathered by the noble Marquis (the Marquis of Chandos), and feeling much interested in its fate, he felt it necessary to ask this question, particularly as the hon. Baronet, the member for Peterborough—for Whiggish Peterborough—had given notice of a motion to erase it from the Bill.

Mr. *Hume* wished to know whether the noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), intended that the Committee on the Reform Bill should sit on Wednesdays?

Lord *Althorp*, in answer to his hon. friend's question, could only then say, that Ministers saw no reason for taking the Committee on Wednesdays. They intended that the Committee should sit on four days in each week, hoping that the same courteous understanding which obtained last Session—namely, of hon. Members giving way to Ministers on those four days when their motions were not of urgent necessity or immediate interest—would be acted on during the present Session. He did not expect, that it would be at all necessary to take the Committee on Wednesdays. Indeed, that day was now so universally understood to be devoted to motions not likely to give rise to protracted discussion, and the attendance was, consequently, so invariably thin on that day, that it would be almost hopeless to expect to make any progress in the Bill by adding Wednesday to the Committee days. He, therefore, would that evening move the adjournment of the Committee over to Thursday, taking his chance for being able to make some progress after the motion which stood for that day should have been disposed of.

House went into Committee.

Lord *Althorp*, on moving that clause 7th stand part of the Bill, said, that he would take it upon himself to have the Amendment proposed on a former day by the hon. and learned member for Bishop's Castle—namely, that the present Bill shall not operate as law till the bill for defining the boundaries of the boroughs and towns mentioned in it should have previously received the sanction of the Legislature, carried into effect.

Mr. *James L. Knight* would, on that understanding, willingly leave the matter in the hands of the noble Lord.

The blanks in the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th clauses were then filled up, and the clauses agreed to.

The 11th clause read as follows;—"And be it enacted, that the persons respectively described in the said schedules C and D, shall be the returning-officers at all elections of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament for the boroughs in conjunction with which such persons are respectively mentioned in the said schedules C and D, and that for those boroughs for which no persons are mentioned in such schedules as returning-officers, the Sheriff for the time being of the county in which such boroughs are respectively situated, shall, within 'two months' after the 'passing of this Act,' and in every succeeding respective year, in the month of 'March,' by writing under his hand, nominate and appoint for each of such boroughs, a fit person, being resident therein, to be, and such person so nominated and appointed shall accordingly be, the returning-officer for, &c."

Mr. *James L. Knight* said, he found no provision made for identifying the nomination, which might remain a private document in the custody of the Sheriff, incapable of identification; this ought not to be the case. The amendment which he intended to propose to remedy this defect was a very slight one, and he trusted, therefore, that the noble Lord opposite would not object to its introduction. It was, that after the word "had," in the eighteenth line of the clause, there should be inserted these words—"to be delivered to the Clerk of the Peace of the county within one week, and to be by him filed and preserved in the register of the county."

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. *Goulburn* called the attention of the House to that part of the clause by which it was enacted, that "for those boroughs for which no persons are mentioned in such schedules as returning-officers, the Sheriff for the time being of the county in which such boroughs are respectively situate, shall, by writing under his hand, nominate and appoint for each of such boroughs a fit person to be the returning-officer." He objected most decidedly to such an enactment, which would give the Sheriff a power such as was given to no other person in the country. If the Sheriff was inclined to do so, he might abuse the power thus put into his hands, by appointing as returning-officer any person whom he wished to prevent from being a candidate, Lord *Althorp* admitted, that there were some objections to the clause, but there were still some difficulties in making other arrangements. It was not intended that the plan now proposed should be permanent, as it was the intention of the Government to grant charters to the new boroughs, when the returning-officers would be provided in another way.

Mr. *Goulburn* observed, that in framing a new Constitution, it was to be expected that the Ministers would fall into a great many difficulties and anomalies. He did not mean to deny, that the naming of the returning-officer would be a matter of difficulty. The Sheriff might abuse his power to prevent a man becoming a candidate; therefore, the mode of appointing the returning-officer, as it was provided for in the clause, was, in his opinion, most objectionable. If the returning-officer was appointed by the Crown, there would be some check upon him, as the Government would think it below their character to act in such a manner; but individual cases of a different line of conduct might easily be anticipated. Again, the Sheriff was not responsible, but the Government would be responsible for the manner in which the deputy exercised the duties of the office.

Lord *Althorp* said, that the objections of the right hon. Gentleman would apply as much to the giving of Representatives to large towns as to the making of what he called a new Constitution; it would apply as strongly where the right of election was given to a few places as to the enfranchisement of whole districts. Whoever attempted a Reform in Parliament, would have to contend against this difficulty, and, on the whole, he and his colleagues thought that it would be better to vest this appointment in the Sheriff, for the present, than in the Crown.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* complained, that it was a complete innovation to allow the Sheriff to appoint the returning officer in the boroughs within his bailiwick. No Sheriff of England had ever such a power bestowed upon him before; and when this was pointed out to the noble Lord, all the answer he gave was—"It is a matter of great difficulty." It by no means followed that the Sheriff would appoint men whose local knowledge fitted them for this situation—such men as, under the present plan, exercised the duties of returning officers. The persons appointed to the office must be residents within the borough, but no time was specified as to the term of their residence. They might be domiciled in the place for the express purpose, by the connivance of the Sheriff. It was forbidden that the Churchwarden or Overseer should be appointed to the office, although those persons were the best qualified, from their local knowledge, to execute its duties, and generally had the confidence of their townsmen. He should prefer seeing the returning officer appointed by any other person rather than the Sheriff. The Ministers of the Crown, too, would have an influenee over the election; for, as they appointed the Sheriffs, they would exercise an influence over them, and, through their means, over the returning officers, and might then appoint their partizans to the office, and in that manner influence the elections. It appeared, however, from what the noble Lord said, that this was to be only an *ad interim* Constitution, and that the new boroughs were to get charters, which would remove the difficulty. He should not be surprised to see the new boroughs before long deprived of their charters as easily as the old. This Bill, in fact, would not be complete and final in any one of its parts. He, therefore, begged to ask the noble Lord, or some of his supporters, why the Corporations for these newly created boroughs could not be manufactured at the same time with the Bill which went to create them?

Mr. *O'Connell* said, the existing returning officers were not of so very superior a character as to make it adviseable to advocate the mode of appointment that was now practised. Until something better was proposed he should support the present clause. According to the principle of the present constitution, the Sheriff was bound to execute, by himself or his deputy all writs that were directed to him as Sheriff. For that purpose he appointed officers to preside at the election, and he appointed, too, the Assessor, who determined on the votes. As to the influence of the officers, it was folly to talk of their influencing the election, for that House would know how to deal with either of them who abused the power intrusted to them. The Bill now before the House proposed only to do that which would enforce the Common Law, and compel the Sheriff to do what, by the present duties of his office, he was always called on to perform.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* never heard a lawyer assert a proposition more in the teeth of the Constitution, and of the statutes of Parliament, than that which had been pronounced by the hon. and learned member for Kerry. When a parliamentary writ was sent to the Sheriff of a county, he had no option but to issue his precepts to the several Corporations and recognized authorities in his bailiwick, and in no case was he invested with the authority of selecting the returning officer. The Sheriff never appointed the deputy to whom the execution of writs for the election of Members for a borough was intrusted. Such a practice would be as contrary to various Acts of Parliament as it was to many decisions of that House. It was not, therefore, true, that the present Bill was a following up of the old Constitution; on the contrary, it was a direct and positive breach of that Constitution. If the hon. and learned Member had candidly admitted, as the noble Lord had done, the difficulties that had induced such a course to be adopted, there could be no objection to him, but when he spoke on a legal point, he should do so logically, accurately, and legally. He believed there was not, in the whole country, another lawyer, but the hon. and learned Member, who would venture to state such a proposition as he had submitted to the House.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, he had only affirmed that the general duty of the Sheriff was to execute all writs directed to the county over which he presided. He was quite aware that within those counties there were separate and particular jurisdictions over which the Sheriff had no direct authority; but the constitutional doctrine was, that the Sheriff was responsible for all writs that were not specially directed to persons within his county who were appointed by other high authority.

Sir *James Scarlett* admitted, that as a general rule, the Sheriff executed all the writs that were sent to him to be executed in his bailiwick, but he did not execute all the writs for elections of Representatives for boroughs situated within his bailiwick. The Sheriff did not appoint, and could not appoint, a deputy to execute a precept for an election within the borough. He must say, that he thought the appointment of the returning officers by the Sheriff was more objectionable than by the Crown itself. Another course might surely be pursued: why could not the Government ascertain who were the superior civil officers of the boroughs to which they were about to give Members, and then appoint those officers the returning officers of those boroughs? He did not object to the principle of giving these large towns Representatives, though he must say, that the Government was, in his opinion, now carrying that principle too far; but he thought that at least care should be taken to give the power of a returning officer to such persons in the new boroughs as exercised it in those already in existence. He recommended the Government to make these new boroughs corporations for the sole purpose of electing Members of Parliament; for to make them Corporations in other respects, was the right of the Crown, on which he should say nothing at present. If they were made Corporations for the purpose of electing Members, there would be these advantages—first, that the new boroughs would be thus assimilated to those already in existence; next, that the returning officer would be appointed in the usual way, and the difficulty which they were now discussing would be got over; and lastly, the registration of the voters would be rendered unnecessary, for the officers of boroughs always kept a list of the freemen of their respective boroughs. Under these circumstances, he thought it would be desirable for the further consideration of this question to be postponed for a couple of days, till the Government could have time to inquire who were now the superior civil officers of the boroughs about to be enfranchised, and could ascertain whether such officers could not advantageously be appointed returning officers, and whether these boroughs could not be made Corporations for the sole purposes of this Act. He thought that a short clause for making them Corporations for the purposes of this Act might very easily be drawn without in any manner prejudicing the rights of the Crown to make them Corporations for other purposes.

Mr. *Hunt* wondered that the hon. and learned Gentleman, who had just now so ably treated the subject under discussion, had not gone a step further, and said how the returning officers were to be appointed in the new Corporations. He merely said, they were to be appointed in the usual way. That usual way meant, he supposed, that they were to be elected by the people, of course, as they were now appointed by the freemen of London, Bristol, and other places.

Lord *Althorp* observed, that if the hon. and learned Gentleman were to endeavour to draw a short clause, making the newly-enfranchised towns Corporations for the purposes of this Act, he would find that he had undertaken a task of no very slight difficulty. Another hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken as if he thought the appointment of Sheriffs was a favour conferred upon the persons appointed, and as if the Sheriffs, when appointed, were under the influence of the Crown. In both cases he was much mistaken. In making that supposition, they were paying but a poor compliment to the gentlemen of the country who served the office of Sheriff. The hon. member for Preston was much mistaken when he supposed that the returning officers in the large proportion of boroughs in the country were elected by the people; and if the Government had recommended the adoption of such a mode of electing the returning officers, they would only have involved themselves in difficulties. A number of difficulties had occurred to the Government on this point, and the Sheriffs naturally suggested themselves as the persons to whom most properly the duty of appointing returning officers could be intrusted: and there was the less objection to the plan, as it was not intended to be permanent.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, the simple question before them was, what necessity existed for vesting the Sheriff with the power of compelling an individual to accept the situation of a returning officer. This Bill proposed, that the Sheriff must find a person to undertake the duties of his deputy at different places during a county election, but for borough elections he could compel any individual to accept the office. The noble Lord, seeing the difficulties and consequences likely to result from the compulsory system, excluded that class of men who were best calculated to discharge the duties of the office fairly and impartially, by providing that no man should act as returning officer, who possessed more than *300l.* a-year landed property. Did the noble Lord think, that he would find many individuals willing to undertake an office which exposed them in case of misconduct to a penalty of *500l.*, and to actions on the part of the voters? Whoever undertook so onerous an office would expect remuneration either by influence or money, and therefore the question resolved itself into this—was it proper to confide this power to the Sheriff?

Mr. Serjeant *Wilde* said, that the plan recommended by the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Sir James Scarlett), was not a new plan, for it had been recommended six or seven years ago by Mr. Serjeant Merewether, who had ever since been endeavouring to gain over advocates for it. With respect to the observations made upon the statement of the hon. and learned member for Kerry, he would only beg leave to say, that that hon. and learned Member never had asserted that the Sheriff executed, by himself or his deputy, all the writs or precepts which were issued for the election of Members in the boroughs within his bailiwick, or that he appointed the returning officer for those boroughs. But how had the returning officers become so in many instances? How, but by the habit of the Sheriff to send writs to those officers to be executed within those boroughs? That habit, arising from the fact that they were originally supposed to be the Sheriff's deputies in the boroughs for the execution of writs there, had, at length, confirmed them in the office, and made them the persons to whom the execution of parliamentary precepts was intrusted. The habit had at length been converted into a right. In many of the boroughs in schedule C, the returning officer was especially pointed out, as in the case of Manchester, where the duty belonged to the Boroughreeve. The Sheriff would have the power of selecting the proper individuals, and the law would cast upon them the necessity of discharging the office, even at their own personal inconvenience.

Sir *James Scarlett* denied, that, by the ancient law of England, the Sheriff had the right or power of selecting the returning officer. By the form of the writ, as long ago as the reign of Edward 1st., the Sheriff was required to return two Knights for the county, and to send his precept to boroughs for the election of Burgesses; but he did not, therefore, appoint the returning officers in boroughs.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* contended, that the proposition of the learned Serjeant (Wilde) was in the teeth of all law and all history; for the Sheriff never had possessed the power of naming the returning officer in boroughs, not even in those of comparatively recent creation, such as Banbury, which was created in the reign of James 1st.

The *Attorney General* concurred in the spirit of the observation which had been made by the hon. and learned member for Newark, and which he thought had not been fairly represented. He understood the hon. and learned Member to say, not that the Sheriff had the power to nominate returning officers in existing boroughs, but that, when new boroughs were to be created, and the writs were sent to the Sheriff, he must perform the duty of returning officer by himself or deputy. With respect to the Sheriff, he considered that that officer was naturally the person to whom the power of conducting the election in new boroughs should be given. It had been objected that the Crown might exercise an influence over the conduct of the returning officers, through the means of the Sheriff, who was appointed by its favour. It was, however, ridiculous to suppose, that the Crown could make a job of the creation of Sheriffs. It was no favour to country gentlemen to nominate them Sheriffs, for that appointment was almost the highest penalty which could be inflicted on them. If, however, the power of selecting the returning officers for the new boroughs had been reserved to the Crown, he was quite sure, that that would have been even more strongly objected to than the present proposition. He did not think that the suggestion thrown out by the hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir James Scarlett), with respect to the incorporating the new boroughs for the purposes of the Bill, would have been any improvement. He begged further to be permitted to remark, that he hoped they would not fall into the practice of last Session, and waste the time of the House in frivolous discussion, on matters which it was evident had been arranged in the most unexceptionable manner.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* concurred in the greater part of the observations which had fallen from the learned Attorney General; and, under all circumstances, he was of opinion that the Sheriff was the fittest person to have the power of appointing the returning officers: but he objected to the present clause, because the appointment of the Sheriff was made compulsory. He thought it would be an improvement, if, in certain cases, an appeal could be had from an appointment made by the Sheriff to the King in Council.

Mr. *Cresset Pelham* expressed his disapprobation of the clause. It had been said by some learned Gentlemen that the Sheriff had the power, according to the common-law, but that was denied by others, but certainly not a single case had been shown where that authority had been exercised, although the contrary had been shown. The principle must therefore be considered as wholly applying to the future.

Sir *Edward Sugden* must be permitted to say a few words upon the mooted point, whether the Sheriff was the fit and constitutional person to have the selection of returning officers. He was fully of opinion, that both the hon. member for Kerry (Mr. O'Connell), and the learned Serjeant (Serjeant Wilde), had laid down a mistaken and unsupported proposition. Without arguing the particulars of what the law was or is at present, supposing Sheriffs had the power which the learned Gentlemen affirmed they possessed, but which he denied, still he was prepared to contend, it ought not to be exercised without limitation. For instance, in a county like Middlesex, the clause would give the Sheriff too great power, as his deputies would be returning officers for the districts of the Tower, Finsbury, and Marylebone. Within the memory of man, and, indeed, for many centuries, Sheriffs had not had the selection of returning officers in any boroughs. It was inexpedient to select an individual merely that he might be returning officer, and he ought, for the sake of greater responsibility on the part of the Sheriff, to hold some recognized appointment—such as Head-borough, or High Constable. He was persuaded that, as the clause at present stood, it would become a job in the hands of the Sheriffs and their Under-sheriffs, who were almost invariably attornies, and well knew how to avail themselves of advantageous opportunities.

Mr. *Hunt* said, he did not rise to oppose the clause, but to protest against the language of the Attorney General, who had said the object of certain hon. Members appeared to be, to waste the time of the House in frivolous discussion. That might be a clap-trap for the Press, but it never should deter him from doing his duty with respect to this Bill.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, Lord Holland, or the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, for the time being, had the power of nominating the Sheriff of Lancashire, who would appoint no less than six returning officers. There would be six Under-sheriffs in the new boroughs; so that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster might be called the greatest boroughmonger in the land. This was a power he could not consent to delegate, and he should be strongly disposed to take Lancashire out of the operation of the Act. His hope was, that the noble Lord would see the inconsistency he had pointed out, and propose the remedy required.

Lord *Althorp* said, if the hon. and learned Gentleman would inquire, he would find the Shrievalty of Lancashire was not considered a very desirable office at present, and he did not believe the power of appointing returning officers to the newly-created boroughs would make it much more popular. At all events, he did not apprehend that the effect of the appointment of returning officers by the Sheriffs would produce the dissatisfaction described.

The clause as amended ordered to stand part of the Bill.

The 12th clause, respecting the elections for the county of York, read.

Lord *Althorp* said, the great object of the clause was, to appoint places where it would be most convenient for the electors to assemble. With that view he should move, that the Court for the election of Members for the North Riding of the county of York should be held in the city of York, for the West Riding at Wakefield, and for the East Riding at Beverley. He believed these towns were, on the whole, best adapted for the purpose.

Mr. *Strickland* thought, that Beverley was not well calculated for the purpose—it was very inconveniently situated.

An *Hon. Member* approved of Beverley. It possessed every facility for holding elections. The Quarter Sessions were held there, and it was a large and well-built town.

Lord *Milton* was of opinion, that the ancient division of the county should not be departed from. He could see no reason why Ainstey should be separated from the North Riding.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley*, though he thought it more reasonable that Ainstey should be annexed to the East than to the North Riding, as the former was the least extensive in population, still conceived it better not to alter the division of the county.

Lord *Morpeth* was in favour of the city of York having a share in the elections, and was of opinion that Ainstey should remain as it was.

Mr. *Wrangham* said, as the county was to be divided into three separate districts or counties, the best course to pursue for the convenience of the electors was, to select those places which were most centrical. Northallerton was best adapted, therefore, for the place of election for the North Riding.

Mr. *Lascelles* was of the same opinion with the hon. Member; if the elections were held at York for the North Riding, many of the voters would be more than forty miles from the place of election, and, in the East Riding, the same would be the case if Beverley were selected.

The clause agreed to.

Clause 13th was read to this effect:—"And be it enacted, that in all future Parliaments there shall be Knights of the Shire, instead of two, to serve for the county of Lincoln, (that is to say) for the parts of Lindsey, in the said county, and for the parts of Kesteven and Holland, in the same county; and that Knights shall be chosen in the same manner, and by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if the said parts of Lindsey were a separate county, and the said parts of Kesteven and Holland together were also a separate county; and that the Court for the election of Knights of the Shire for the parts of Lindsey, in the said county, shall be holden at , and the Court for the election of Knights of the Shire for the parts of Kesteven and Holland, in the said county, shall be holden at ."

Lord *Althorp* said, he begged leave to move, that the first blank of the clause be filled up with the word "four," and with respect to the places best adapted for the elections to take place, he begged to move, that the election of two Members for the division of Lindsey, be fixed to take place at Lincoln, and of the two others, for Kesteven and Holland, at Sleaford.

Colonel *Sibthorp* must again object most strongly to any division of the county of Lincoln, the only effect of which would be, to throw it into two close boroughs, one of which, including the hundred of Lindsey, would be under the control of a noble Baron, whose name he had no hesitation in mentioning—Lord Yarborough, whose property was situated in that part of the county. He would move, that all the words after the word Lincoln, be omitted.

The *Chairman* said, the question was, that the first blank be filled up with the word four.

Mr. *Wilks* said, his surprise and disappointment were great, now that he found that the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had deviated from the course that on the former occasion he pursued. The noble Lord had then consented to postpone the question of the division of Lincolnshire, till the clause relating to the division of counties had obtained the sanction from the House. Now, he precipitated the local question, in which little interest would be generally felt, and thereby gained an advantage over those who continued to defend the ancient unity of Lincolnshire, and who deprecated the innovation, unfavourable to its independence and honour, which this clause would effect. Since, however, the noble Lord would so exercise his authority, he must again protest against any division of counties, and especially against a division of one of the fairest, wealthiest, and most populous counties, and to which peculiar objections existed. As to the division of counties generally, nothing had been discovered to obviate or diminish the objections which a large party of tried and staunch friends to Reform irresistibly urged, in which the enlightened and independent Press of England universally concurred—and which the lovers of freedom throughout the country felt and approved. Who, that dared to think for himself, did not retain his opinion, that the tendency of the measure was, to create landed instead of borough nomination; and to give to the Aristocracy that preponderating power in the Commons House of Parliament, which it was the professed object of Reform to uproot and destroy? Indeed, the noble Lord conceded on the former occasion that such was the expected result; as he expressed his hope that the Opposition in the other House would be propitiated by the arrangement—as they would be gratified by a discovery, that they would retain a supremacy which, for their personal advantage or the power of their order, though to the prejudice of the people, they had already exercised too long. But, in that case, the noble Lord might have been taught that principle ought to be preferred to expediency; and that great objects were more likely to be gained by manly bearing and resolute adherence to right, than by a subserviency that encouraged denial and awakened contempt. In this matter he yielded, and sacrificed county independence to lordly power. But were the Peers propitiated? No! And yet, untaught by experience, the noble Lord attempted now to renew the compromise which the Aristocracy had disdained and the people had condemned. For this division of counties, no adequate reasons could be given. By the existing system, the freeholders of extensive counties were compelled to assemble in their county towns—the distance was inconvenient—the trouble great—the expense oppressive; but, as one of the great objects of the Bill was, that the poll should be taken in various places in divided counties, the shadow of an excuse for the division of them was swept away; as, even for the largest counties, the elections might be conducted without any of the objections for the removal of which alone division could be endured. If such were the objections to the general division of counties, they applied to Lincolnshire with peculiar force. It could not be denied, that by the division proposed, the interest of the noble Lord mentioned by the gallant Colonel, would, in the division of Lindsey, completely prevail; and that any effort by an independent candidate to resist his nomination would be vain. Two Members out of the four for the county, therefore, one Peer would return. He believed that aristocratic influence would have great weight in the return of the remaining two, and would only be controlled by a number of small independent yeomen, who existed in those parts of the county. He was fully persuaded the county of Lincoln, from its importance, deserved four Representatives; he, therefore, trusted, if the gallant Colonel proposed to divide the House upon the clause, that he would allow him to suggest, that he should not object to that part of it which allotted four Representatives to the county, but should object to the remainder of the clause by which the division was decreed, and the places appointed at which the elections for these broken and dissevered portions were to be held. On that subject, also, he must express his dissent and regret. The noble Lord and the House were aware that he had always contended that, should the division be made, Boston was the town where the elections for that division of the county in which it was situated ought to take place. Its importance and situation deserved that distinction, as the returns which would have been presented to the House, in consequence of his motion to that effect, would have proved, had the noble Lord condescended to wait for them. But it appeared that he must have yielded to some local influence, and had recommended Sleaford. In the county, that selection would produce disappointment and surprise, and he was determined to resist it if the question was carried to a division.

Sir *Robert Heron* said, that if Lincoln had been the only county to suffer division, he should have been sorry to see its consequence lessened by such an operation, though he must confess that his opinion was, that it afforded the fittest occasion for division of any of the counties after that of Yorkshire. He must also take that opportunity of denying altogether the allegation of the hon. and gallant Member, with respect to the county of Lincoln becoming two close county boroughs after this division was carried into effect, for no such consequence would result from it, unless tenants at will were to be allowed to vote, in which case, a very considerable influence would be obtained by certain parties. He had long been acquainted with the county, and he was firmly of opinion that the freeholders were perfectly free from any domination.

Mr. *Hunt* observed, that if the discussion were persisted in, he must beg to move that the Chairman do report progress.

Lord *Althorp* expressed a hope, that the hon. Member would not persist in his motion.

Mr. *Hunt* said, that it had already been settled, that the Committee should not proceed after twelve o'clock, and he observed an Order of the Day which would require some discussion.

The question of filling up the blank with "four" was again put from the Chair; when

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, that he was determined to take the sense of the House on the question.

Mr. *Robinson* asked the hon. and gallant Member, if he objected to the addition of the number to the county Members, as that was the question before the House?

Colonel *Sibthorp* withdrew his amendment.

The blank filled up with the number "four."

The *Chairman* said, the next question was, that the other blank be filled up with the word "two."

Colonel *Sibthorp* moved an Amendment, that all the words after the word "Lincoln," in line three of the clause, be omitted.

The House divided on the Original Motion: Ayes 195; Noes 64—Majority 131.

Clause agreed to, and ordered to stand part of the Bill.—The House resumed.

SCHOOLS OF ANATOMY.] Mr. Warburton moved the Order of the Day for a Committee of the whole House on the salaries of officers to be appointed under the Anatomy Bill.

Mr. *Hunt* expressed his determination to oppose the Bill in every stage, particularly with regard to this part of it; for he had not the slightest idea that the Bill would be again altered, as he now found to be the case. The Bill was not yet printed, and the public money was, it appeared, to be voted away without any notice being given.

Mr. *Robinson* said, he was sure the Bill could not properly be discussed as long as the Reform Bill was before the House, and he was determined it should not be passed *pro formâ*.

An *Hon. Member* requested some provision might be made for the decent interment of the remains of bodies after dissection. He considered a provision of that sort would do away with many objections to the Bill.

Mr. *Briscoe* would be very happy to lend his assistance to any legislative enactment which might have the effect of appeasing the public mind on this subject; and, more especially, might tend to check those horrible and disgraceful crimes which had taken place in the metropolis of late. He should also be most willing to do anything that would promote surgery and the cause of science; but he nevertheless felt strong objections to many of the provisions of this Bill. He could never give his consent to create a property, by legislation, in the remains of the dead: this was the first time, at least, that the House had been been called upon to invest a legal property in the living of the remains of the dead. He never heard of a law which gave a power to the executor, or next of kin, to dispose of the bodies of their deceased friends and relatives. Nor ought such a power to exist, unless the individuals had, during their lives, either by writing or orally, in the presence of two witnesses, expressed their consent to their bodies being so disposed of. In reference to the proposition made by the hon. Member this evening, to give salaries to certain inspectors. he could not see how that scheme could follow out the object of this Bill. But what were to be the duties of the inspector? That which they were intended to do was a thing in no way practicable to be done. He should, at least, like to submit to the House whether provision ought not to be made that no places should be allowed to be open for anatomical dissection which were not previously licensed for that purpose by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. In France, and in other countries, it was true, schools were expressly provided by the Government for the purpose of teaching anatomy. Such ought to be the system in this country. These places might still be subject to inspection; indeed they ought to be both licensed and controlled by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. He had no wish to continue this discussion, but being called upon to vote that the Bill should go into Committee, without any debate having taken place on the second reading, when it was the usual course that a discussion of the principles and merits of the measure should be taken at that stage, he could not help thinking that it was desired to carry this Bill without any discussion at all. He had hitherto purposely abstained from urging on the discussion, entirely in deference to the motives and intention of the hon. member for Bridport. But he should take every possible step to oppose this Bill, unless he could be assured that it should not be brought forward at one o'clock in the morning, when it was impossible that the subject could receive that full, fair, and ample consideration and discussion which its importance required. He should never consent either to what he considered to be, in this enlightened age, too barbarous a provision to form part of the Bill, the clause which went to revive the custom of hanging felons in chains, exhibiting them in the common highways dangling in the air. This was, of all the provisions, perhaps, the most objectionable one; although he entertained very strong objections to many other parts of the Bill, and hoped to have an opportunity of expressing them fully, before the Bill was allowed to pass, however anxious he might be to have a subject of so much importance, and of such excitement, set at rest.

Mr. *Nicolson Calvert* said, this discussion had already lasted too long; and he would merely state, that the object of his hon. friend was to have the money clause passed *pro formâ;* after which the Bill could undergo in Committee a full and fair discussion. He was quite sure, that such was the wish of his hon. friend, and that he would not treat the House unfairly.

Colonel *Sibthorp* wished to offer only one word on the subject, which was, that in times of excitement like the present, they could not do better than leave the people, in matters of this sort, to themselves. The hon. Member was proceeding with this measure, without affording Members the opportunity of considering it fully. He protested against proceeding any further with the Bill, until it had been carefully discussed, and more information should have been obtained. Here a Bill had been read a first and second time, and, on both occasions, at a late hour in the night, without any discussion, and now Members were asked to vote for its going into Committee at the same late hour, and without any previous debate. When reforming the Parliamentary Representation of the people was talked of, he would say—"Reform yourselves." He had assured his constituents the other day, that this House wanted more reform in its proceedings than in its constituency. Instead of being a grave and deliberate assembly, the House passed laws of the greatest importance *pro formá,* forsooth, and without discussion, and yet was deluding the people with all kinds of promises of good to accrue to them when the Reform Bill was passed. "There will be no taxes," it was pretended, "all will be prosperous and happy." This was the substance of what was said—just the same as what the people of Ireland were told when the other Reform Bill was passed. But he would, in that House, say, that the Representatives of the people were deceiving the people, sitting in that House from day to day doing nothing at all.

Mr. *Warburton* said, he had no wish to prevent the Bill being fully discussed at the proper time, but the object at present was, to have the money clause passed *pro formâ,* that the House could go into a Committee.

The House divided: Ayes 87; Noes 4—Majority 83.

The House then went into Committee.

Mr. *Warburton* said, that the whole expense of the Inspectors for England, Scotland, and the Provinces, would cost no more than 500*l.* â-year. Many Gentlemen were willing to perform the duties of the office gratuitously; but he thought that the House ought rather to pay small salaries, say even 25*l.* a-year, than leave duties, however easy, to be performed gratuitously. He then moved a resolution, that it was the opinion of the Committee, that his Majesty should be empowered to grant salaries of not more than 100*l.* a-year to the Inspectors under the Anatomy Bill now in progress through the House, and that the expenses of those officers should be paid out of the Consolidated Fund.

Mr. *Hunt* moved, as an Amendment, that the Chairman should leave the Chair, report progress, and ask leave to sit again, as he considered it was too late to discuss so important a clause.

The Committee divided on the Amendment, when there appeared, Noes 78; Ayes 4—Majority 74.

The Chairman then put the Original Question.

Mr. Hunt opposed the Resolution, and called for a division.

The House having divided accordingly, the numbers were, for the Resolution 78; against it 1—Majority 77.

Resolution agreed to, and ordered to be reported.

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HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, January 26, 1832.

Reform—Petitions.] Lord *Lynedoch* presented a Petition in favour of Reform in Parliament, from the Freeholders and Commissioners of Supply of the county of Perth, in county meeting assembled. In presenting this petition, he felt it his duty to call their Lordships' attention to another petition, which was incorrectly said to be that of the county of Perth, and which had been intrusted to his noble friend (the Earl of Kinnoul). That petition was against a Reform in Parliament, and had been hawked about for signatures from mansion to mansion in Perthshire. Their Lordships no doubt recollected, that, during the last Session of Parliament, the word "reaction" had been plentifully used. It had travelled down to Scotland, and meetings were held by the Anti-reformers in consequence, in order to get up petitions. Upon one occasion, he wished to attend such a meeting, and found he could not be permitted to enter, without a card of invitation. This was a secure method of obtaining unanimity, and, of course, the petitions submitted to such meetings were agreed to without a dissentient voice. The Anti-reformers of Perth had pursued the same prudent method, and had contented themselves with publishing their petition in the provincial papers, inviting signatures, and endeavouring to procure them by all sorts of means and influence. The number of signatures was certainly, by such means, very much increased. That the present system of Representation in Scotland did not truly represent the feelings and interest of the inhabitants, must be evident, when he stated that, in the county of Perth, there were not more than 230 freeholders. Under those circumstances, the inhabitants of that county, in common with the other inhabitants of Scotland, were decidedly of opinion that the Reform Bill would be a boon of inestimable value to the people of Scotland, inasmuch as it would create among them that which did not exist at present—he meant an independent yeomanry, such as was the pride of every county of England. They were indignant that this Anti-reform petition should go forth to the world as a document embodying their sentiments. They therefore called a public meeting of the county, which was held on the Links of Perth, and which was attended by upwards of 25,000 persons. The petition which he had then the honour to present was agreed upon at that meeting, and received in a few days afterwards upwards of 27,000 signatures. It had been stated in the *Morning Chronicle*, that if the late Duke of Athol had been alive, no such meeting as that of which he had just spoken would have taken place, inasmuch as he exercised feudal influence over Perth, and would have exerted it to prevent such a meeting. Now he for one would deny that his late illustrious friend exercised any feudal influence in Perth. Influence he had there undoubtedly, but it was influence which he had fairly earned by his assiduous attention to the business of the county. It was true that his late illustrious friend was a true Tory in principle; but then he was one of those Tories who felt themselves bound, as the King's friends, to support the King's Government. There was, therefore, every presumption that, had the life of the Duke of Athol been spared, he would, as one of the King's friends, have supported the King's Government on this question. The noble Baron concluded, by expressing a wish, that when his noble friend (Earl Kinnoul) should present the Anti-reform petition from the county of Perth, their Lordships would recollect the statement which he had just made, and if they did so, they would receive its allegations with the greatest caution. He then moved, that the petition be read at length.

The Earl of *Mansfield* denied, that this petition emanated from a meeting of the county of Perth, properly convened. He admitted, that it was numerously signed, but it was signed by the inhabitants of Perthshire only, male and female, for he had been assured that a number of women attended the meeting, and had actually signed the petition. It must therefore be taken for the petition of those who had signed it, and not as the expression of the feelings of the freeholders and Commissioners of Supply, representing the property of the county. He could not help designating the animadversions which the noble Lord had made on the Anti-reform petition from Perthshire, as premature, knowing, as he did, that that petition had not yet been presented. He had read the petition, which was worded respectfully, to their Lordships; but he was sorry to say, that the language of some of the speakers at the meeting at which it was agreed to was of the most inflammatory description. A freeholder of Perthshire who was a candidate for the Representation of Perth, supposing that town to gain the right of sending Representatives to Parliament under the Reform Bill, had, if he was to trust the public journals, addressed the meeting in the following terms:—" I would advise you to cast away the wen that is on your neck—I mean the Bishops." The gentleman who used that language lived in a remote and distant part of the country. He might, therefore, not have heard, that a recommendation had been given to cure that faction by the infusion of a great many new Peers among the old ones; he might not have heard that a majority of the Peers of Parliament were deemed by a Minister of the Crown a mere faction—he might not have heard that such language had come from a person sitting on the reverend bench, or if he had heard of such language, it might have made him alter his opinions as to the propriety of casting away the wen that was on their necks. He was happy, however, to say, that the language of abuse against that respectable bench would be met here with greater indignation even than the vituperation which was lavished upon themselves, and which he knew their Lordships were prepared to meet with silent contempt. He felt it to be his duty to volunteer these remarks in the absence of his noble friend, Lord Kinnoul, the Lord-lieutenant of the county.

Lord *Lynedoch* denied, that any such language had been used at this meeting by the gentleman in question. He had never heard of the circumstance before. As he was on his legs, he would mention a fact which would show how strong the feeling in favour of Reform was in Perthshire. At the time that their Lordships were discussing the question, whether the Reform Bill should be read a second time, a great number of weavers assembled every day at Perth to see the mail come in from the south, and to learn the intelligence which it brought. After the news came down, that the Bill was rejected, they stopped the mail to know whether there had been any disturbances in London. The guard, who was determined to hoax them, replied in the affirmative, and said, that the Duke of Wellington and another illustrious individual had been shot by the mob. This intelligence, which ought to have excited general disgust and indignation, was hailed with satisfaction by the assembled multitude, and in the vehemence of their indignation against the rejectors of the Reform Bill, they so far forgot the humanity of their natures as to go to a noble and gallant friend of his, and ask him whether they ought not to celebrate the fate of the Duke of Wellington and his colleague by a general illumination.

The Earl of *Eldon* was inclined to meet this petition, and indeed every other petition, with respect. The noble Baron, however, had given one of the strangest reasons in the world for paying greater attention than ordinary to the statements of these petitioners: for he had told their Lordships that they were in a state of great misery, because two illustrious individuals had not been murdered in London. But were these reformers at Perth the only reformers who used such language? No such thing. What did the reformers at Manchester say in their public speeches? They said that, instead of justice being done upon the individuals, who, at Bristol and Nottingham, had been convicted of the most enormous crimes, the Government ought to hang up his excellent friend, Sir Charles Wetherell, and the twelve Judges. But was even this all that the reformers of Manchester said? No: they told the country that if the King and the Parliament did not legislate as they pleased, they must take upon themselves the duty of legislating for the country. He did not know whether the King's Attorney General had made any inquiries as to whether such speeches as were printed in the newspapers, as coming from the reformers at Manchester, had been uttered or not. If he had made such inquiries, and had found that such speeches had been delivered, he had not done his duty if he had not instituted proceedings against those who dealt in such inflammatory and seditious language.

Petition to be printed.

TITHES (IRELAND).] Lord *King*, in presenting three Petitions from several parishes in the county of Cork, against the present system of Tithes, observed, that he wished to call their Lordships' attention to the circumstance that if the landholders of any parish desired to pay their tithes in kind, which undoubtedly they were at liberty by the law of the land to do, they must not give notice to the collector to remove them at the same time, and if any three of them should happen to fix upon the same hour, the law presumed there was a conspiracy, and would visit with heavy punishment parties who might thus accidentally have offended. In such a state of the law he had no doubt the Established Church had pushed its claim too far. Suppose a parish had several hundred persons liable to pay tithes, and they all resolved that they should be taken in kind, how could they avoid, in giving notice, but that several of them must fix upon the same hour? In England the law was different; and the collector of the tithes was bound to prove a conspiracy, but in Ireland the law would, for his accommodation presume that one existed. Tithes had ever been a great grievance in Ireland which had been bitterly increased of late. The urgent necessity for sustenance compelled the people to till the ground, and the pressure of the tax was by this necessity constantly increasing.

The Earl of *Wicklow* said, having long observed the marked attention paid by the noble Baron to the subject of tithes in Ireland, he was astonished to find that his name had not been proposed by his Majesty's Government as a member of their Lordships' Committee; and he therefore now proposed that the name of Lord King be placed on the list.

Lord *Wynford* regretted that the noble Baron should have used expressions so much calculated to add to the excitement of Ireland on the subject of tithes. There was no difference between the laws of both countries. The common-law was undoubtedly the same, and he would undertake to say that it contained no provision or presumption, that three persons giving notice to take their tithes at the same time amounted to a conspiracy; therefore, if such a law existed in Ireland, it must be created by statute. He should feel obliged by the noble Baron pointing out such a law, and he assured him, if he could refer to it he would most cordially concur in a motion for its repeal.

Lord *King* said, he had stated the fact upon respectable authority; he had himself no knowledge of such a statute, although he believed the law to be as he had described it.

The Marquis of *Westmeath*, in justice to the clergy of the Established Church in Ireland, declared that he never knew an instance of any one of them having demanded the full tenth.

Petitions laid on the Table.

Political Union Petitions.] The Marquis of *Londonderry* said, that having observed in the public journals that a petition to the King, concerning points of the gravest State policy, had been agreed upon by certain persons styling themselves the Council of the National Political Union, he wished to know from the noble Secretary for the Home Department whether he had felt his duty to present that petition to his Majesty? He was the more induced to ask for information on this point, because he imagined, from the allusion to illegal associations in the Speech from the Throne, that a petition proceeding from such a body would not be acceptable to his Majesty.

Viscount *Melbourne* said, he would state the course which he had always pursued with respect to petitions presented to his Majesty from bodies styling themselves Political Unions. Any of the learned Lords near the noble Marquis could have informed him, that a body was not necessarily illegal because it styled itself a Political Union. There was no law, either statute or common, which made a Political Union illegal. The object which these Unions had in view, and the means which they adopted for carrying them into effect, made them legal or illegal. The petitions which he received he always, if properly worded, submitted to his Majesty as the petitions of the individuals by whom they were signed, without recognizing or disavowing the assemblies by which they were voted. With respect to the particular petition to which the noble Marquis had referred, it was couched in such terms that he felt it his duty not to lay it before his Majesty.

Belgium.] The Earl of *Aberdeen*: My Lords; I am quite aware that, in the course which I am about to follow this night, I may be accused of attempting to pursue a singular path. I am ready to admit, that to the King alone it belongs, in the exercise of his undoubted prerogative, to contract alliances, to frame treaties, and to negociate on all matters with the governments of foreign States, and no man can be less desirous than I am, to question or limit that prerogative. But, my Lords, it is also true that, in particular cases, the Parliament of this country has interfered, and circumstances have arisen under which it has not hesitated to question the exercise of a prerogative for the due use of which the Ministers of the Crown are responsible. My Lords, it is not unprecedented in the history of this country that the Sovereign has come down to ask the advice of Parliament, while negotiations were pending, as to the proper course to be adopted; and Parliament has also, unsolicited, at other times carried to the foot of the Throne its humble advice as to the character and conduct of negotiations. Not to keep you in suspense as to precedents, your Lordships must recollect that remarkable instance towards the close of the 17th century, when Parliament, in a situation not dissimilar from the present, attempted, in the reign of Charles 2nd, to detach that Monarch from his unnatural connexion with France, and recommended to him in lieu thereof to form an alliance more creditable to his character and to the honour and interest of the country, by cultivating a closer and more cordial intimacy with the Dutch nation. A similar course had been pursued by Parliament on other occasions. It is true, my Lords, that, in the conduct of negotiations of this nature, respect is generally observed to that secresy which is necessary for the successful completion of such transactions. In general, the public know nothing of treaties and conventions until they are concluded, and formally and officially laid upon the Table of the House. I freely confess that, if I only knew that his Majesty was engaged in a negotiation with other Powers, having in view the object which has been stated—namely, the settling the affairs of Belgium and Holland, however little I might feel disposed to trust the views of his Majesty's present Ministers, or however little I might be disposed to place confidence in their exertions to bring the matter to an issue which, to me, would appear advantageous to the country, I should certainly be contented to wait until I saw the treaty laid on the Table, and then, if I thought proper, I would exercise the power which belongs to me as a Member of this House, and would proceed to censure, when advice was no longer of use. But, my Lords, the case at present is materially different. His Majesty informed us, in the Speech at the opening of the Session, that he had concluded a treaty with the king of Belgium, which would be laid upon the Table of the House as soon as the ratifications were exchanged. I must take the present opportunity of observing, that this is a most irregular, and, I believe, an unprecedented course. I never recollect to have heard before of a treaty being announced from the Throne until the ratifications were actually exchanged, and Ministers were prepared to lay it on the Table of the House. This deviation from the established practice may obviously place the country in a situation of very great difficulty. There is no sovereign that gives to his Ministers a power to treat with other nations who does not reserve to himself the right to ratify such treaties or not;—and it is unquestionably not only disrespectful to the Sovereign with whom we treat, to announce the negotiation to the British Parliament under such circumstances, but such premature disclosures may produce results extremely embarrassing to the country. I feel it more necessary to allude to this circumstance, because if I am not much mistaken, the noble Lords opposite have carried the practice which I feel it my duty thus to reprehend still further. With respect to another treaty, which was the subject of conversation in this House the day before yesterday, his Majesty announced, not only that he had concluded the treaty, but that he had directed it to be laid on the Table of the House. This treaty was dated the 30th of November, and his Majesty's Speech was delivered on the 6th of December. It is quite clear, therefore, that the ratifications could not have been exchanged when this announcement was made in the Speech. Is is impossible that they should have been received from Paris at the time, and a noble Viscount opposite has, in fact, stated, that they were received on some day in the middle of December. My Lords, these are not mere forms. Depend upon it that if the usual course be departed from, it may give rise to material inconvenience. I can only answer for the practice of the Administration with which I was connected. So strongly did I myself feel this conviction, that, when I had the honour to fill the office of his Majesty's Secretary of State, I recollect that I signed a treaty with the Austrian Plenipotentiaries, which treaty was in my possession, and although the Government of which I formed a part had good reason to believe that the ratifications had left Vienna, and were on the road to London; still, because they had not been received, I and my colleagues felt it our duty not to announce the treaty in the Speech from the Throne until we were in a condition to lay it before the House. With this notice of the course pursued by his Majesty's Ministers, I have also to advert to an act of the king of the Belgians. That prince has communicated the treaty to which I have alluded to the Chamber of Deputies at Brussels. What power the constitution of Belgium gives him on the subject I do not know. I presume that, if the constitution gives the king any power, it gives him that which is essential to a sovereign—the power of negotiating treaties; but what particular prerogatives it confers I am not prepared to say. I ought, perhaps, to apologize for not being better informed of the nature of the Belgian constitution. But the consequence of the communication I have mentioned is, that we have the treaty authentically, if not officially, before us. Seeing in this treaty provisions which seem injurious to the interests of this country, and highly detrimental to the honour of the King, what course is a Member of Parliament bound to pursue? Is not this the time, when the treaty is brought to our knowledge, and when some of the parties concerned in it appear reluctant to consummate their own act of injustice—is it not now, if ever, the time for Parliament to express an opinion, while an opinion may possibly be of service? I shall hereafter explain the provisions of the treaty to which I more particularly refer; but I now feel myself under the necessity of declaring, that it is impossible for me to conceive how we can discharge our duty to ourselves, to the country, and to the King, if we do not express our opinion at this moment. Having stated the impression which the knowledge of the treaty has produced in my mind, I will act with corresponding sincerity. I look for no papers which have been published over and over again, and commented upon by every newspaper in town—I will not propound any truisms which it might be difficult to deny —I will employ no parliamentary tactics in order to carry my point; but what I feel strongly I will express honestly, and will call upon this House to declare its opinion by an Address to the Throne, such as I think the importance of the case demands. His Majesty said, in his Speech from the Throne, that he trusted the period was not far distant when the king of the Netherlands would see the necessity of acceding to the arrangement made by the Five Powers; but on the motion for an Address to the Crown, I took the opportunity of stating, not only that I doubted that such would be the case, but that I should be much surprised if a sovereign so circumstanced could assent to such an arrangement, not only because that which was proposed was unjust and detrimental to his interest, but in truth, even if he were inclined to agree, it would be impossible for him to act in such opposition to the unanimous feelings of his people. The noble Earl opposite thought otherwise. He is now better informed. He has now seen what the united efforts of a loyal and patriotic people are capable of performing. He has found that enthusiasm, energy, and zeal are not always the characteristics of a revolutionary party. He has seen a constitutional king supported by a free people, and I think it impossible that he should have seen it without being inspired with respect and admiration. I fear, however, that it is not difficult to perceive that that necessity which the noble Lords opposite made his Majesty say he relied upon, as likely to bring his ally to agree to the arrangement, furnishes a key to the honesty of the noble Earl, and affords an index to the feelings in which the negotiation was carried on. His Majesty was not advised to say that he hoped his ally would see the wisdom, or the policy, or the justice, or the expediency of conforming to the arrangement; but that he would see the necessity. I think, my Lords, that the spectacle presented by the conduct of the Dutch government, supported as it has been by the people of Holland, demands the highest applause. The king has conducted himself with a degree of resolution, of prudence, and of consistency, above all praise: and, if it please Almighty God, I trust his merits will meet with due success. In truth, the cause of Holland is so just a cause, so good a cause that it must prosper and when I say the cause of Holland, I entreat your Lordships to believe that I mean the cause of England too, for I consider them inseparable and identical. I felt so convinced that this cause must sooner or later, receive the success which it deserved, that I declare it was not without a mixture of regret that I was informed of the apparent support which the Dutch government received by the reluctance of Russia and Prussia to countenance anything prejudicial to its rights. I give those Powers full credit for the generous motives which have actuated them; but I regret that they are liable to misconstruction. I regret to see the Emperor of Russia the protector of Holland. I regret to see him occupy the place which I had hoped belonged to England. I felt it would be said, that the resistance opposed by Holland to that necessity, which appeared to his Majesty's Ministers so inevitable, must have received the secret encouragement of other courts. There can be nothing more untrue than that allegation; and, if your Lordships will but reflect for a moment, you will see that it cannot be true. If you recollect the constitution of Holland, you will at once see how utterly useless encouragement would be for such purposes. My Lords, I should like to know what encouragement could enable the king of the Netherlands to raise the supplies necessary to carry on the difficult transactions in which he is engaged. He can only depend upon the support of a united people, and it is not Russian encouragement which can produce unanimity in Holland, or force money out of the pockets of the Dutch. Your Lordships well know what difficulties that country laboured under. Perhaps no country in Europe has such financial difficulties to struggle with as Holland; and yet, notwithstanding this, the States-General have almost unanimously granted to the King an extraordinary supply of not less than four millions sterling, to enable him to meet the emergencies of the moment. I should like to know how far the encouragement of Russia was instrumental to that grant. This is not a case where a State contracts a loan upon ruinous terms from a foreign capitalist; but it is the case of a king of a free people receiving a vote from a free assembly of his free subjects. Therefore I say, that their unanimity is without question. Look, then, at their military exertions. See a population of about two millions having not much less than 100,000 men under arms—this force being composed almost entirely of militia, volunteers, burghers—leaving their occupations and their trades to take up arms in the difficult crisis of their country's affairs. I say, my Lords, that no foreign encouragement could produce such effects as these. It is impossible to conceive that that whole country does not feel as one man. Taking it then for granted that the Dutch nation has displayed a zeal and unanimity which it is impossible to excel, I may be permitted to express a hope, that the Dutch government will not abuse the enthusiasm and energy which the people have manifested. I trust that the wisdom and prudence of the king will not permit him to take advantage of the confidence and patriotism which has shone forth; and as all Europe must have admired his constancy and firmness, I trust we shall have equal reason to admire his moderation and his prudence; and that he will not be tempted to press for unreasonable terms in consequence of the support which must be so gratifying to him. Before I come to the provisions of the treaty, I wish to be permitted to engage your Lordships' attention whilst I take a cursory view of the course which has been followed in the negotiations. It is essential to the case to recollect, that at the Peace of Paris, in 1814, it was determined to constitute the kingdom of the Netherlands. It was declared that Holland was placed under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, which was to receive in addition the Belgic territory; but the Allies, who had made the conquest of the Belgian provinces, thought proper to annex conditions to the delivery of those provinces. Now, undoubtedly, they were perfect masters of Belgium, and had it completely at their disposal. There would not have been any injustice in restoring it to the dominion of the House of Austria. It might have been disposed of, as was at one time advised by Mr. Pitt, in a note which was laid before this House. It might have been added to the Prussian dominions, as it had not, at least for three or four centuries, been an independent country. But the Allies consulted the happiness and prosperity of those provinces more effectually by uniting them with a free and constitutional government, under which they might enjoy the blessings of a free constitution, and all the advantages of liberty. This was followed by a treaty in the same year, in which certain terms were proposed to the king of the Netherlands, and accepted by him, as the fundamental law of the union; and this was annexed to the general treaty at the Congress of Vienna, and acceded to by every Power in Europe. The kingdom being thus constituted, the first question that arises is, has the king of the Netherlands observed the treaty as contained in those articles. I defy any man, in any place, to deny, that the king of the Netherlands has strictly and conscientiously fulfilled every tittle of it. He has conformed in every respect to that which was made the fundamental law of the union of his dominions; and the general course of his government has been such as to extort from all mankind, and even from the noble Lords opposite, the tribute of their admiration. I very well recollect the noble Baron (Lord Holland) who, some six or seven years ago, sitting, at that time, on this (the Opposition) side of the House, when indulging in some of those invectives, which he was not unaccustomed to throw out respecting the sovereigns of Europe in general—I recollect that, when in full course, he checked himself in the midst of his career, and said, "No; there is one exception—the king of the Netherlands; he loves freedom, and governs in such a manner as to afford a praiseworthy example to the other sovereigns of Europe." But, unfortunately, two or three years ago, the king of the Netherlands found it necessary to prosecute the editors of some seditious newspapers, and since then he has lost the support of many of his liberal friends throughout Europe. But I say that he has not only strictly observed the treaty upon which the union of the provinces was founded, but that his strict observance of the treaty was the cause of his losing his territory. The first discontent grew out of the article which prescribes a strict equality between persons of all religious persuasions. No doubt some of the bigoted Catholic party took advantage of this to form a union with some of the most opposite parties. The government might have despised these combinations, but after the French revolution broke out, and the impulse was received from France, the revolution at Brussels took place. I think it impossible for your Lordships to doubt, that if the king of the Netherlands had possessed a corps of 20,000 Dutch troops, that revolution would never had made any progress. But the treaty, by insisting upon a complete amalgamation of the troops, prevented his having a separate corps. Every regiment was composed of Dutch and Belgians, and from the preponderance of the population, nearly two-thirds were Belgians. The effect of this was, that every corps of the mililia was completely disorganised from the beginning, and, in consequence, there was not a single body of men who could act in any military capacity. I, therefore, infer, that the absence of a corps of faithful troops, however small, was the cause of the spread of the revolution. This is the more apparent, from the total want of any reason being ever given for the occurrence of such a revolt. That a momentary revolt may take place in any country, I admit to be very possible, but so senseless, so unintelligible a revolution as that which has been accomplished by the Belgians, the history of the world does not record; and this is so true, that, up to the present hour, no official statement—no manifesto—no reason has been assigned. No detail has been promulgated of the grievances under which the people laboured, of the tyranny which could no longer be endured. So far is this from being the case, that, if I am not mistaken, since the revolution, the leading people have repeatedly met, thinking it right to publish to the world some statement of their case, but it has always been abandoned as hopeless. We are still left, therefore, to speculate upon the causes of the revolution. But the revolution having taken place, the king of the Netherlands, situated as he was, did that which it was undoubtedly his duty to do. He called the States together in the northern and southern provinces, and consulted with them upon the course to be taken in the existing state of affairs. The first grievance was an obnoxious minister, who had already been removed, and a local tax with which the government had nothing to do. But the demands soon rose, and a separation of the provinces was pronounced indispensable. That wish was shared by the Dutch as strongly as by the Belgians. The king, finding it impossible to act in execution of the treaty, naturally called upon the allies, who had imposed the treaty upon him, to concert measures by which a remedy could best be found to repair the evils and injuries to their own work, as well as to the safety of his dominions. Under these circumstances the Conference of London was held. The first object which was held in view, was to establish a cessation of hostilities. That, too, was its first act; and as it was the last act done during my connection with the Administration, I think it right to explain it. I signed the documents the day after I had resigned the seals of office, in consequence of the importance of the object in view, and I should not have taken upon myself to do so under any other circumstances. But I thought, as I was responsible for that department of the public affairs, I could not suffer the country to be involved in the danger of hostilities, if it was in my power, by any act, though not strictly official, to prevent it. That paper was signed on the 17th of November, and it ends our share in the transactions. I must beg leave to take this opportunity of contradicting a declaration made by the noble Earl opposite, that he found the separation of Holland and Belgium effected; that we had accomplished it. I have told your Lordships the only acts which were done during our connection with the Administration. In fact, no question occurred about the separation, except, indeed, that the noble Earl appears more than once to have confounded the separation of Belgium with its independence. But, my Lords, these are two very different things. That an administrative separation was necessary I admit, because it was desired as much by the one party as by the other; but the noble Earl will admit that, about the same time that he and his friends came into office, they found a congenial Ministry in France. About the same time M. Lafitte and General Sebastiani came into the exercise of power in France, and, in conjunction with the French Administration, the independence of Belgium was resolved upon. So much is this the case, that whatever advantages France may have received from the arrangements, I must do the French government the justice to declare, that I have no vestige of a communication from them relative to the independence of Belgium. So long as the Conference was conducted under the Administration of my noble friend near me (the Duke of Wellington) we, in conformity with strict integrity, and with a proper regard for the interests of all, consulted with the Plenipotentiaries of the different Powers, but the noble Lords opposite, instead of following this example, thought proper, in the absence of the Minister of the king of the Netherlands, to come to a resolution for establishing the independence of Belgium. Against this decision, contained in the protocol of the 20th of December, the Minister of the Netherlands protested in these words:—'The undersigned feels it a duty 'which he owes to his sovereign, the king 'of the Netherlands, to protest solemnly, 'as he does under this present note, against 'the protocol issued by the commissioners 'of the Five Powers, on the 20th of December, inasmuch as by its provisions, this 'act of the Conference attacks the rights of 'the king of the Netherlands; and he also 'solemnly protests against all the consequences which may be drawn from those 'acts of the Five Powers, to the prejudice 'of the existing treaty, and to the prejudice of all other the rights of his august 'sovereign.' The king himself also protested against it for the same reasons. His Majesty says, 'If the Treaty of Paris, of '1814, placed Belgium at the disposal of 'the allied Sovereigns, this power, when they 'had fixed the fate of Belgium, was then 'renounced according to the law of nations, 'and that they were returning upon their 'own work by these further proceedings, 'and that the decision to which the Five 'Powers had come to, for severing Belgium 'from the House of Nassau, was beyond 'the sphere of their power.' The Conference of London, it is true, was assembled at the desire of the king of the Netherlands, but this circumstance did not vest in the Conference the power to declare by its protocol that which was contrary to the very object for which they were invited to assemble, nor did it give them the authority, instead of advising for the interest of the king, and for the preservation of his sovereignty, to accomplish the dismemberment of his kingdom. And yet, by this protocol, the Conference assumed to themselves such a power, and the independence was thereby virtually decided upon by them as early as I have stated. I may here take notice of an argument which has been advanced by the Conference in the document last issued by them, and which is dated the 4th of this present month; they say, 'When the king 'agreed to the treaty by which his dominions were confined to Holland, he had no 'right to be heard at the Conference upon 'that subject, as he had, by so agreeing to 'that separation, deprived himself of that 'advantage.' I think that nothing can be more unjust, or indeed I will say more disingenuous, than this remark. What was the king to do? The treaty imposed obligations upon him, and it also conferred rights. But he was bound, before he came to the allies for assistance, to repair and modify their work, in order to obtain the object they had in view; he was bound to ascertain the sense of his people. He did accordingly call the States-General together, and when there was a unanimous decision in favour of separation, the king always referred to the allies, as the parties who must ultimately pronounce upon the question, as they were interested in it in the same manner as he himself was. To say, therefore, that he deprived himself of the power of calling upon the allies, when he did what was necessary to put it in his power to do so, is so unjust, that I am astonished that it should have found a place in a composition so ingenious in many respects, but, at the same time, so fallacious in various particulars. The separation proposed by the States-General, and not sanctioned, be it observed, by the king, for no royal answer has been returned to that proposition, for the separation sanctioned by the king, had only reference to the administrative separation, which might have been established in 1814. The provinces might then have been united, though with a different administration for each, instead of that complete and uniform amalgamation, which was then adopted by the allies. The Conference appears to me to have proceeded upon an erroneous principle, and to have thought, because the Belgian provinces were once at the disposal of the allies, that for all time to come they had full authority to dispose of them in any way they pleased. This, my Lords, is the most monstrous proposition that can be advanced; it is, nevertheless, that which is maintained in the very protocol in which the Conference declare the separation and independence of Belgium. They state, that they have determined upon what they consider to be for the prosperity of the people of both countries, and the peace of Europe; and that, in fact, the arrangement is made for an European object. But they forget, that when they imposed the obligation of that treaty on the king of the Netherlands, they at the same time gave him the rights which that treaty conferred, and that he could only be lawfully divested of those rights by negotiation with himself, as the king; and that, without his consent, neither this, nor any other portion of his provinces, could be legitimately disposed of. It appears to me, that it behoves England, above all other countries in the world, to be extremely delicate and cautious how she aids in precipitating the entire separation and disposal of these States. Your Lordships will recollect, that this union of Belgium with Holland was a voluntary act on the part of the allies. Holland, no doubt, would willingly have returned to her ancient state, and have enjoyed her republican form of government; but it suited not the European Powers to allow to her that position; and on that account these provinces were united to the provinces of Holland, but they were, I contend again, voluntarily annexed. It was we, however, who chiefly derived the advantage of that annexation. For, in the treaty which we entered into with the king of the Netherlands, his Majesty of Great Britain engaged to restore all the Dutch colonies to the king of Holland which he had lost during the war, with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo; and why was the exception made but with a view to the sixth Article of that treaty? There was also a sum of money paid by this country, and a contribution advanced by other continental Powers, towards consolidating that European arrangement. We, while paying money for the erection of the fortresses on the frontiers of Belgium, were doing so without reference to the exclusive benefit of Holland; nor was the money a payment for the purchase of her four colonies, which I have just named. By no means. These arrangements were made, and these fortresses were erected, with a view to check the possible aggressions which might be attempted by France; and for the sum paid by this country an equal sum was exacted from the king of the Netherlands, and disposed of in the same manner; and this was done under what may be called an European inspection; an inspection which was intrusted to my noble friend near me (the Duke of Wellington), who was appointed to see that the fortresses were erected or repaired according to the avowed European object of the treaty. So that, although I do not affirm that these circumstances should have prevented this country from taking any part in the separation of Belgium from Holland, yet I do say, that it becomes us, above all other nations, to be careful how we assist in further despoiling that Power, by whose spoliation already we have so much benefitted. Well, my Lords, after the independence of Belgium was virtually decided, many other protocols were issued. But I shall not enter into the details of the negotiation which took place, but come at once to a most memorable epoch—when (as I find by the eleventh and twelfth protocols) the conditions of this separation were laid down, and proposed to the king of the Netherlands. The king accepted these conditions. He was told they were final and irrevocable. These and other articles were, indeed, called "propositions," but they may be virtually considered final, because, in proposing them to the king of the Netherlands, he was assured that the Conference would never recognize any sovereign of Belgium who would not accede to them. Consequently, by his acceptance of them, he made them binding on the Conference. These articles, however, were rejected by Belgium at the time; and a long course of negotiation ensued, in which the king of the Netherlands met with nothing but insult. A communication was received by the Conference from the king during this negotiation, in which his Majesty expressed his hope, that these final and irrevocable conditions would be carried into execution. I will not repeat the contents of these protocols, but they went to re-assert, that the same views were still entertained by the Conference, and the same conditions were to be annexed to the treaties to be made with Belgium as had already been adopted and determined upon. To these promises, and to these conditions, the Conference adhered with tolerable consistency for some time. I shall pass by much of what then occurred, though perhaps it would not be an uninstructive lesson if we were to go through the negotiation, to shew how little the interests of the sovereign of the Netherlands were actually consulted by his ancient ally and friendly mediator. About the end of May, or the beginning of June last, Prince Leopold came to be seriously thought of as the sovereign of Belgium, and from that time the decisions of the Congress appear to have undergone some change. It is not essential that I should go into the particulars of Prince Leopold's election, and I am not anxious to do so. Suffice it to say, that the Conference then receded from the "final and irrevocable" articles previously agreed upon, and brought forward certain new propositions, which I shall not dwell upon, as they were rejected, and led to no practical result. Neither shall I dwell upon the military movement of the Dutch government, when the king of the Netherlands felt himself grossly outraged by the conduct of the new sovereign of Belgium, who, in his newly-assumed character, took possession of the ancient and undoubted possession of Holland. But I pass over all those matters, and hasten to the treaty, which is the real subject for your Lordships' consideration. This treaty was agreed upon by the members of the Conference, in the month of October last, and consists of twenty-four articles drawn up by the Conference of London. Looking at this treaty, I am at a loss to determine whether its provisions are more impolitic or unjust. By one of the articles of this treaty, we guarantee all the articles of the treaty. Now, I ask the noble Earl opposite (Earl Grey) whether he is aware of the obligation which he undertakes in signing such a treaty? It has been, for a long time past, the acknowledged policy of the Government of this country to be extremely scrupulous of guaranteeing anything; and we have always been particularly anxious to avoid guaranteeing anything that we were not to do ourselves. When we had bound ourselves to act in conjunction with other Powers, we had frequently found that the onerous part of the guarantee was too apt to fall on us alone. I do not believe, however, that your Lordships are aware of the extent of the responsibility which the Government of this country incurs by the treaty with Belgium. We guarantee the observance of all the articles in that treaty, and the least objection to many of those articles is, that it would be impossible for us to execute them. Amongst other things, for instance, we guarantee the perpetual payment by Belgium of a sum amounting to above 700,000*l.* a-year.

The Duke of *Wellington* suggested, that the sum to be paid by Belgium, amounted to 840,000*l.* a-year.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* continued. My noble friend tells me that it amounts to 840,000*l.* a-year. I rather think, however, that he has been mistaken. It is 8,400,000 florins, which amount, I think, to about 700,000*l.* The annual payment of that sum by Belgium we have guaranteed by the 15th article of the treaty. I beg your Lordships to understand, that I do not object positively to all guarantees whatever. I might, for a powerful motive, be induced to guarantee the payment of a sum for a Government that was honest, trustworthy, well-known, and long established; but such was not the case with Belgium. Belgium, possessing a government just formed, just emerged from one revolution, and possibly about to be precipitated into another, how is it possible that we can make her pay? And according to this treaty, if Belgium refuses or fails to pay, this country is pledged in honour to pay every shilling of it. But this is not the only objection to the treaty. The whole of the articles of which it consists are so various and complicated, that the execution of them will require perpetual superintendence and interference. When noble Lords opposite sat at this side of the House, they constantly objected to Congresses: the present Government, however, appear so much in love with Conferences, that they have guaranteed the execution of a treaty which will render Conferences indispensable, for it is quite clear, that in the execution of the articles of this treaty there must be a constant reference to the guarantee of the Great Powers. The next article of the treaty to which I wish to draw your Lordships' attention is Article 9th, which relates to the free navigation of the canals and internal waters of Holland for Belgian commerce. This article is objectionable, if upon no other ground, because, as I contend, it makes frequent Conferences unavoidable. Upon every occasion of a quarrel between the owner of a Belgian vessel and the Dutch Custom House, a Conference is liable to be called upon to enforce the guarantee. Not a day would pass in which we should not be liable to be called upon to interfere and enforce the guarantee we have made. That objection, however, applies, I will admit, only because of its impracticability. But, further—this stipulation surpasses, in injustice, anything which I have ever happened to meet with in the annals of diplomacy; and especially when it is considered that it emanates from, and is authorized by, a Power professing to be kindly disposed and amicably inclined to the Dutch nation! In the paper issued by the last Conference, of the 4th of January, they declare that this treaty and this article are only a development of those final and irrevocable articles to which I have before referred; that the king of the Netherlands has no reason to complain; and that the Conference have not deviated from the spirit of those original articles. Now, I will only refer to this single article relating to the navigation of the Scheldt and the Rhine. The original article relating to the navigation of these rivers, was in the Protocol, and was converted into what is called "a fundamental principle," which is a species of article that has always, I apprehend, been considered final and irrevocable. By that article (the third of the eleventh Protocol), regarding the trade and navigation of Belgium, it is declared that the terms of the articles 108, up to 117 inclusive, of the Act of the Congress of Vienna, should be applicable to the rivers which traversed the Dutch and Belgian territory. Ultimately, in order that there should be no possible mistake, the Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the king of the Netherlands received from the Conference at the time these articles were sent to them, or shortly after, the following communication. It is dated "Foreign Office, February 18," and signed "Palmerston," which was the day of their acceptance of the articles by the Dutch government. The letter runs thus:—'In submitting to your Excellency a 'copy of the Protocol, signed in Conference 'held to-day, the Conference has desired 'me to express to your Excellency, that the 'three articles of the treaty destined to 'establish the separation of Belgium from 'Holland, apply solely to the navigation of 'the rivers which traversed and separated 'the two countries.' Such was what the original article was considered, accepted, and declared to be, over and over again. Now, my Lords, what is the article of the treaty? The corresponding article of the treaty is a development of the original article with a vengeance. It says, that the navigation of the Scheldt to Antwerp shall be under the common inspection of Commissioners appointed by the governments of Belgium and Holland—that moderate rates of pilotage shall be fixed by common consent—that the duties shall be the same for the Dutch and the Belgian commerce—and that the intermediate waters between the Scheldt and the Rhine shall be reciprocally free. The words of the article are, 'Il est également convenu que la navigation 'des eaux intermédiaires entre l'Escaut et 'le Rhin pour arriver d'Anvers au Rhin et '*vice versâ*, restera reciproquement libre; 'et qu'elle ne sera assujettie qu'à des 'péages moderés qui seront provisoirement 'les memes pour le commerce des deux 'pays.' The Conference, in its impartiality to Holland, directs the intermediate waters between the Scheldt and the Rhine to be free for Belgium. No duty is to be levied on Belgian commerce which is not also levied on the Dutch commerce. The effect of this article, therefore, is, to force the king of Holland to tax his own subjects on his own waters, for there is not an inch of Belgian territory within those "intermediate" waters. Was ever so monstrous a power attempted to be exercised by an ally over the sovereign rights of an independent prince? Have they given any, the least reason for such a course of proceeding? Not an inch of Belgian territory is washed by these waters. And this the Conference have decreed, without consulting the only party whose interest is involved—namely, the king of Holland; but they, out of their great mercy to him, have allowed the right of navigating these rivers to remain to the Belgians, without any reciprocity, or equivalent, to the king of Holland! Why, my Lords, I wish to know what is meant by the terms of this article. It says, 'the commerce shall be free from the Scheldt to 'the Rhine.' Now, it is not an easy matter to say what is the Rhine. In a treaty entered into with some of the States bordering on the Rhine, by the king of the Netherlands, he had agreed to consider the Leck and the Waal as forming together the Rhine; but the true river, correctly called the Rhine, is a very inconsiderable stream, and not fit for commerce. But what right has Belgium to avail herself of this definition to navigate the internal waters of Holland? This might form the matter of the first dispute under the treaty. I do not mean to say that such a question is not a very fit matter for negotiation between the king of Holland and Belgium. He may allow these waters to be navigated by the Belgians as well as by the subjects of any other Power. But according to this article, a right is given to the Belgians to navigate all the waters between the Belgian frontier and any part of Holland. If any dispute were to arise as to what should be considered the Rhine, it may be contended that the Rhine is not the conventional Rhine, but the true Rhine; and it may be further asserted, that not only those waters, but the waters of Zealand and of South Holland, and those communicating internally with Leyden, Utrecht, and even with Haarlem, will come within the construction and contemplation of this article. If the Conference guarantee the execution of this article, they must, therefore, define the geographical boundaries of the Rhine. This, however, is matter beyond their jurisdiction, because it lies not with them to consider whether the Leck and Waal shall be taken to constitute the Rhine or not—when other nations have agreed by treaty so to consider that question. This very first dispute would lead to great disorder, in consequence of the various opinions which may be entertained on a subject of so much difficulty; and it would be impossible for this country to interfere, by virtue of this article, to enforce its own guarantee, without giving rise to an interminable dispute about this vague right of navigation. My Lords, the king of Holland has protested against this article among the rest; and is it surprising that he should do so? Seeing how little his interests have been taken care of by the Conference, and neglected by this country, on which he had every reason to hope he might implicitly have relied, I cannot feel much astonishment that he should not be inclined to concur in the interpretation of any of the articles which the Conference, or this country, might give to them. Here is another article, perhaps equally preposterous, and equally unjust, for friends and neutrals to have proposed. It is that which entitles Belgium to a free passage through one of the principal fortresses of Holland, that of Maestricht. Such are the words of this portion of the treaty. This permission, as worded, would extend itself so as to endure even in time of war. Here, then, is another condition to which it was impossible that the king of Holland could subscribe. It is a proposition, indeed, which strikes at the root of the sovereignty of every independent prince in Europe. If it be said that one must give a convenient *debouché* to the commerce of Belgium, why, I ask, is Belgium to be presented with this privilege more than other nations? Is it because that country has revolted from its sovereign? Does the fact of that revolt give Belgium any preferable claim on Holland? There is one other article to which I must be allowed to allude—I mean that which refers to the arrangement as to the duchy of Luxemburg, a portion of which is taken from the king of the Netherlands, without any colour, pretence, or excuse. I cannot believe that the governments of Austria and Prussia will ever ratify a treaty containing this article, which is in direct violation of one of the first principles of the Germanic Confederation. The fundamental act constituting the Germanic Confederation, mutually guarantees the whole of the possessions which constitute the Union, and distinctly declares, that there shall be no voluntary cession, by any of the Powers, of any part of the territory, without the free consent of the Union. These being amongst the fundamental articles of the Germanic Union, I know not by what right it is assumed to take half the duchy of Luxemburg from the king of Holland, giving him compensation here and there in Limberg. It was distinctly declared, in the early communications on this subject, that the duchy of Luxemburg, being a part of the Germanic Confederation, could not be compromised by any arrangements which had or should have relation to Belgium. It is true, that after this express declaration, the king of Holland, in deference to his allies, expressed his willingness to submit to an arrangement as to the duchy, upon receiving a satisfactory territorial indemnity; but he reserved to himself the right of judging whether any indemnity offered to him was satisfactory or not. The indemnity now offered to him, I am willing to admit, is convenient enough in some respects for the king of Holland; but it is an arrangement by which he loses 50,000 inhabitants, and no one can wonder that he has refused to accede to such an arrangement. Unless the Austrian and Prussian governments are under a control which I cannot understand, it will not be possible for them, as members of the Germanic Confederation, to sanction or ratify this treaty. I admit the propriety of mediation by friendly Powers in such a case, but that the allies have any right arbitrarily to make such arrangements, and to force their acceptance on the king of Holland, is a principle to which I can never agree. The Conference of London has, throughout all its meetings, professed great care for the interests of Holland, and it has been said, that by this treaty Holland is placed in a better condition than it ever was before. It was said, that when Holland gained her high name amongst the nations of Europe, she was not allied with Belgium. And this is very true. But it must be remembered that Holland was then a republic, and it was not her policy to extend her territory. Conquest, European conquest at least, was entirely opposed to the policy of such a form of government. But the case is widely different now—to suit our own views of European policy, and to check the aggrandizement of France, we erected Holland into a formidable State; and subsequently recognised the sovereign of that country as king of the United Provinces; thus throwing a counterbalancing and substantive weight into the scale of the Powers of Europe. By this means you no longer enabled him to pursue that policy as king, which, in ancient times as a chief of a republic he felt it his interest to adopt. But, independent of that consideration, let me ask, what is there in the present condition of Holland to compensate her for the losses which she has sustained; for the giving up of those colonies to which I have already alluded, for the construction of fortresses at a large expense, which were not only not useful, but, perhaps, injurious to the country? How has she been compensated for the loss of all she had acquired in another hemisphere, and for the opening of the Scheldt, which has been insisted on ever since the treaty of Munster, down to the French Revolution? We have desired to navigate the Scheldt even to its sources. I do not suppose that the Dutch government would, at this day, put forward any pretensions to the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt. But among friends—among allies at least — it appears a very small compensation to have allotted it in consideration of what it had had to give up. I am, therefore, utterly at a loss to understand in what manner Holland has been benefited by the means referred to by the Conference. Possibly it may be by the neutrality of Belgium. I think the king must be very easily satisfied with a compensation, indeed, if, after the solemn professions which his allies have made of zeal for the prosperity of his kingdom and throne, such a species of compensation is accepted by him as satisfactory. But, my Lords, if the terms of the treaty be unjust and impolitic, the manner of enforcing them is, if possible, still worse; for how is it enforced? My Lords, those articles to which I have called your attention were originally framed and propounded as final and irrevocable—of that fact I have given you some proof; and they were communicated to Holland with, as I contend, a threat. These obnoxious articles—it is difficult to believe it—were actually drawn up and agreed to without any concert whatsoever with the king of Holland, and without his slightest knowledge. Such a proceeding on the part of a Conference which makes pretensions to impartiality, can scarcely be credited. These articles were communicated to the Dutch plenipotentiary, with a letter, of which the following is an extract:—'They contain the final and irrevocable 'decisions of the Five Powers, who, by 'common consent among themselves, are re'solved to bring about an entire acceptance 'by the averse party, whoever shall reject 'them.' They have resolved, themselves, to bring about the acceptance!—very well knowing that they would be rejected. The Dutch government accepts these articles as a matter of negotiation; but, at least, it entreats to be heard upon some of them, in order that they may be modified, so as to agree with the interest, independence, and dignity of the sovereign. To that request the Conference replied by a note, addressed to the Dutch Plenipotentiary, stating that they owed it to the frankness which characterized an honest course—to the friendship which united their Sovereigns to the king of the Netherlands—to declare, that neither the substance nor the letter of the twenty-four articles could undergo modification. This is the friendly mediation so loudly boasted of! My Lords, I could little expect such language to proceed from the noble Lords opposite, when I recollect that, at the commencement of these negotiations, some of them said to us, "Although you may give these parties advice, yet, above all things, let it be of the most friendly kind, and without any active mediation." I little expected, my Lords, to see this course adopted by those identical noble Lords. I own I cannot understand this inconsistency. What I can understand is, the possibility of proposing to such a state as Belgium, which has never, heretofore, enjoyed national independence, certain conditions for her acceptance, on penalty, in the event of her rejecting them, of your refusing to recognise that State: this I can understand. But how you should be able to pursue the same course towards your own intimate ally—a power whom you have ever, hitherto, found to be worthy of respect, and between whom and other foreign powers you have always understood an honourable connexion to have subsisted—this is what I really cannot possibly comprehend. Those articles, I repeat, were determined upon without the participation or knowledge of the king of the Netherlands or his Plenipotentiaries. This I find stated in the note of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, and it is not denied or replied to in the elaborate document put forward by the Conference. It was impossible for the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, who were never consulted on the subject, to suppose that there was any intention to interfere with the internal navigation of Holland, and therefore they had made no representations on the subject. The outrageous indecency and disrespect with which the Dutch government has been treated, then, I say, greatly aggravates and embitters the injury done to the king of Holland. All this was done under the character of friendly mediation. General Sebastiani, in his note to the French minister at Brussels, states distinctly, 'the Conference at London is a Conference of mediation, and it is the intention of the king's government that it should never lose this character.' By the articles of the Treaty, I say, that the Conference has interfered with the lawful sovereignty of the king of Holland, in the provinces of Holland, as well as in the Belgian provinces. Putting the claims of friendship and alliance out of the question, I say that the Dutch government had a right to have been consulted. At the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818, a declaration was made, that the Allies might mediate upon the call, and at the desire, of any of the contracting Powers; but that the party at whose instance the Conference was called, should be united in the deliberations. This was an act of that association called the Holy Alliance; and, though it went to limit the power of that Holy Alliance, the present Government seemed very willing to dispense with the limitation. Under the rule laid down by the Allies, they were only to interfere upon a formal invitation, and with the express reservation of the right to the party inviting, that he should take part in the deliberations, either by himself or his Plenipotentiary. The king of Holland, in this case, insisted on his right under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and complained that the acts of the Conference was a violation of that right—and how was he answered? It was said—"It is very true, by the article to which you have referred, you had a right to be united in our deliberations, and you were united. When we wanted your advice, we asked it, and all through the negotiations you, or your representatives, had free access to us." Now, is not this answer a miserable quibble, when it is admitted, that the articles of the treaty were decided without the participation or knowledge of the king of Holland? I say, give me the Holy Alliance in preference to an Alliance which justifies its conduct towards a friendly power by such an evasion. I do not wish to extend the comparison further; but so far as the declaration at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the manner in which the claim of the king of Holland under that declaration has been treated, I say, that the Holy Alliance appears to great advantage—for, although they might condemn, they did hear. It might be said, that the course pursued towards Holland, though not strictly defensible on other grounds, is justifiable, because it was done to preserve the peace of Europe. Now, I say, that if the wit of man was employed to invent a cause of war—of interminable war—none better could be devised than the treaty which is the subject of consideration. Every article of this treaty is pregnant with war. You cannot proceed a step for the purpose of carrying the treaty into effect without producing war. The first step which the noble Earl is bound to take is, to enforce the ratification of the treaty by the Dutch government; and he has already had a pretty good sample of Dutch constancy and determination. War with Holland, then, is the first step, and where that is to end, I shall not take upon myself to predict. Your Lordships will now see the strange and impracticable position the treaty has brought us to. Where it will end I cannot see, but one thing I can see, that all this tends directly to the gain of France. The last time we entered into a war with Holland the effect was, to throw that country into the arms of France. It is a singular circumstance that the principal grievance which our Government then complained of was, that the Dutch were supposed to manifest a disposition to acknowledge our revolted Colonies. By declaring war against Holland, however, we threw it for a time into the hands of the French. I own, my Lords, I do not fear the enforcement of the ratification of the treaty at present. I have no doubt that France is well content with the footing which we are on with Holland; and she is sure of having a good friend in Belgium. On a former occasion, when this subject came under discussion, in reference to the application made to Prince Leopold to accept the government of Belgium, I took the liberty of predicting, that any Sovereign who was elected to rule over Belgium must be essentially French. It was upon this ground, amongst others, I deprecated the acceptance of the Belgian crown by that illustrious Prince, who, as I think, unfortunately for himself, and unfortunately for this country, has since assumed that crown. When Belgium became an independent nation, our only security, in my opinion, and I then stated it, was in drawing closer the ties which united us to Holland. Subsequent events confirmed that opinion. Prince Leopold, I conceive, has proved the justness of my anticipation. How does he act? Has he not furnished a good answer to the French Ministry, when they are charged with giving Belgium to an individual closely connected with England? Well might they say, "What signifies his connection with England?—what signifies his naturalization? Could a son of France have acted with more devotion than he has done in forwarding the interests of France?" Upon arriving to preside over the revolutionary constitution of Belgium, the first act of Prince Leopold was a declaration of direct hostility to the king of Holland. The king of the Netherlands, while trusting to the promises of the five great Powers, advanced his army for the purpose of carrying the separation into effect. But what was the conduct of the king of the Belgians upon that occasion? Why, he instantly despatched a messenger to the king of the French to intreat his immediate assistance. Now, one should suppose he would have thought of apologizing to the Conference in the first instance; but perhaps he conjectured, that from that quarter he should receive nothing but Protocols, and that it would require something more substantial to repel the bullets of the Dutch army. In consequence of the advance of the French troops, it was agreed that the Prince of Orange should lead back the army under his command;—and the next step of the king of the Belgians was, to intreat that 12,000 French might be left in his new territory, for the purpose of protecting him. That request, however, was not acceded to, principally in consequence of what had been said upon the subject in this House by my noble friend, the Marquis of Londonderry. Yet scarcely had the French troops retired beyond the Belgian frontier, when they returned back again in thousands, and, having changed their dress, took service in Belgium. Another point to which I wish to call your Lordships' attention is, the proposed demolition of the fortresses. Noble Lords opposite said, that this was a question with which France was to have nothing to do, and that it was to be settled between the Allies and Belgium. It was also said, that the fortresses were greater than Belgium had resources to maintain, and that her neutrality being guaranteed was sufficient for her protection. What did the king of the Belgians do in this instance? Why, he said, "I'll destroy the fortresses, and give an additional proof of my confidence in the king of the French, and of my brotherly affection for the French people." For my own part, I believe that the king of the Belgians will make the French very welcome to any number of fortresses they may choose to take. The question which has recently occurred respecting the demolition of some of them, will show what sort of policy is pursued. Among the fortresses proposed to be destroyed are Philipville, Marieville, Mons, and Ath. But, said France at this moment, "No, not Philipville and Marieville, for these we can get whenever we think proper. We want that those fortresses shall be destroyed which have been constructed, not on our frontiers, but in Belgium." This was the language of that Power with which the king of the Belgians had entered into such friendly relations. I contend, my Lords, that the whole result of the engagements entered into by the proceedings of the Conference must inevitably lead to hostilities—they cannot possibly be prevented, if such injustice be persisted in against Holland. The only means which even the Conference itself has to insist upon the fulfilment of those engagements is, by having recourse to force against the king of the Netherlands. To show your Lordships how vicious is the adoption of such a system of policy on the part of England, it is only necessary for me to advert to the language of an eminent Statesman, whose authority ought to have great weight with noble Lords on the opposite side. In 1781, Mr. Fox put a case, in which he supposed that the then king of France, Louis 16th, might be engaged in discussions for the purpose of securing universal dominion, and weakening the power of Great Britain. With a view to this favourable scheme, Mr. Fox supposed that the king of France might say, "Encourage domestic war by all means—encourage revolt in her colonies—set her own subjects in open strife against each other. This will be playing our game precisely to the very point we could wish." My Lords, I will not say how far this system has been acted upon on the present occasion; but this I will say, that I see domestic differences arising, which must give rise to as much strife as foreign warfare. I see nothing in the policy of his Majesty's Ministers that is not likely to lead to the most disastrous results. But Mr. Fox goes on to say, that 'all this may be supposed to have occurred 'between the king of France and his sub-'jects, and still further it might have been 'said, that in order to complete the design 'of establishing an universal monarchy, 'they must destroy the other rival Powers 'of Europe. The naval Powers were the 'most to be dreaded; and, after Great 'Britain, of those naval Powers, the 'Dutch were the first to be overthrown. 'How could they do that without weaken-'ing themselves? How can this be effect-'ed? Why, by instigating our faithful 'servants, the Ministers of Great Britain, 'to go to war with their nearest, dearest, 'and best friends, the Dutch. True, their 'interests are inseparable; they are like 'the right hand and the left of one im-'mense and terrible body; by a brotherly 'combination of strength and action they 'are irresistible, and the House of Bourbon 'must fall before them; but divide them, 'nay, not only separate, but set them to 'tear one another, and they will crumble 'before us. To do this would be imprac-'ticable with any other set of men; but 'nothing is impossible for those Ministers, 'in the scale of absurdity or madness, to 'attempt. This would, no doubt, be said, 'and what must be the astonishment—'what the feelings—what the transport of 'Frenchmen—when they perceive Great 'Britain go to war with the Dutch with-'out a cause?—for he declared he never 'yet could discover a cause for which we 'went to war with that Power, forgetting 'all the interests, all the policy, and all the 'connexion by which we had ever been, 'and ought always to be, guided with 'respect to her.'* Yet such, continued the noble Earl, was the war into which the Ministers were going to precipitate the country. The noble Earl (Earl Grey) went so far as to announce it to the Dutch. He said to them, "If you do not accept of these degrading terms, I'll force you to accept them." But then the noble Earl and his colleagues said, that they did not entertain any bad feelings towards the Dutch, and were, on the contrary, prepared to cultivate all the ancient relations of friendship with them. Most assuredly their policy had a very different effect. The noble Earl had excited in Holland a feeling of the most bitter hatred towards this country—the very name of England was abhorred and execrated by the Dutch. The Dutch knew—and the French took good care they should know it—that it was to the noble Earl and his colleagues they were indebted for every thing unjust, oppressive, and ungenerous. In the course of the last year, the British navy was found no less than three times prepared to act hostilely towards Holland, and hostile demonstrations were made on two occasions. The officers of the Dutch navy had come to a universal engagement never to strike to the British navy. They had determined to follow the example of a brother officer, who had blown up his vessel, or to go to the bottom, rather than surrender. The Dutch were no braggarts, and he knew very well that the British navy would make very light of any threats of this description; but he stated the fact only to show that such an inveterate feeling existed in Holland against the people of this country as had no precedent in the history of civilized warfare. When he found the interest of our ancient allies so grossly violated, and the personal honour of the king of Holland himself so loudly called in question, he thought he could not do less than call upon their Lordships to express their decided opinion upon the subject. With these feelings he should beg leave to ask their Lordships to agree to the following Address to his Majesty:—

"To assure his Majesty that we duly appreciate the efforts of his Majesty to terminate, in conjunction with his Allies, the dissensions which have prevailed in the kingdom of the Netherlands, and to maintain inviolate the peace of Europe. That, without calling in question the necessity of facilitating a separation of Holland and Belgium, upon just and equitable principles, we beg humbly to represent to his Majesty, that we have seen with much concern the project of a treaty which has been made public, and which has for its object the provisions consequent upon a final separation of the two States; but which, in our humble apprehension, contains stipulations incompatible with the interests of this country, and injurious to the honour of his Majesty.

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* Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xxii. p. 698.

"Humbly to express to his Majesty our conviction, that an engagement to guarantee the execution of all the articles of which the said treaty consists, would be improvident and dangerous; that we fear it might lead to the necessity of imposing additional burthens upon his Majesty's subjects; and as the interests which are involved in some of these articles are various and complicated, the interference requisite to ensure their execution must be so frequent, that we cannot but contemplate the probability of future discussions calculated to affect the stability of the general peace.

"Humbly to submit to his Majesty, that stipulations entered into without the participation or consent of the king of the Netherlands, by which a privilege is given to the subjects of a foreign State to navigate in the internal waters and canals of Holland, and to carry roads or canals through the Dutch territory, must be regarded as a manifest violation of national independence, and as destructive of the rights of sovereignty.

"Humbly to remind his Majesty, that it has long been the established policy of this country, and the practice of his Majesty's royal predecessors, to cultivate the strictest union with the Dutch nation—an union which has heretofore been considered as greatly conducive to the security of both States, and as the best support of the liberties of Europe; and which is still not only agreeable to their respective interests, but essential to their common welfare.

"That, to dictate a treaty to the Dutch government, by which the interests of Holland are so deeply affected, and to compel that government to accept it without modification, we cannot but consider as unjust, and as likely to prove fatal to the maintenance of that ancient and intimate alliance, which has so happily subsisted between the two countries.

"Humbly, therefore, to pray, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to issue such directions as may render the said treaty, in the articles above referred to, more consistent with the regard which is due to the honour of his Majesty's Crown, to the security of our own permanent interests, and to the just claims of his Majesty's faithful and natural ally."

Earl *Grey* spoke as follows:—My Lords, the noble Earl who has just sat down has told you, in the course of his long and able address, that the Motion with which he had to conclude was an extraordinary one, and only to be justified by extraordinary circumstances. This admission is no more than he ought to have made when he commenced by stating that he wished to prevent the execution of a treaty, which, after a long and arduous negotiation, has at last been brought to a conclusion. On that conclusion has depended nothing less than the peace of Europe. The noble Earl states, that by this treaty not only are the interests of England sacrificed, but all the interests of Europe; he says the honour of the Crown has been degraded, and our commerce destroyed, and he imputes all the mischief to his Majesty's Ministers, but more especially to me. Never was any charge more unfounded. The noble Earl goes on to ascribe to my colleagues and myself, infinitely more power than we are conscious of possessing, if he supposes that we, acting in a bad and malicious spirit, would influence all the other members of the Conference to join with us in such injustice, though their interest in the prosperity of Holland is no less involved than our own. Surely, my Lords, it cannot for a moment be imagined that by any efforts of ours, even were we capable of having recourse to any for so base a purpose, other Powers could be brought to give effect to a treaty which should destroy for ever the power of Holland, and aggrandize the power of France. But what is the charge brought against us by the noble Earl? It is nothing less than that we, with our eyes open, have got the other Allies to agree with us in an unnatural combination, and foul conspiracy against Holland. The noble Earl, in support of the positions he has advanced, has compared our conduct to what had occurred in the reign of Charles 2nd; but never were any two cases so dissimilar. There is no sort of analogy between them. The noble Earl does not take into consideration the extreme difficulty of our situation on first getting into office. He seems to forget that we were placed in the very midst of those difficulties and embarrassments which were produced for us by the noble Earl and his predecessors. The noble Earl gives me much more consequence than I am entitled to, if he supposes I am capable of realizing all that he imputes to me in the criminatory speech he has addressed to your Lordships. For my own part, I am not disposed to arrogate to myself anything that fairly belongs to another; and to the labours and exertions of the noble Lord at the head of the Foreign Department I must give full credit. From him I have found the most earnest and zealous co-operation. I ask, is it owing to me, or to any counsels of mine, that this country has been involved in war, during a period of more than twenty years, and loaded with 800,000,000*l.* of debt? I ask, is it owing to me or to any counsels of mine, that, when that war was brought to a conclusion, a political system was established which has subsequently fallen to pieces by its own vices? I ask, is it owing to me, or to any counsels of mine, that, after the Revolution which had recently taken place in France, Belgium followed the example, and rose against its Sovereign, thus dissolving a union which was originally founded on a vicious principle, and which, even in the opinion of the noble Duke himself, as declared before I came into office, can never be re-established? My Lords, I am not answerable for all these things. When I took on myself the office I hold, I found the country in difficulties; and I may be allowed to ask, am I to be answerable for the system which took its rise in the time of George 3rd? On coming into office I found the country involved in all the difficulties into which my predecessors had brought it. I found Belgium already separated from Holland, and my colleagues and myself endeavoured, under circumstances of the most embarrassing description, to substitute another system for that which had been destroyed by its own vices. It is very easy for the noble Earl to say, you should have done this and that; it is very easy to propound some particular course of policy; but the noble Earl and his friends must be aware that we had not to treat with old-established governments, but with two new governments, emanating from two Revolutions. In candour I must state, that I found France influenced by sound views and just principles of policy. The French government is entitled to the more credit for moderation, since it has been continually assailed and goaded on by a furious party aiming at nothing but war. I need not explain to your Lordships how difficult must be the task of the government of France in its endeavours to preserve peace under such circumstances of violent excitement. If by your own power you could bring all the resources of Europe to one common object, it would be easy enough to effect it; but it should be borne in mind that, on being called to the counsels of the Sovereign, we found Europe a magazine of combustibles, which the slightest spark might set into a blaze from one end to the other. The task we had to perform was most arduous. Belgium, as I have before stated, had been separated from Holland. But the noble Earl seems not to admit the fact. I ask, however, had not the king of Holland been driven out of Belgium? Had he not acknowledged that an administrative separation of the two countries was necessary? Had not the Prince of Orange, by his proclamation at Antwerp, declared the necessity of a separate independence of Belgium? Had not noble Lords opposite, when called upon to assist in restoring the king of Holland to his rights as Sovereign of Belgium refused to do so? Had they not prescribed the duration of an armistice? Had they not prescribed that the limits to which Holland should return should be the same as before the Union of 1814? Whether they formally declared or not the separation to have taken place, it cannot be denied that it had taken place *de facto*. But then the noble Earl says "you should not proceed all at once to recognize the independence of Belgium." For myself I must say, that my most earnest wish was, that the Prince of Orange should have been raised to the Sovereignty of Belgium if practicable; but circumstances had occurred which completely put an end to any hope of that kind. This was the wish, not only of the Government of this country, but of that of France also. An opposition, however, was urged against it in a powerful quarter, and, to prevent the possibility of the Prince of Orange being appointed as the successor of his father, a separation was decreed. This fact cannot be denied, when I state that noble Lords opposite had sent Ministers to negociate with the Provisional Government of Belgium. Assuming, then, as I must, the re-union of Holland and Belgium to be impossible, what, I would ask, remained to be done? I now openly state that I have been misrepresented in the part I have taken in these transactions. I now declare that there was no more anxious wish of my heart than that Holland should be placed in a situation which should give her a strong defensive frontier, and enable her to take her proper position among the Powers of Europe. But it was necessary, at the same time, to see in what situation Belgium would be placed. Let me for a moment call the attention of your Lordships to the words of the Conference on this subject. The Conference said, "Considering the present moment to be favourable to an arrangement for settling the equilibrium of Europe, it is necessary that Belgium, prosperous, should find in her new state of political existence resources which she can maintain." If Belgium was left without resources, without the means of transport for her provisions, what must be the effect, not only to her own interests, but to the general interests of Europe? Would she not be justly discontented? Would she not take the very first opportunity that presented itself of attaching herself to any Power that was likely to free her from such oppressions, and would she not naturally look to France? On these grounds it was, that the Conference proceeded to lay down certain bases of separation between the two countries. Your Lordships will find them contained in the Protocol of the 27th of January. The territorial division is much the same as formerly, the whole of ancient Holland being preserved to that Power, while she receives, in addition, a certain part of the kingdom of Belgium. It will be recollected that Holland assented to the first proposition made respecting the limits, but Belgium could not be brought to acquiesce in them. It is asked, however, "Why not enforce the original stipulations?" My answer is, that more than one party was to be consulted. The interests of more than one party were involved. Let your Lordships only consider the state of France at the time, and reflect what must have been the consequence of any attempt to compel Belgium into an assent. The consequence must have been an immediate war. Only look to the state of Poland at the time; of Russia, Prussia, and Italy. I say, if anything like compulsion by force of arms had been attempted, a general war must have been inevitable. I felt regret at not seeing the original negotiations carried into effect, believing them to be just and reasonable: but will the noble Earl state that he has ever yet known any negotiations to be finally concluded in the terms originally proposed? No; some modifications are always to be expected in affairs of this kind. Our object was, not to favour this or that Power, but to avoid war. The second propositions, being different in some respects from those first submitted for their adoption, were accepted by the Belgians and King Leopold. The noble Earl has talked of the intrigues for the Duke of Nemours, the Prince of Leiningen, and others, as candidates for the sovereignty of Belgium. All I can say is, that this Government has never been a party to anything of the kind—no, not even to the election of Prince Leopold. We felt, however, the very great necessity of there being in Belgium a regular government, and, when Prince Leopold was proposed as its sovereign, it was quite impossible that there could be any objection to him. A better choice could not be made under any circumstances. I entertain the highest opinion of his virtues and talents, and he has, on some trying occasions, given the strongest proofs of both. As to the charge urged against him by the noble Earl, of his being the creature of France, I believe it in my conscience to be totally destitute of foundation. Any conduct more calculated to prove beneficial to the interests of this country, or to entitle him to the deep gratitude of his own people, cannot be conceived than that of the king of the Belgians. I hold the principle of non-interference, as a general maxim, as strongly as ever I have done; but then I am not prepared to say, that there may not be some proper exceptions to the rule. In the present case, however, there has been no interference on our part, for the people were left to their own free choice of a government under the sanction of the five great Powers. The noble Earl then proceeded to state, that their Lordships had had several discussions on this subject before; and when we interfered to prevent the French Duke de Nemours from being elected king of Belgium, all history justified him in saying, that if the choice of a sovereign by one country furnished cause of danger to other states, other states had, on that ground, and on that ground alone, a right to interfere. Had not we, then, a right to interfere with the election of the Duke de Nemours, closely connected as he was with the Royal Family of France? If the noble Earl had seen the Duke de Nemours enthroned in Belgium, would he not have come forward, with sneers much better founded than those in which he had indulged that night, to protest against our neglect of British interests? If, then, we had a right to protest against the election of the Duke of Nemours, so had the French government a right to interfere with the election of Prince Leuchtenberg. But all this merely showed the difficulties by which the five Powers had been hampered all through these negotiations. He had now explained to the House the situation in which we were, when the eighteen articles now accepted by Belgium were refused by Holland. On this refusal, a long negotiation again took place —a negotiation which was interrupted at last by the invasion of Belgium by the troops of Holland. One of the disadvantages of his present situation was, that he could not do justice to his case without stating arguments and facts which, if disclosed, might perhaps impede the progress of present negotiations. He would say nothing more of that invasion, than that it was an unexpected and even an unwise proceeding. It was certainly contrary to the spirit of one of the protocols. It was made, too, without notice, and even under some degree of disguise and concealment. For Sir Charles Bagot, our ambassador at the Hague, had no notification of it, and the Dutch ambassador, when he came here to conclude the treaty, assured us that he left Holland without knowing that such an invasion was in contemplation, and, when called upon for an explanation of it, told us that he had no explanation to give. It was under these circumstances that an English fleet—which, the noble Earl said, had now been sent three times with hostile intentions to Holland—was ordered to assemble in the Downs; and he said, boldly, that in his opinion, Ministers would have grossly neglected their duty if they had not employed the means within their power to force the Dutch to renew the armistice which they had violated. "But then," said the noble Lord, "the French army advanced into Belgium, and that is a proof that Prince Leopold is subservient to France." Now he really asked the noble Earl, what he would have had Prince Leopold to do in the circumstances in which he was placed? Prince Leopold had recently arrived in the country, and found its finances in confusion, its army disorganized, and that armistice broken which we had compelled Belgium to conclude, when she was successfully invading the states of Holland, unprepared at that time for any attack. Was, then, Holland, which had prepared her means in tranquillity procured by the interference of the Allies, to be permitted to make an attack upon Belgium, when she was unprepared either to meet or to resist it? The noble Earl had told them, that Prince Leopold should have appealed at once to the Conference. Supposing he had appealed to the Conference, what would have been the result? Why this—that before he could have got an answer from the Conference, Belgium would have been overrun. The noble Earl had even turned aside from his argument to indulge in another sneer, for he had told them, that if Prince Leopold had made such an application to the Conference, all that he would have got in reply would have been another protocol. But to return from this digression. The French army having advanced into Belgium, compelled the Dutch to retire. The Conference then took the case into consideration, and having done so, approved of all that France had done. "But then," said the noble Lord and some of his able coadjutors, "you have got a French army introduced into Belgium—how will you manage to get it out again?" He had told the noble Earl and his friends, at the time, that he relied on the good faith of the French government, and time had since proved that his reliance had not been vain, for Belgium had been evacuated. "But then," said the noble Lord, "the French troops returned to Brussels disguised in blouses." He had also heard that story; but, from the information which he had received, he believed that there was no truth in it. The noble Earl might, perhaps, have better information on the point than he had; the noble Earl appeared to rely upon Dutch authority; but if he would only take a few facts from Belgian authority, he would learn that there were some thousands of Prussian soldiers serving in the Dutch army. For his own part, he believed that there was just as much truth in one of these stories as in the other, and not a whit more. But then the noble Earl found fault with the stay of the French officers at Brussels after their troops had evacuated Belgium. For his part he fully believed they had not remained longer in that city than was necessary to give some form to the new levies. Having established these points, he would now proceed to detail the course of proceedings which the Conference had afterwards pursued. They took the protocol of the 27th of January as the basis of their proceedings. This produced a series of objections both from Holland and from Belgium. It was then proposed that each of these two parties should take the statement of the other, and make his own observations upon it. It was then found that the two parties entertained such conflicting views, that no arrangement could be formed between them. What, then, was the Conference to do? Informed as it was of all the facts in dispute—knowing the views of the different parties—looking back at the basis laid down in the protocol of the 27th of January—charged, too, as it was, with the conservation of the general peace of Europe, what could the Conference do but take the whole matter into its own hands, and act as arbiter in that which they could not otherwise bring to a satisfactory conclusion? The Conference then met in a spirit of strict impartiality and justice: indeed, if favour was felt towards any party, it was felt towards Holland, and not towards Belgium. Acting in that spirit of impartiality and justice, and influenced by the principles which he had already described, the Conference produced the twenty-four articles. He had before asked their Lordships to consider what the Conference could do under the circumstances? He now asked that question again. Could they have united Belgium with any other foreign Power? That was obviously impossible. There were no means whatever left for securing the peace of Europe except the erection of Belgium into a neutral State, affording by its neutrality a barrier of defence to other States against aggression. "But," said the noble Lord, "the twenty-four articles are inconsistent with the honour of this country, are injurious to Holland, are such as Holland neither can nor ought to submit to;" nay, more, are such as the noble Lord thinks sufficient to justify him in exciting Holland to resist them. It may, therefore, not be inconsistent with the due consideration of this subject to examine what the points of difference between the two nations are on these articles. He would prove to the House, that they were so slight and insignificant that it was impossible not to see, and seeing not to pity, the extreme virulence which had built a charge upon them. What, then, were the objections of Holland to the twenty-four articles? What were the points upon which she was so much injured that she needs must dissent from a treaty from which, in other respects, she received so much advantage? They were, the internal navigation permitted to Belgium; the free passage given to Belgian subjects on their route to Germany through Sittard and Maestricht; and the claim which the king of the Netherlands made upon the duchy of Luxemburg. He wished the House and the people of England to understand, that all the speech of the noble Earl came shortly to this—that rather than there should be reserved to Belgium the right of navigating the Scheldt, of passing through Maestricht and Sittard, and of exchanging a part of the province of Limburg for part of the duchy of Luxemburg, the noble Earl was prepared to risk a general war. Rather than Antwerp should have a free traffic on the Rhine, and Limburg be assigned to Holland for part of Luxemburg, the noble Earl would throw the whole Continent into confusion. *Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum,* was the cry of the noble Earl; and if, in the performance of strict justice, war should be the consequence, the noble Earl was ready to undertake it. But let the noble Earl ask himself whether, when the question of carrying on that war should be formally propounded to the Commons and people of England, the Commons of England would afford him the Supplies essential to carry on a war begun on three such paltry matters. He did not think it necessary to dwell further on these subjects; but still he thought it might not be uninteresting to examine them a little more in detail. There was a protocol in which the noble Earl declared that he recognized the hand of an able master, which he praised for its ingenuity, but which he condemned for its lack of sound reasoning and acute argument. To whom the noble Earl attributed that paper, he could not tell; but a more able, indeed a more unanswerable paper, he had never read. He might rest the whole question relative to the navigation of the Scheldt on the very able manner in which it was treated in that paper. How, then, did the case stand? In the basis of separation annexed to the protocol of the 27th of January, it was stated that there should be a free navigation to the subjects of each Power in the waters passing through the limits of both. Now the right of 'free navigation' depended on the Treaty of Vienna, and that treaty explicitly said, that the navigation, not merely of all rivers, but of all the branches of the said rivers up to their mouths, should be free. It was therefore untrue that this stipulation had been made expressly in favour of Belgium. What, however, had been the attention paid to the Treaty of Vienna as to the waters of Holland by the king of the Netherlands? He would inform their Lordships in a very few words. For the last fifteen years that sovereign had held out against that interpretation which all the diplomatists had put upon the treaty, and which every honest man in Europe must of necessity put upon it. Though the terms of the treaty were most explicit, the king of the Netherlands maintained that the branch of the Leck only should be free. He asked, when such was the case, whether it would have been prudent to have left such a point unsettled in any treaty of peace made between Belgium and Holland? It was therefore stated distinctly in the protocol, that Belgium was to have the right to navigate the rivers which extend from the Scheldt to the Rhine. How could this be an injury to Holland? This proposal was made to the king of Holland at the same time that it was made to the government of Belgium. No answer was given to it. The proposal, he repeated, was made to the king of Holland on the 15th of October, and no answer was given to it till the 15th of December. The most remarkable feature in this transaction was, that, though the answer of the Dutch government was communicated to us on the 14th of December, it was communicated to the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh on the 5th, and was even submitted to the two Chambers of Holland previously to its being submitted to us. The free navigation of the rivers between the Scheldt and the Rhine would not interfere either with the commerce or with the defence of Holland. If Holland was what Holland once had been, and if Dutchmen were not changed from their former nature, he would never believe that the skill and industry of Holland would not be able to enter into competition with the skill and industry of Belgium, even though Belgium had the free navigation of the Scheldt. This point, of the free navigation of the Scheldt, and of a free route through Maestricht and Sittart into the confines of Germany, was all the advantage which Belgium received from this arrangement. All the other points were decidedly in favour of Holland. For instance, the partition of the debt was decidedly favourable to Holland. A fair and equal partition of the debt would only have assigned 5,000,000 of florins to Belgium, whereas Belgium now had to pay 8,400,000 florins, for which she was to get this free navigation, and a free route by Maestricht and Sittart. These points, though favourable to Belgium, were not injurious to Holland. He now came to the objections which had been raised by the noble Earl to the proposed cession of part of Luxemburg to Belgium, and he trusted to be able to prove, that no injury was done to the rights of sovereignty belonging to the House of Orange, either in its character of king of Holland, or of Grand Duke of Luxemburg. The noble Lord stated, that there was a difference of 50,000 in the population of the two districts ceded; but there was another difference to counterbalance that excess, and that was, that whereas the parts of Luxemburg ceded to Belgium were barren, the parts of Limburg ceded to Holland were fertile, and even necessary to her defence. The cession of that district of Limburg, by connecting the defences of Holland with Maestricht, would place her in a better military position than she ever was placed in at any former period of her history. He thought that he had now answered satisfactorily the different points to which the noble Lord had adverted. "But," continued the noble Lord, "you have violated the independence of other nations." He was most unwilling to employ force to impose upon other countries terms which they disliked; but that unwillingness must give way before the necessity of preserving the peace of Europe. He had hoped till that night—but after the exciting speech of the noble Lord, he doubted whether he could hope any longer—that to these conditions the king of Holland would have acceded, without any very violent resistance. When these articles were framed, he expected that they would be met by resistance in Belgium —but by none in Holland. In both those respects he had been disappointed. He might not like these articles himself; but necessity sometimes obliged men to adopt measures which they did not altogether approve. Considering the past political life of the noble Lord, he was astonished at the new light which had burst in upon him, and at the new-born zeal with which he stood up in behalf of the independence of nations. He would ask the noble Lord, however, whether he recollected the transfer of Norway to Sweden, and of Saxony to Prussia—that great moral lesson to the king who had assisted the emperor of France, which was followed by a punishment which fell only upon his innocent subjects? He would ask the noble Lord whether he recollected the transfer of Genoa, and the interference of the European Powers—first with Greece, and afterwards with this very government of Belgium? He regretted that there should be any necessity for the use of strong language, but he must be permitted to say, that during these negotiations, which, if they had terminated unfortunately, must have produced a general war throughout Europe, there was no other safe path for the Government to follow, save that in which it had fortunately walked. With respect to the guarantee of the debt under the articles, he would tell the noble Lord how that was. The amount of the article was this—that 8,400,000 florins was to be taken from the debt of Holland and inscribed in the book of the Belgian debt, which from that moment became the debt of Belgium; our guarantee of that article of the treaty was, that it should be so transferred, and we were not in any degree responsible for the payment of it. That was, at least, his construction of the article, and that, he believed, was the construction of every one. He wished their Lordships to consider whether a better arrangement could have been made, and whether it deserved the character which had been ascribed to it by the noble Lord. It had secured to Holland her independence and her station in Europe, without exacting from her any sacrifice incompatible with her interest, or injurious to her honour. She might be encouraged by speeches in that House, and by comments out of that House, to persevere in a course prejudicial to her true interests. Stock-jobbers and speculators in securities, if they could get one farthing per cent on their time bargains, would not scruple to risk the peace of Europe: those persons, by the events of the last war, and by the enormous increase of the debt, had obtained a pernicious influence which might prevent the peace of Europe—an influence which might be described in two lines of the poet—

> "Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in tempore fœnus,
> Et concussa fides, et multis utile bellum."

If the negotiations were broken off, and the ratifications were not exchanged, he should be glad if other measures of security could be devised; but in his opinion, there was very little chance that the object in view—the preservation of the general peace—could, by other means, be attained. His object, and the object of all the negotiations, was to obtain a security against war, whilst he endeavoured to preserve the honour of this country, and of all the countries concerned. Their Lordships might decide to-night on a vote of censure upon Ministers, covered by an Address to his Majesty, in order that he might call in other Ministers, and break off the negotiations—for that must be the consequence—negotiations brought so nearly to a satisfactory conclusion. The noble Lord might then have an opportunity of breaking off these negotiations, which he, in conjunction with his colleagues, and with the concurrence of the four great powers of Europe, had endeavoured to conclude, and which he still thought would be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Duke of *Wellington* agreed certainly with his noble friend, that he owed some apology for the vote which he was about to give in favour of the Address; but he must state, that what principally induced him to consent to the present motion being brought forward, was his sense of the injustice done to Holland by the departure from the principles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Holland had been forced to consent to the measures determined on by the Conference of London, without having time or being allowed to consider them. It was upon that ground he rested his justification for requiring that that treaty should now be reconsidered, and he should endeavour to prevail upon the noble Lords opposite to reconsider it themselves. He regretted that that noble Earl, whose whole time and attention must have been engrossed with other subjects, had not been able to give his attention to this particular business, for he believed such facts had never before occurred in negotiations between any two Powers, except on the occasion of the interference of the three Powers between the Turks and Greeks. But the noble Earl said, that the interference with Belgium and Holland was not a mediation. It certainly did not commence in a mediation, but it had terminated in the assumption of an arbitration—the most unjust that ever was known—on the part of the five Powers; and the noble Earl had boasted that he carried their opinions along with him for the conclusion of the treaty. He asserted, that the arbitration was most tyrannical, for the parties were never called on to hear the reasons of the sentence which was passed on them, nor had they any opportunity of making their defence until the sentence had been pronounced to be irrevocable. The noble Earl had spoke of the concurrence of the French government as one of these Powers. He did not know whether that government had concurred in the treaty or not. But if it had been a party to it, it must certainly have changed its views since, for it had declared that it would not hear of the alteration from a mediation to an arbitration. He did not know whether they meant that principle to be applied to the Belgians only. He could not suppose that they did not mean that there should be a mediation as respected Belgium, but that the powers of an arbitration should not be employed against the king of the Netherlands. Their Lordships were well aware of the important distinction between the two terms. In February M. Sebastiani said, that the interference of the five Powers was only in the way of mediation, and that the French government could never consent that it should lose that character. But now their Lordships were told that the character of an arbitration was forced upon the Conference. Was it forced upon them by those of the five Powers who had refused to ratify the treaty because it had become an arbitration? or was it they who, as their Lordships were told, carrying the rest of Europe along with them, had forced the Conference to act as arbitrators? He presumed to say, that he had had a long experience in these affairs, and he would assure their Lordships of his sincere belief, that if England was induced to give up Holland, every other Power in Europe would be ready to peck at her. It was on such considerations he grounded the vote which he was about to give. The noble Earl had been pleased to charge the members of the late Government with having prepared the embarrassments in which his Majesty's present Ministers were involved; but why did not the noble Earl prove that? He had often challenged the noble Earl to come forward and prove that any embarrassment felt by the present Administration had been caused by the Government of which he had been a member. He had said before, that the last revolution in France was a visitation upon Europe, for which the late Government of this country was as little to blame as the noble Earl himself, or as any other person at that time in opposition to the Government. He had often said in that House, that there was not an individual in Europe who had less to do with that revolution and with the measures of Prince Polignac than the individual then addressing their Lordships. But if the members of the late Government had nothing to do with that revolution, they had also the satisfaction, the consolation, of reflecting that they had never eulogised it. The noble Earl spoke, as usual, very harshly respecting the settlement of Europe in 1814 and 1815. But the noble Earl ought to remember that that settlement had maintained the peace of Europe ever since, with the exception, which he had always regretted, of the interference between Turkey and Greece. Was not the noble Earl aware that he was, up to the present day, carrying on his negotiations under the arrangements of that settlement. The power which the noble Earl professed to have over the Conference of London was entirely owing to that settlement, of which he so much complained. But the noble Earl said, that the late Administration left him in difficulties. It was they, however, who commenced the settlement of the difference between Belgium and the king of the Netherlands; and he must express his belief, that the present Ministers found that the other Powers were negotiating (at the time when their predecessors signed the last protocol) with a sincere desire to bring those transactions to a speedy and an amicable conclusion. The late Government did no more than settle the suspension of hostilities, and take an engagement from the two hostile Powers that they would adhere to the suspension. They settled upon a line beyond which neither party should pass; and in the same protocol it was distinctly stated, that the line was determined on only for the purpose of suspending hostilities, and not as the definite separation of one territory from the other. On the 7th November (and it was curious and extraordinary that on that occasion the late Government avoided the error into which the noble Earl opposite fell in ten days after) the late Ministers refused to guarantee the suspension of hostilities; but the noble Earl guaranteed it. Indeed he would not say, that the noble Earl had since made good his guarantee. The late Government refused to make good the suspension, because they knew that if it should be violated it would be necessary to go to war to enforce it, and that then it would be very difficult to determine to what Power the task of its enforcement should be committed. The only way in which the noble Earl had executed the guarantee was by forcing the king of the Netherlands to break up the blockade of the Scheldt; but he had not compelled the Belgians to adhere to the suspension. It was difficult to say to which Power the task of enforcing this engagement should be intrusted. The noble Earl, however, cut the matter short; the guarantee was never enforced against the Belgians, but it was against the king of the Netherlands, by our compelling that sovereign to break up the blockade of the Scheldt. There were no steps taken, on the other hand, to compel the Belgians to adhere to the suspension, and more especially in the neighbourhood of Maestricht. There was one very curious circumstance connected with this guarantee, which he thought well worthy of their Lordships' consideration. On one occasion, in February or March, the suspension of hostilities was to be enforced against the Belgians by a blockade of their ports—and how was this to be done? By neutral Powers. But it must be well known to the noble Lords who signed the protocol, that a neutral Power can have no right to blockade the ports or seize the ships of one of the belligerents. The noble Earl professed to have acted throughout with impartiality. How did the Conference prove this? At the same time that they threatened Belgium with the blockade of her ports by the ships of a neutral Power, they gave notice to the king of the Netherlands that he must, by the 20th of March, break up his blockade of those same ports, or that a fleet would be sent to compel him to do so. Now this was called impartiality; but upon what ground that character was given to it, he was quite at a loss to understand. The next part of those transactions to which he begged the attention of their Lordships, was the declaration of independence. The noble Earl (Grey) stated, that he had always been of opinion that the best arrangement for the peaceful adjustment of the differences between the separated States would be, that the Prince of Orange should become Sovereign of Belgium. But the mischief was, that what the Belgians wanted in the first place was, to have their independence declared by the five Powers; and the first step taken, after the guarantee for the suspension of hostilities, was to make that declaration of independence. This took place on the 20th of December; and on the 9th of January the French Minister (M. Sebastiani) wrote to the Belgian Minister at Paris, expressing great sympathy for the Belgian nation, which long formed part of France, and was still a member of the same great family, and assuring him that the government of France had obtained for Belgium all that it could obtain for her. That the separation from Holland had been brought about by that government, and that the independence of Belgium had thereby been consummated. Such was the construction which the French minister put upon the declaration. Again—in the month of August, M. Meulenere, the secretary of the Belgian government, addressed the Conference in these terms:—'The circumstances under which the suspension of hostilities, in November, 1830, 'was proposed by the Conference and accepted by the Belgian government, are 'too well known to require that I should 'recal to your recollection, that Holland, 'seeing her army suddenly disorganised by 'the natural effects of the separation of 'Belgium from her dominions, readily acceded to the suspension; but that Belgium 'might have continued to profit by the state 'of things at that time, and might have 'pushed part of her population out of her 'own limits, and that yet, on the assurance 'that her independence would be acknowledged, she acquiesced in the wishes of 'the five Powers, and made her *debut* in 'the political world by a sacrifice to the 'peace of Europe.' Such was the construction which Belgium put upon the declaration. Such was the result of the noble Earl's negotiations, as far as France and Belgium were concerned. After that came the discussion of what was called the 12th protocol, in reference to which the noble Earl said, that Holland had adopted the basis laid down by the Conference for the settlement of the separation of the two countries, and that the protocol No. 12 did not give her all that she had since obtained north of the Meuse. But on this part of the subject he begged to observe, that that protocol held out to Holland other arrangements (besides the territory upon the Meuse), which were likely to induce her to agree to the basis. According to that basis, Holland was to retain possession, and entire possession, of the Duchy of Luxemburg, and she had every reason to believe that she was to retain possession of the German *Encloses*, as they are called, and that her territory was to be kept as a continuous line to the north of the Meuse, by other territory to be afterwards conceded to her. This protocol also contained the basis of a settlement of the debt which was satisfactory to Holland; and with respect to that part of the article which referred to the rivers and canals having access into the Rhine, or being connected with that river, there was a letter from the Secretary of State, declaring that that article was intended to refer to nothing but the rivers by which the countries were separated. This basis of arrangement was, therefore, satisfactory to Holland, and was readily accepted. Here it was worthy of remark, that the Conference declared the settlement contained in the twenty-four articles irrevocable. But the noble Earl now told the House, that they had been obliged to depart from that settlement, because an adherence to it would have caused a general war in Europe. On that point he begged leave to contradict the noble Earl; for, after the French government had declared, in the first instance, that they had some doubt respecting that arrangement, they gave a full consent to the whole of it, on the 1st of March, and agreed to carry it into execution; at the same time again declaring its determination to adhere to the mediation, and not to allow any armed intervention on the part of any State in Europe. There was, therefore, no reason for deviating from the settlement which France had adopted, and which was satisfactory to Holland. But it happened, just at that time, that negotiations commenced for the election of Prince Leopold to the Throne of Belgium. The noble Earl (Grey) had said, that the Government of this country had nothing to do with that election. But the noble Earl would allow him (the Duke of Wellington) to refer him to a letter from the noble Lord who was at that time employed in Belgium. From that letter it appeared that one of the objects of the noble Lord's residence in Brussels was to bring about that election; and, for that purpose, he recommended certain arrangements with a view to facilitate the acceptance of that offer by Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg. The evidence went clearly to show that the election of that Prince was the cause of the abandonment of that settlement which had been accepted by Holland, and which Belgium had refused. He must be permitted to say, that he intended no disrespect to the king of Belgium, on the contrary, he had a great respect for his talents and attainments, and he trusted, that if that Prince would take on him the character of an independent sovereign he would be an excellent king of that country. But then he must be independent, not only of this country, but of France. To prove the interference of our Government, he must further state, that Lord Ponsonby was ordered to state to the Belgian government, that he should leave Brussels on the 1st of June, unless the articles were accepted by that day; but they were not settled, and he departed, and the first thing that was done after his return to London, was the alteration of the basis of the settlement already agreed upon. This was done without consulting the Dutch minister, in consequence of some representation made by Lord Ponsonby to the Conference; and the Belgian government was told, that if they accepted the articles, the Conference was willing to go into negotiations to obtain from Holland the cession of Luxemburg for a valuable consideration—that is, for the cession of an equivalent territory. Now, according to the usual practice of such negotiations, Holland ought to have been consulted. But no such thing. The first that Holland heard of it was by the publication of Lord Ponsonby's letter. The king of the Netherlands remonstrated, but he was told that, *bon-gré mal-gré,* he must accept the new settlement. He would not follow the noble Earl in all that he had said respecting the war between Holland and Belgium. That formed no part of the question now under consideration. Holland had great provocation to go to war when she did. He (the Duke of Wellington) differed entirely from the noble Earl on that subject. What he said at the time in that House was, that he never believed that the king of the Netherlands had acted with treachery. The notice which that king gave at the time ought to have been understood differently from the construction which the Conference put upon it, and they ought to have prevented the consequences that followed. Notwithstanding the guarantee, hostilities had never been suspended in the neighbourhood of Maestricht. In the same manner, hostilities were continued in the neighbourhood of Antwerp. Under these circumstances, how had king Leopold acted? Before he left this country, he accepted the eighteen articles. But when he arrived at Brussels he swore to the Constitution, which required that he should take possession of other territory which had belonged to Holland a century back. This hastened the conflict between the two countries, and the dispersion of the Belgian army brought on the French invasion. The noble Earl had asserted, that it had been prophesied that they would not again retire. He certainly could say for himself, that he had never been a party to any such prophecy; he had always asserted when some strong remarks had been made on the speech of the French minister, in which he declared it was the intention of that country to obtain possession of the Belgian fortresses, and to garrison them with French troops, that that speech was nothing in comparison to his signature. He knew that the French troops would evacuate the Belgian territory at the time stated, because he was satisfied that the king of the French would keep his word, and never sanction such a gross breach of faith as to endeavour to keep them there. At that time, however, he had remarked that he understood there were several French officers in Belgium, who were engaged in organizing the people, and this, he had stated, was calculated rather to impede than to promote the independence of that country. This statement had been contradicted at the time, and he was told there was no foundation for such an assertion, but he had since received further proofs that he had been correct, and he now, therefore, repeated, that if there were French officers engaged in the organization of the Belgian army, such a step was not calculated to sustain the national independence of the Belgians. If they were engaged in any other than military service, still their employment at all in that country was most objectionable. He trusted that their Lordships would see in the whole of those transactions something, not only of indiscretion, but of what, in common language, would be called bad faith. He now came to that part of the question which turned on a comparison between the twenty-four articles of October and the guarantee of February respecting the debt. From what the noble Earl had said, he believed that the noble Earl had not had time to attend to those transactions. The noble Earl said, that the guarantee was, that Belgium should pay 8,400,000 florins of the rentes. But, to place that portion of the common debt on such footing, the consent of the creditors must be obtained to take the king of Belgium as a debtor, instead of the king of the Netherlands. That they would not do, without the guarantee of the British Government. But, after all, that was not the arrangement contemplated. The fact was, that the whole remained still the debt of the Dutch government. The interest was to be paid half-yearly in Brussels and Amsterdam. So that there had been no such transfer as the noble Earl supposed. Certainly the noble Earl had no time to attend to these details. If he had, there would doubtless be less reason to complain. But what, then, was the nature of the guarantee? If the Belgians should fail to pay the interest, how was this country bound to Holland? Was each of the five Powers bound to pay one-fifth of the amount, or was Great Britain bound to pay the whole sum in the event of their failure? It was true their Lordships had heard nothing of an Act of Parliament upon the subject, to give the Attorney-General another opportunity of delivering an opinion that the money must be paid. But the King's honour would be bound; and his Majesty would be obliged to come down to Parliament, and say that he had guaranteed the payment, and call on Parliament to enable him to make good his engagement. But the guarantee was not confined alone to the debt: it went much further; it extended to all the details of the navigation of the Rhine and the canals. If all the various questions growing out of these matters were to be settled by negotiation, the Conference of London must be permanent. The noble Earl had been pleased to state, that the arrangements of these twenty-four articles were in strict conformity with the basis agreed to by the king of the Netherlands. He, therefore, must request the noble Earl would inform him where he could find in any part of the basis to which that sovereign had agreed, one word which could give the Belgians the right of passing vessels from the Scheldt to the Rhine? He knew not whether the noble Earl had read the letter from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the ambassador of the king of the Netherlands respecting the article in question; but in that letter the noble Secretary assured the ambassador that the Conference would not deviate from the settlement to which Holland had already agreed. The third article of the Treaty of Separation left the Belgians the free navigation of the rivers which cross the territories of both the States. The ambassador of the Netherlands had waited on the Conference to give the King's adherence to the treaty; and he must have protested against that third article, or the letter would not have been written. But the noble Earl affirmed, that the treaty relating to the navigation of the Rhine secured the navigation also of the rivers and canals connecting the Scheldt with that river. But he could assure the noble Earl that the treaty contained no such provisions. That treaty said, indeed, that the branches of the Rhine, and the rivers flowing into it, should be free to the navigation of the parties to the treaty. But there was not one word in it about the canals. How, then, could the noble Earl say, that the navigation of the Dutch canals was given up by that treaty to the Powers who were parties to it? Even if the king of the Netherlands could be induced to consent to the navigation by the Belgians of the Dutch canals, it must of necessity be on payment of the duties both on the Rhine and on those canals. It was by England that the demand was originated, he suspected, for the purpose of favouring Belgium; for the purposed arrangement was not to be found in any previous treaty. The general custom throughout Germany was, that the Powers, the territories of which were seated on the banks of a river common to several states, had the management of that part of it which flowed through their country, subject to the payment of tolls which were sometimes regulated by treaty. The King of Holland possessed this common right, and he was bound to provide for the due passage of the river; but the noble Earl insisted upon his sharing a charge, which properly belonged to himself, with the king of the Belgians. He must now advert to the right asserted, on the part of the Belgian commerce, of passing through Maestricht. He contended, that the case was not at all similar to that of the permission granted by Prussia to some of the minor Powers to pass through the Prussian fortresses, to which it had been compared. Independent of the principles proclaimed by the Belgians, when they said, " Belgium must be permitted to plant her flag and proclaim the principles of her independence in the towns and possessions of those opposed to her—we must have a garrison every where." Such a speech as this must, of course, excite attention in Holland; and could their Lordships believe it possible that another State would tolerate a free passage through its fortified places to persons who held such doctrines? And, with respect to the fisheries, although that was of minor importance, yet, still there were rights attached to them in various places through which the different rivers flowed, which ought to be respected, but for which no provision was made to reserve the rights of the king of the Netherlands. It was, therefore, not at all probable that that sovereign would be disposed to acquiesce in such propositions. But, if he were induced to grant these concessions, why was he not to have the benefit of making a Treaty of Commerce from which he would derive all the advantages of them? Let their Lordships consider what Holland had paid for Belgium. By the Treaty of 1814, Belgium was united to Holland; but Holland was to give compensation to Sweden for the cession of certain colonies, and to advance money for the restoration of the fortifications in the Low Countries. For that purpose she had sold four of her colonies. Holland had to pay 1,000,000*l.* to Sweden, and 2,000,000*l.* for the Netherland fortifications, in addition to the 1,000,000*l.* for her share of the contribution of Paris, besides the Russian loan, and other sums, amounting altogether to 7,000,000*l.* sterling; besides 20,000,000 of francs. Such was the sum which Holland had paid for Belgium; and the compensation which it was now proposed she should receive was 600,000 florins, or about 60,000*l.* a year. The noble Earl opposite had said, that this arbitrary act had been the only way of avoiding a war. But the whole question was one of justice. Had we a right to do what we had done? So far from avoiding war, in his opinion, the course of conduct pursued in this respect by his Majesty's Ministers was calculated to breed foreign war, as their course of conduct in another respect, was calculated to breed civil war. He called on their Lordships, however, not to be alarmed at the declaration of the noble Earl. The noble Earl allowed that three great Powers hesitated to ratify the treaty; he (the Duke of Wellington) might, he believed, say they were determined not to ratify it, until they had the consent of the king of the Netherlands, who, on his part, never would consent to it in its present form. He had only to add, in conclusion, that he trusted their Lordships would not be deterred from doing their duty on this and other subjects by threats either of foreign or domestic war.

Viscount *Goderich* must say, that he thought the noble Duke who had just sat down had given no answer at all to the powerful speech of his noble friend near him. The noble Earl (Aberdeen) who had brought forward this Motion seemed to think it was a perfectly justifiable one, but yet he had thought it necessary to produce to their Lordships precedents in support of it, supposing naturally enough, that, in the present state of our negotiations with regard to Belgium and Holland, their Lordships might be of opinion that the course which the noble Lord had thought proper to pursue was any thing but justifiable. When, however, the noble Lord went to the reign of Charles 2nd for a precedent, the noble Lord must have selected from that part of our history merely because the matter then in question related to Holland, as the matter now in question did; for assuredly there was no other similarity between the two cases. That which, in the reign of Charles 2nd excited the anger and the indignation of Parliament, was a knowledge of the profligate corruption of the King, who had been bribed by France not only to desert, but to assist in crushing and destroying, our ally, Holland. It was known, too, that the corrupt Ministers of Charles had shared in the bribes of their profligate master; and under these circumstances it was, that the Parliament of Charles 2nd took the measures to which the noble Lord had alluded. He trusted, that even the noble Lord himself would hardly say that the present case and that of Charles 2nd were parallel, so far as the reasons of the course pursued in the two cases were concerned. He would readily admit, however—putting out of consideration the extreme case of Charles 2nd—that a case might occur which would fully justify such a motion as the present; but then, in order to render such a motion justifiable, their Lordships would have, in the first place, to decide that the Ministry had done something which threatened, in its consequences, to compromise the interests of the country, or the dignity of the Crown. Were their Lordships prepared to say, that in the measures hitherto pursued by the Government, so far as their Lordships had received information of those measures, there was any thing which could justify their Lordships in coming to such a conclusion? He thought their Lordships would be far from entertaining such an opinion, which he was sure would be as erroneous a one as ever men entertained. He did not mean, at that late hour of the night, to drag their Lordships once more through all the circumstances of the Belgic revolution; but it would be absolutely necessary to go somewhat back, in order to understand the position in which the Government was placed. The noble Duke (Wellington) had found fault with his noble friend (Earl Grey) for saying that the late Government had provided the present with all the difficulties and embarrassments by which this question was surrounded; but he had heard no such expression fall from his noble friend. He had understood his noble friend to say, that the present Administration had inherited those difficultiesa nd embarrassments from its predecessor. His noble friend had said, "We found them: they are not ours;" and most truly had his noble friend described the manner in which this Government had met with these difficulties. The origin of the troubles of Belgium was, to all appearance slight, and apparently easy to remove. The obnoxious minister might have been dismissed, and the local taxes complained of might have been abolished; but neither was done, and, indeed, scarcely time was given for doing either. One short week entirely changed the character of these troubles. The attack of the Prince of Orange on Brussels might, if it had proved successful, have again turned the tide, and have succeeded in putting down the malcontents. The fact, however, was, that it did not succeed; and that failing, it made matters much worse than they had been before. The subsequent stages of the revolution pressed with a rapidity which was almost unprecedented, and which must have baffled the policy of the most sagacious and the most prudent man. The independence of Belgium was *de facto* established from the moment in which the Belgian Congress proclaimed and declared that independence; for, from that moment it became evident to every man that the separation between the Belgic provinces and Holland could not be prevented, except by force. In this light it was quite evident that the king of Holland himself viewed the affair; for he did not call upon the other powers to mediate between him and Belgium, but he called upon them to put down the Belgic revolution by force, and so to reduce his revolted subjects to obedience. No one could doubt what the answer of the Powers would be to such an application. They refused to entertain it, and they wisely so refused. The application, therefore, proved no more than that the Dutch clearly perceived that nothing but force could prevent a separation of the Belgic provinces from Holland. He was justified, then, in saying, that the independence of Belgium was *de facto* established when the present Government came into office,—since nothing short of an universal war, which was not to be thought of, could have prevented its separation from Holland. He would ask, then, whether it would have been wise, even though it had been practicable, to allow matters to remain in that condition? And if not, what could be done?—how, could negotiations for the settlement of these troubles be even commenced, without first acknowledging the independence of Belgium. The Government was compelled to choose between acknowledging the independence of Belgium, and entering into a war for the purpose of putting an end to that independence. Such was the necessity under which the Ministers had found themselves compelled to act on coming into office; and if their Lordships admitted the existence of that necessity, it was impossible that they could entertain the Motion of the noble Earl. Their Lordships might have known from the ordinary channels of information what decision the Conference had made upon particular points of the subsequent negotiations; but before their Lordships could fairly judge respecting those decisions, they ought to be in possession of all the facts which had influenced the determinations of the Conference. At present it was impossible to communicate those facts to their Lordships; and in the face of that impossibility, which no one knew better than the noble Lord himself, the noble Earl had brought forward this Motion—a Motion, the object of which was (for it was idle to mince the matter), to condemn the Ministers to perpetual infamy, and to call upon them to give reasons why they should not be so condemned, though the noble Earl was aware that such a call was a mockery, since their tongues were tied, and their public duty prevented them even from stating their case. He did not think it necessary, after the able speech of his noble friend, to trespass further upon their Lordships' attention than just to notice slightly one or two of the objections of the noble Earl (Aberdeen). First, then, the noble Earl had contended, that the article respecting the navigation of the rivers was unjust; but the noble Earl had given no reason for this opinion, and he confessed that he was at a loss to perceive wherein the injustice of the article consisted. The article was, in fact, derived from certain principles laid down and acted upon by the Congress of Vienna. The principles were, as the noble Earl was well aware, at variance with the old maxims of the law of nations; and the object of them was, not to prevent collision, but to facilitate commerce, and to make nations less strangers to each other than they were before. These were, he admitted, very wide principles, but not more wide than wise, although in direct opposition to the principles of the noble Earl (Aberdeen), whose argument was, that the rivers should be shut up, in order that commerce might be obstructed, and nations made more strangers to each other than they had ever been before. Now, it had never occurred to any one in the Conference, nor to many probably out of it, that the opening of these waters would be injurious to the interests of Holland. Indeed, the Dutch themselves had not made this discovery till it was of use to them as a pretext for not agreeing to the terms proposed by the Allied Powers. They did not object to it in the memoir, though he believed they did in the note which had been sent to the Conference; but then that objection was of a different character to that of the noble Lord. They said, that it was unheard of, that the duties and tolls, &c. should be regulated by the common consent of other Powers. Now, this he begged leave to deny. It was not unheard of. A treaty was signed on the 29th of May, 1815, between Prussia and Hanover, respecting the navigation of the Ems; and an article of that treaty said, that the duties on Prussian and on Hanoverian ships should be the same; but it said, also, that the two Powers should, of common accord, settle what the amount of those duties should be. He thought, therefore, that the Dutch had made more of this article than it was worth, and he had shown that they were wrong in their facts when they talked of such a regulation being unheard of. It would not be difficult for him to show, that the greater part of the noble Earl's objections were as unsubstantial as this respecting the navigation of the rivers; but he felt that at so late an hour he had already trespassed too far upon their Lordships' attention. Although nothing could exceed the vehemence, not to say violence, of the imputations which the noble Earl had cast upon the Government, he must be allowed to tell the noble Earl that, as far as his own conscience was concerned, he felt perfectly easy under these imputations, knowing them to be utterly destitute even of the shadow of foundation. He called upon the House to go to the vote with this recollection, that if—and he solemnly declared the fact was so—the Government had conducted these negotiations from the commencement to the end with the most strict and scrupulous attention to the honour and the interests of the country, no motion could be more uncalled for, and unjustifiable, than the present; and that while, on the one hand, the noble Earl had made out no case which ought to lead their Lordships to suspect for a moment that the conduct of Government had not been of that character, so, on the other hand, a sense of public duty precluded the Government from making public those facts which were essential to the complete justification of their conduct.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* begged to assure the House, that there were but one or two points to which he was desirous to allude, and, that he would do so as briefly as possible. Now that he had learned from the noble Earl (Grey) what the noble Earl meant by a guarantee, he was not at all surprised, that the noble Earl had entered into a guarantee of such a nature as that which he had described. Now that he knew how the noble Earl understood his engagements, he should not be surprised at any engagement the noble Earl had made, or might make. The noble Earl had told them, that all they would be called to do, under this guarantee, was to see the amount of the debt transferred from one great book into another great book, but the words of the treaty were—'And the payment of the 'sum above mentioned, of 8,400,000 florins, 'shall take place regularly every six 'months either at Brussels or Antwerp, in 'hard money, without any deduction of 'whatsoever nature it may be, either at 'present or in future.' Surely the noble Earl could hardly have read the treaty which contained these words, but if he had really read it, and yet so understood the guarantee, then he might, with equal safety, guarantee even the course of the winds and the waves. But let the treaty be agreed to, and he would defy the performance of it, because, to perform it would be found impossible. With reference to the division of the debt, the noble Earl had said, that he considered the portion assigned to Belgium as an ample portion, and, that such division was only the developement of the old engagement. Now by the old engagement, the portion taken by Belgium, was 14,000,000 florins, and by the new engagement it was 8,400,000 florins; so that if this were a developement at all, it was a developement of a very odd character—a developement by means of contraction. According to the opinion of the members of the Conference themselves, the Dutch had a right to expect, that upwards of 10,000,000, at least, of the debt, would be charged to Belgium. The noble Earl had, in the first place, denied, that any unnecessary intervention had been had resource to, and then he said, that violence had been resorted to, from necessity, to induce the Dutch government to yield. If the House was to be told, that this prince objects to this king, and that potentate to the other, and if every power was to have a veto in the nomination of a sovereign, a pretty sort of independent State must be the result. If foreign powers arrogated to themselves to choose or exclude particular individuals from the sovereignty of a State, what became of that undoubted power which the noble Earl contended was inherent in any nation to choose its own government. He would beg to add one word more in reference to the remark made by the noble Viscount (Goderich) who had said, that the navigation of rivers was occasionally regulated by a convention between those sovereigns through whose territories they flowed, and had instanced Prussia and Hanover with regard to the Ems. No doubt, two interested parties could regulate such matters as were common to themselves, and, therefore, they ought to have left this right to be settled between Holland and Belgium themselves; the complaint was, that a third party had arbitrarily stepped in and insisted upon the navigation of rivers without consulting either party, and against the especial interest of one of them. His great objection to this treaty, however, was—apart from the injustice of it—that it would render war unavoidable. However great might be the noble Earl's desire to preserve peace, he would too soon find that this treaty would force him into a war. In spite of what had fallen from the noble Lords opposite, he must contend that the late Administration left to its successors no other than very light embarrassments in regard to our foreign relations; and he had always looked upon a greater probability of war as one of the almost inevitable results of the retirement of the noble Duke near him from his Majesty's councils. That illustrious man had, by his abilities, his experience, and his reputation, been enabled to inspire our allies with confidence, and to strike fear into the hearts of our enemies; and those feelings in the bosoms both of our friends and our foes were never higher than at the moment the noble Duke quitted office. The noble Lord had taunted him with the separation of Saxony, and affirmed, that he (the Earl of Aberdeen) had no reason to complain of the separation of Luxemburg; but he must again and again declare, that he considered the projected division of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg as the forcible spoliation of the territories of an old ally. The noble Earl had told him to look at Genoa, and Sardinia, and Saxony; but those were conquered countries, to be dealt with as the conquerors pleased. These instances furnished no justification of the present, which was the robbery of our friend and ally.

The House divided on the Motion. Not content, Present 59; Proxies 73, 132; Content, Present 39; Proxies 56—95; Majority for Ministers—37.

List of the NOT-CONTENTS.

PEERS PRESENT, 59.

DUKES
Sussex
Norfolk
Richmond
Devonshire
St. Alban's
MARQUISES
Landsdown
Cleaveland
EARLS
Shrewsbury
Pomfret
Radnor
Tankerville
Essex
Mulgrave
Oxford
Albemarle
Cowper
Grey
Gosford
Chichester
Carlisle
Denbigh
Hood
Goderich
Falkland
BARONS
Saye and Sele
Lyndoch
Fingall (E. of Fingall)
Poltimore
Dacre
De Saumarez
Sefton (E. of Sefton)
Seaford
Holland
Selsey
King
Chaworth (Earl of Meath)
Cloncurry
Sundridge (Duke of Argyll)
Melbourne (Viscount Melbourne)
Somerhill, Marquis of Clanricarde
Fife (Earl of Fife)
Gower
Dover
Wellesley (Marquis Wellesley)
Oakley
Ponsonby (of Imokilly)
Foley
Byron
Lilford
Hill
Kilmarnock (Earl of Errol)
Mendip (V. Clifden)
Belhaven
Brougham
Durham
Teynham
BISHOPS
Chichester
Killaloe
TELLER.
Lord Auckland

PROXIES, 73.

DUKES
Grafton
Somerset
Brandon (Duke of Hamilton)
Bedford
Portland
MARQUISES
Winchester
Queensberry
Anglesey
Stafford
Westminster
Breadalbane
Northampton
EARLS
Ferrers
Camperdown
Lichfield
Charlemont
Cawdor
Fortescue
Morley
Hillsborough (Marquis of Downshire)
Onslow
Buckinghamshire
Huntingdon
Nelson
Craven
Minto
O'Neill
Spencer
Ilchester
Derby
VISCOUNTS
Leinster
Grenville
St. Vincent
Lake
BARONS
Suffield
Wenlock
Dundas
Montford
Gardner
Clinton
Fisherwick (Marquis of Donegall)
Lovell and Holland
Lyttleton
Yarborough
Erskine
Sondes
Crewe
Monteagle (Marquis Sligo)
Alvanley
Ponsonby (Earl of Besborough)
Howden
Kenlis (Marquis of Headfort)
Ranfurly (Earl of Ranfurly)
Vernon
Dormer
Templemore
Segrave
Plunkett
Granard (E. of Granard)
Clements (Earl of Leitrim)
Dinorben
Ducie
Howard of Effingham
Hawke
Boyle (Earl of Cork)
Howard de Walden
Dawnay (V. Downe)
Ludlow (Earl Ludlow)
Dunmore (Earl of Dunmore)
Stafford
Stourton
Sherborne
BISHOP
Norwich

List of the CONTENTS.

PEERS PRESENT, 39.

DUKES
Cumberland
Wellington
MARQUISES
Abercorn
Salisbury
Thomond
EARLS
Wicklow
Vane (Marquis of Londonderry)
Carnarvon
Eldon
Delawarr
Mansfield
Rosslyn
Bathurst
Orford
Verulam
Jersey
Brownlow
Caledon
Beverley
VISCOUNTS
Lorton
Sydney
Gordon (Earl of Aberdeen)
Beresford
Arbuthnot
BARONS
Penshurst (Viscount Strangford)
Wynford
Stuart de Rothsay
Boston
Bexley
Clanwilliam (Earl of Clanwilliam)
Ellenborough
Douglas
Colville
Montagu
Carrington
Lyndhurst
Harris
Grantley
TELLER.
Lord Kenyon

PROXIES, 56.

DUKES
Newcastle
Rutland
Buckingham
Northumberland
Beaufort
MARQUISES
Ailesbury
Exeter
Hertford
Bristol
Tweeddale
Bute
Cholmondeley
Camden
EARLS
Hardwicke
Morton
Clancarty
Longford
Digby
Doncaster (Duke of Buccleuch)
Chesterfield
Scarborough
Leven
Selkirk
Norwich (Duke of Gordon)
Wilton
Lonsdale
Glengall
Mount Edgecumbe
Dartmouth

Warwick
Falmouth
Home
Graham (Duke of Montrose)

VISCOUNTS

Hereford
Strathallan
Gort
Exmouth

BARONS

Bagot
Farnham
Stowell
Redesdale
Prudhoe
Lauderdale (Earl of Lauderdale)
Manners
Hopetoun (Earl of Hopetoun)
Clanbrassil (Earl of Roden)
Maryborough
Oriel (Viscount Ferrard)
Ker (M. of Lothian)
Bayning
Dynevor
Sheffield (Earl of Sheffield)
Wallace
Southampton
Rolle
Cowley

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, January 26, 1832.

Minutes.] New Members. Charles Hanbury Tracey, Esq., for Tewkesbury.

New Writ ordered. On the Motion of Mr. Holmes, for Dunwick in the room of the Earl of Brecknock, who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

Petitions presented. By Mr. Pollock, from the Faculty of Physic in London to Repeal the Statutes which directly impede the Study of Anatomy, and for new enactments on that subject:—By Mr. Wallace, from the Landholders of Drogheda, complaining of the amount of Grand Jury Assessments, and praying for an extension of the Franchise in the Irish Reform Bill to 10*l.* Leaseholders in Counties:—By Sir John Newport, from Dublin, complaining of the manner in which Ministers Money was collected.

Education (Ireland).] Colonel *Rochford* presented a Petition from the Protestant inhabitants of Street, in the county of Westmeath, complaining that in the new system of education proposed by the Government, Protestant children were deprived of the use of Bibles in their schools. The petitioners prayed, that Protestants might be allowed the free use of the Bible in their schools; for, in their opinions, when education was not founded upon the Word of God, it became a curse rather than a blessing, to those who received it. This, he was sure, would be found to be the general opinion of the Protestant people of Ireland, who neither could nor would tolerate spurious attempts at conciliation, at the expense of religion.

Mr. *Chapman* had no doubt that the opinions expressed by the petitioners were those of a numerous party in Ireland, consisting of all those who were opposed to the adoption of plans to ameliorate the condition of that country, as well as those who endeavoured to throw difficulties in the way of all the efforts making by Government to effect conciliatory measures; but he believed a still larger party was in favour of the measures proposed by Government, and, therefore, he exhorted them to persevere.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, that he also would support the prayer of the petition, if the allegations of the petitioners were true. If it could be shown that the Government regulations had the effect of taking the Bible from the Protestant children, he, for one, would agree that they ought to be altered. But, as he understood, the only effect of the regulation would be, that the acceptance of the Bible as a school-book, was not to be enforced on Catholics.

Sir *Robert Bateson* said, the Scriptures were given to the Protestant children in a mutilated state. The result was, that, in reality they were denied the use of the Scriptures. The Protestants, of every sect and creed, were consequently opposed to the plan, and had joined heart and hand in reprobating the new system altogether.

Mr. *Crampton* said, the most effectual mode of giving education in Ireland, was to educate Protestants and Catholics together. That this mode was desired by many of the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, he could state, for applications to that effect had been made to him by Protestant clergymen, as well as by Catholic priests. Now, as it was desirable that both parties should be educated together, he thought that the most effectual way would be, to give the children in common such portions of the Scripture as both parties were agreed upon, to the exclusion of those parts on which they differed. The children would be educated together four days in the week; but there were two days, in which the Protestants had to receive religious instruction according to their own form, besides the advantage in the instruction given in the Protestant Sunday-schools. There was, therefore, in his opinion, no reasonable ground of complaint,

Mr. *Ruthven* said, it was lamentable, that instead of the contending parties adopting the conciliatory tone, which they ought to have done to meet the views of Government, to allay agitation, and reconcile conflicting opinions, they had carried on a petty vexatious warfare, from which no good could possibly result. The assertion that the Protestants of all sects were generally averse from the measures relating to education proposed by the Government, were not justified by their opinions on the part of the country with which he was conversant. He knew many members of the Church of

England, and Presbyterians, who wished to extinguish party spirit by allowing Government a control over education.

Petition to be printed.

General Fast—Exclusion of Strangers.] Mr. *Perceval* being called on to bring forward the Motion of which he had given notice, rose, and said, I perceive that strangers are in the House.

The *Speaker:* strangers must withdraw.

The officers of the House proceeded to clear the gallery.

Mr. *Hume:* I presume I may move the suspension of the Standing Order.

The *Speaker:* Strangers must withdraw.

The gallery was then cleared, and the House proceeded, with closed doors, to take into consideration Mr. Perceval's Motion for a general fast. The hon. Member is reported to have spoken as follows:—

Mr. *Perceval* said, that he had moved the absence of strangers on three accounts; first, that he might have more freedom of speech himself, and the House be more ready to hear him, than under the eye of strangers; secondly, that no man might suppose that he was looking to approbation of any party out of that House, to compensate for the disapprobation he feared to encounter within; thirdly, that as the Motion had been objected to, as likely to lead to scandal in the debate, he would take away all temptation to blasphemy, or at least prevent any going forth to the country. He closed himself in with his fellow-commoners, face to face, and could speak freely in the presence of baptized men. He rose to address them in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, who was exalted King of kings, and Lord of lords. He called on them in the glory of his name. God, too, was present amongst them, and he would witness all that passed. In the name of God, the Highest, he appealed to the House; and as it was written in his Word, that he who rejected one that appeared in the name of God despised him that sent him, he that rejected him (Mr. Perceval) rejected his God, in whose name he appeared. He therefore, implored the House to attend with reverence. He would risk being tedious, in order to be understood. No man could deny, that the state of the nation was truly deplorable Nothing had altered his opinion since he last addressed the House on this subject. The nation trembled on the verge of destruction—no man could calculate on subordination in any society—in every district there were disorders. There was also the frightful collision of the two Houses of Parliament. The houses of the nobles and gentry were entered and pillaged, and one of the great cities of the nation had been plundered and devastated by the mob. Two parties were threatening a conflict so manifest, that, amidst all these things, every body, of considerate mind, should consider their ways, and mend them. Shall we not bow down before that God whose hand is on us, consider our ways, and go down on our knees to supplicate that mercy which is gone from us. The prosperity of a nation, like that of an individual, is of God. He only was the author of all the prosperity which the nation had ever enjoyed; and as obedience to God was the cause of a nation's prosperity, was not our disobedience to God and his ordinances the cause of his wrath and vengeance? He would read from the Holy Book the promise and the denunciations of God's mercy and judgments. That was the Magna Charta of nations—the words which God spoke to Israel. And, bearing in mind the unchangeableness of God, and the mutability of man, this nation seemed to stand in that position towards the Almighty in which Israel formerly stood. It had been the seat of true religion, and had reared up the finest system of civil polity that ever existed; and if they were as Jerusalem was, they must suffer equally, 'Woe unto 'thee, Chorazin; woe unto thee, Bethsaida; 'for if the mighty works which were done 'in you, were done in Tyre and Sidon, they 'would have repented long ago in sackcloth 'and ashes. But I say unto you, it shall 'be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at 'the day of judgment, than for you. And 'thou Capernaum, which art exalted unto 'heaven, shall be brought down to hell: 'for if the mighty works which have been 'done in thee had been done in Sodom, it 'would have remained until this day. But 'I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable 'for Tyre and Sidon, at the day of judg'ment, than for you.' As you have known more, and sinned more, ye shall suffer more: that was God's language of threatening. Then came God's promised mercies to such as observed his ordinances; 'And all these blessings shall come on thee 'and overtake thee, if thou shalt heark'en unto the voice of the Lord thy God. 'Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and 'blessed shalt thou be in the field. Blessed 'shall be the fruit of thy body, and 'the fruit of thy ground and the fruit of 'thy cattle, the increase of thy kine, and 'the flocks of thy sheep. 'Blessed shall 'be thy basket and thy store.' Blessed 'shalt thou be when thou comest in, and 'blessed shalt thou be when thou goest 'out.' &c. [The hon. Member read a number of other extracts from the Bible to the same effect.] Great and glorious had been the name and conduct of England, when she trusted in Almighty God, and when one of her Admirals wrote home thus, announcing a victory over her enemies, "It has pleased Almighty God to bless his Majesty's arms with a signal victory." But this was one of the last departing signs of the solemn faith of their forefathers. He would next refer them to God's denunciations, some of which were these:—'But it 'shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken 'unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to 'observe to do all his commandments and his 'statutes which I command thee this day, 'that all these curses shall come upon thee 'and overtake thee. Cursed shalt thou 'be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be 'in the field. Cursed shall be thy basket 'and thy store. Cursed shall be the fruit of 'thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy 'sheep. Cursed shalt thou be when thou 'comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when 'thou goest out. The Lord shall send 'upon thee cursing, vexation, and rebuke 'in all that thou settest thy hand unto for 'to do, until thou be destroyed, and until 'thou perish quickly; because of the wickedness of thy doings, whereby thou hast 'forsaken me. The Lord shall make the 'pestilence cleave unto thee, until he have 'consumed thee from off the land whither 'thou goest to possess it,' &c. [The hon. Member read more extracts of the same description, and then went on] 'The curse 'of God was on the land, and it had overtaken the people.' That pestilence was in the land, and we ought to hasten to address the throne to proclaim a fast, and day of humiliation in the land, that we might avert this dreadful wrath. We had here the truth—we had departed from our God, and God had departed from us. And unless this nation went on its knees, destruction would be on it. But if we return to God's ways we might expect forgiveness and blessedness. The judgment might, perhaps, yet be averted. For God said, "him that honoureth me will I honour;" and though we have, as a nation, departed from his ways, yet as his judgments, so are his mercies; "for the Lord is gracious; his mercies are everlasting, and his truth endureth from generation to generation." If we would yet bow down, there is in our God that fathomless store of mercies, that peradventure he will relent, and our glory will return. Nothing, however, but such a course would restore to us that glory. England was no longer the country of peace, glory, and strength, that it had been, and we ought to repent and return from our evil ways. Although we deserved the punishment of our sins, yet, if we repented, God's mercy was abundant, and we might yet be saved. He spoke on authority not to be denied. The word of God had expressed it, even when a curse against a nation had been given. 'If that nation against whom I 'have pronounced turn from their evil, I will 'repent of the evil that I thought to do 'unto them.' Innumerable were the instances of God's mercy—as when the prophet went against Ahab, but he humbled himself, and God withdrew the judgment. There was the same fact in the case of Jonah in Nineveh. 'Yet forty days, and 'Nineveh shall be overthrown.' If these applied to heathens, how much more would God's mercy be shown to a nation of Christians? [The hon. Member then read the proceedings respecting Nineveh.] 'So the people of Nineveh believed God, 'and proclaimed a fast, and put on sack'cloth, from the greatest of them even 'to the least of them. For word came 'unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose 'from his throne, and he laid his robe from 'him, and covered him with sackcloth, and 'sat in ashes. And he caused it to be 'proclaimed and published through Nineveh '(by the decree of the king and his nobles), 'saying, "Let neither man nor beast, herd 'nor flock, taste anything; let them not 'feed nor drink water." But let man and 'beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry 'mightily unto God; yea, let them turn 'every one from his evil way, and from the 'violence that is in their hands. Who can 'tell if God will turn and repent, and 'turn away from his fierce anger, and we 'perish not. And God saw their works, 'that they turned from their evil way; and 'God repented him of the evil that he had 'said he would do unto them, and he did it 'not.' So would it be with England, if we faithfully, humbly, and sincerely repented. He trusted to be able to set before the nation the truth of its weakness—first, the increase of crime showed the absence of religion and piety; secondly, the oppression of the poor was beyond his conception. He was lost in astonishment to account for it, and was wholly unable to point out human remedies. This was a matter surrounded by tremendous danger. The rich lived in luxury and plenty; the labourer was in a state of actual starvation, and a degree of distress that ought to harrow up their very souls. He could not point out the causes, but the fact was glaring. He appealed to the hon. member for Boroughbridge (Mr. Sadler) to point out the sufferings of the children of the poor. The heathens made their children pass through the fire to their God, Moloch—we make our children pass through misery for our gain. These things proved the sins of the land, and that God's curse was upon it. The destruction of Bristol was a sample of God's wrath when abroad. Passing that and the pestilence, which they were told, "goeth before him," the state of the poor was enough to induce that House to address the Crown to order a fast. It must not be supposed that he was a fool to call on that House, which he did, as a body, only in love and truth. He did not rise to make personal attacks, but to lift up his voice in the name of God. "You sit here (said the hon. Member), like a race of infidels—you do not consult your Maker. This House meets here, and talks on public affairs as if there was no God. Let every man answer for himself. You have no more consideration than if you acknowledged no God. You are all infidels. Look at the public Press, the march of intellect,—the spirit of the day is sheer idolatry. You forget God, and think of doing every thing by capital, by machinery, by laws; boasts are daily made of the liberal mind that is marching through Europe, and which arrogates to itself all the blessings that are enjoyed by man: but you are acting on a wrong principle. All those acts of ungodliness have been practised by other nations. For example, the French left out that "the king ruled by the grace of God;" denying thereby their fealty to that power 'by whom alone kings reign and princes 'deal justice,' and from whom 'cometh 'all counsel, wisdom, and understanding.'" Then they had also that blasphemy in England, "that all power was from the people"—sheer blasphemy, as all power was from God, and the duty of man was to submit and to 'obey! 'Let every soul,' said the Holy Writ, 'be subject unto the higher powers, for 'there is no power but of God: the powers 'that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, 'therefore, resisteth that power, resisteth 'the ordinance of God: and they that 'resist shall receive to themselves damna'tion. For rulers are not a terror to good 'works, but to the evil: wilt thou then not 'be afraid of the power? do that which is 'good, and thou shalt have praise of the 'same. For he is the Minister of God to 'thee for good; but if thou do that which 'is evil, be afraid: for he beareth not the 'sword in vain: for he is the Minister of 'God, a revenger to execute wrath upon 'him that doeth evil.' See what is going on in France and England. It is blasphemy to attribute power to the people. He defied the noble Lord to point out a word in the Bible that power was from the people! that slavish bowing to public opinion had robbed the noble Lord of all his honesty and manhood. In the councils of the nation they were slaves to that blasphemy; but power was only from God. He was aware that he was speaking loud and with warmth, but not with violence; he was sincere, and was urging these truths in his usual way, when he was under an influence. The Motion belonged to each Member individually, as every man had been baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and could not disobey the precepts and laws of their God. They might disregard the laws—father and brother—but would they refuse the precepts of God? "I was taken up," said the hon. Member, "on the death of my father, by the nation, which abundantly provided for me and mine; and it is in gratitude for that kindness that I call on the House to address the Crown to issue a proclamation for a fast. It has been done before by Parliament, and I do not admit the objection, that this place is not a fit and proper place. Are we not chosen to meet and advise what, as Christians, we ought to advise for the good of the nation? Are we to leave all religion at the door of the House, and listen to the wiles of Satan? No. I stated it last year, and I will repeat the character of infidelity that pervades the public mind. At that time there was the blasphemous proposition to admit the Jew into this House. If our Saviour was raised, and is now in Heaven, at the head of his Church, are we to admit a Jew to our councils? The Edinburgh Review—the fifth sign of the infidelity of the times—defended that. It said, that 'it was as absurd to talk of Christian government, as of Christian cookery.' Man is a fool in his heart, and sayeth those things. It is enormous, that this body of Christians should say, we are not inclined to consider of God's greatness and mercy; if so ungodly as to entertain the question, what a state was the nation in! The bent of the human mind is now to set aside kings and priests, and to set up the people as the sovereigns; and I would call on the nation to humiliate themselves, and avert such evils. If the House reject the Motion—although Government may afterwards order the Fast—yet in that case the House will have dissociated itself from the act, and will give room for infidels and scoffers to say, 'Aye! Let the kings and priests, and 'those who are fools enough to be led by 'them, go out with this last piece of mum'mery before they are expelled for ever. 'We, the nation, will have none of it. 'We know better; and so do our Repre'sentatives.' If you agree to my Motion, I will request the House of Lords also to supplicate for a fast, and we all shall then be bound up together in one solemn act." He would not withdraw his Motion (the hon. Member continued) as he did last year; he would not give way, but would divide the House. He would force the House of Commons to declare whether they would bend their knee to their God. If they would not, the nation should know their refusal. He would have the whole nation, the Lords, and Commons, to join in the act of humiliation. The Ministers had not done it—the House of Commons had put it aside. But, by that anointed name by which he acted, he would appeal to them, and it must be done. Moving the previous question would not do: the House must reject the Motion. "If it does reject it, all Europe will see (said the hon. Member) that ye reject your God's authority. You cannot escape this charge. By the name, and by the blood of that Saviour, I implore you to support this Motion. But I have been told formerly, that in this blasphemous and unhallowed atmosphere I ought not to have used that name. But it is in that blessed name—the name of that living God and Saviour, who now sees us and is amongst us—that I alone appeal and act. Christian men should love to hear me call on the name of Him in whose name they were baptized. Cast not off the reverence due to that name: beware of that infidelity that is creeping on you on both sides of the House, and depriving you of your manhood; for the safety of your own souls, I call on you to honour that name. I have done my duty to avert the evils that are coming on Christendom, preceded by the pestilence. Beware of the wrath that went forth on the plain against Sodom and Gomorrah—and that is a type of the judgment that is fast coming upon Christendom. My cry is, that God's mercy may be on us if we humble ourselves. Let all the people praise and sing for joy, and the desolating force of God shall pass by." The hon. Member concluded by moving, that an humble Address be presented to the King, to order a day for a general fast and humiliation.

Mr. *John Weyland* seconded the Motion.

Lord *Althorp* stated that discussion on such a topic was highly inexpedient. He disclaimed being tinctured with infidelity; but he was of opinion that such discussions did not tend to the honour of religion. The Motion was neither desirable nor necessary. He gave the hon. Member who had brought the question forward credit for good intentions. He meant no disrespect to him by not following him in his argument, and should move the previous question; by which he intended that the House should express its opinion, that questions like the present ought not to be taken up. It was the intention of Government to appoint a day of fasting.

Mr. *Hunt* could not avoid reading two or three verses from the Bible. The hon. Mover had talked of Sodom and of Bristol, and had called us infidels, idolators, and what not; but had the hon. Member forgotten this passage of Isaiah?—'Is it such 'a fast that I have chosen—a day for 'a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow 'down his head like a bulrush, and to 'spread sackcloth and ashes under him? 'Wilt thou call this a fast, and an accept'able day to the Lord? Is not this the 'fast that I have chosen—to loose the bands 'of wickedness, to undo the heavy bur'dens, and let the oppressed go free, and 'that ye break every yoke? Is it not to 'deal thy bread to the hungry, and that 'thou bring the poor that are cast out to 'thy house? When thou seest the naked, 'that thou cover him, and that thou hide 'not thyself from thine own flesh.' What the hon. Member (Mr. Perceval) wanted was not a real fast: a real fast was one that would feed the hungry and clothe the naked.

Mr. *Goulburn* understood the noble Lord to say, that the object would be accomplished without going to the vote. If the noble Lord did not make such a promise, he hoped the Motion would be pressed.

Sir *Thomas Baring* would vote for the Motion, if a fast-day were not to be appointed.

Lord *Althorp:* It is the intention of the Government to appoint a fast-day.

Mr. *Briscoe* heard the declaration of the noble Lord with pleasure, and it was to him an additional reason for affording his support to the present Government.

Mr. *J. E. Gordon* said, it was a question highly fitting to occupy the attention of the House of Commons; and that the House of Commons in former times was often occupied with such discussions.

Mr. *Perceval*, in answer to the member for Preston, observed, that a fast of hypocrisy was in no way acceptable to Him that judgeth the human heart. But which of the two was more likely to observe the fast of mercy—he who set aside, as unnecessary, all signs of public contrition, or he who, consenting to such public acts, acknowledged the impropriety of ungodliness when going through the fast of humiliation? He should not state what he felt, if he did not say that the tardy consent at length given to the appointment of a day for a general fast showed him with what reluctance the Government at length assented. He thought that this was done more for the sake of getting rid of the question than from any conviction of the danger impending from God's judgments over the land. He must confess that he was unwilling to force the House to an act which might accelerate those judgments; and, under that impression, he would decline dividing the House. With leave, therefore, he would withdraw the Motion.

Motion withdrawn.

Strangers were then re-admitted, and the business proceeded as usual.

RUSSIAN-DUTCH LOAN.] Mr. *J. C. Herries* said that, feeling the great importance of the subject which he was about to submit to the attention of the House, he was sorry that it had not fallen into abler hands than his own. He hoped, however, that the clearness of the case, as well as the amount of public money involved in it, would induce the House to bestow upon his statement, and the motion which he should found upon it, the attention which its importance demanded, but to which he knew he himself was so little entitled. The first point to which he should allude, was the application of a considerable sum of the public money, not only without the authority of Parliament, but, in his judgment, directly contrary to the provisions and directions of an Act of Parliament. At the close of the period when they were last assembled in that house, the attention of his right hon. friend the member for Tamworth was drawn to the fact of an apparent misapplication of a sum of the public money without the authority of Parliament. There passed at that time, upon a question put across the table of the House, such an explanation as had placed the subject at the present moment in a more advanced state than, without such an explanation, it could have been. That circumstance would enable him materially to abridge the observations which he should feel it his duty to submit to the House on the present occasion. It would also tend, he thought, materially to diminish the time which he should have to bestow upon the subject, by clearing up and settling at once some important points which he should otherwise have had to prove. There were some principal circumstances — as matters of fact — that were on both sides agreed upon, and which, upon a question of this kind, was of material advantage. The House must be aware that he was about to propose to them to declare an opinion upon this question: that, an engagement having been contracted on the part of this country to pay a foreign loan in another country, with a certain condition annexed to that engagement, and that condition having been notoriously fulfilled or discharged, that the periodical payments of the loan had nevertheless continued to be made, to all appearance—indeed, as he should conceive, to the absolute conviction of every man acquainted with the treaties upon which it was founded—in manifest contravention of the stipulations which had been entered into. But for the admissions to which he had alluded, there might have been some doubts with respect to many of the facts involved in the case. For instance, it might sometimes be a matter of doubt when a State was or was not in a state of independence. Upon that point, however, he should, on the present occasion, have no argument to make—no difficulty to encounter. It was admitted by the right hon. Gentlemen on the other side, of whose conduct he was about to complain, that the act of separation between Belgium and Holland had taken place. It was also admitted—for, after what had passed on a former occasion, he felt himself justified in saying so—that, subsequently to that separation, money had been paid by this country in satisfaction of the Russian loan in Holland. Upon that, he believed, there was no dispute. The point in dispute between him and the right hon. Gentlemen opposite was this: was it, or was it not lawful, on the part of the

Ministers of the Crown, after the separation of the Belgic provinces from Holland had occurred, to continue to make the payments to which he had alluded? It was indispensable for him, in order to put the House in possession of the state of the case as he viewed it, and in order to enable the members to come to a correct judgment upon the motion which he should have the honour to submit to them, that he should go into some minute detail. To that detail, notwithstanding the dulness of it, he prayed the attention of the House, because it was necessary to exhibit the true state of the transaction at the period to which he was about to allude. It was necessary that he should trace the origin and trace the progress of the engagement in question, in order that he might clearly state to the House upon what grounds it was he had come to the decision—a decision of which he could not divest his mind—that to continue the payment of the loan to which he had alluded, was an act, on the part of the Government, utterly without the sanction—nay, as he conceived, in absolute defiance of—a specific enactment of the Legislature. The origin of the transaction was this, and he begged the particular attention of the House to it:—The engagement, on the part of England, to pay the debt due by Russia to Holland, was not in discharge of any debt or engagement from England to Russia, but in discharge of an obligation of England to Holland. In order to elucidate the point, he (Mr. Herries) had called, on a former occasion, for two conventions, on which the debt was founded. It was to the first of those conventions that he begged, in the first place, to call the attention of the House. It contained much which had no relation to the subject which he was then discussing, but he should only trouble the House by directing its attention to that part of it upon which the whole of the transaction was founded, and from which every obligation which we had with respect to the loan undoubtedly sprung. The convention to which he was then alluding, was that of the 13th of August, 1814. To that convention was appended an additional article, and that additional article was the foundation of our engagement to pay the Russian loan. The preamble to the article was in these terms:—'In order the better 'to provide for the defence and incorporation 'of the Belgic provinces with Holland, his 'Britannic Majesty shall take upon himself, 'and engage to defray, the following 'charges:—1st. the payment of 1,000,000*l.* 'sterling to Sweden, in satisfaction of certain 'claims mentioned in the convention; 2ndly. 'to advance 2,000,000*l.* sterling, to be 'applied, in concert with the prince sove'reign of the Netherlands, and in aid of an 'equal sum to be furnished by him towards 'augmenting and improving the defences of 'the Low Countries; and, 3rdly. to bear, 'equally with Holland such further charges 'as may be agreed upon between the high 'contracting parties and their allies, towards 'the final and satisfactory settlement of the 'Low Countries, in union with Holland, 'and under the dominion of the House of 'Orange, not exceeding in the whole the 'sum of 3,000,000*l.*, to be defrayed by 'Great Britain.' The indefinite obligation mentioned in that article, to pay certain sums in union with Holland, was better expressed by the French, who made use of the terms, "*conjointement et toujours en portions égales*,' conjointly and always in equal shares. But the indefinite engagement to which he alluded, and the substance of which was, as he had just stated, for the King of this country to pay certain sums for Holland, and with Holland, as Holland might require, for the purpose of securing to that country the incorporation of the Belgic provinces, was reduced to a specific and more binding engagement in the subsequent treaty. The framers of that treaty took care that there should be no mistake. They were at evident pains to make it clearly understood that it was in fulfilment of the first that the second was made. To that second treaty, in which the king of Holland expressed his obligation to the emperor of Russia, and the other allied powers, for the manner in which the Belgic provinces had been secured to him, in order to carry it into effect England stepped in, and agreed to become a party in pursuance of the engagements made by her with the king of the Netherlands in the previous treaty of the 13th of August, 1814. This undertaking, then, and all which related to it, had its origin in the obligations of the king of the Netherlands to the other European Powers, and, in consideration of it, certain colonies were ceded by Holland to this country. But whatever construction might be put upon the general tenour of this treaty, which it was not then of importance to refer to, it was clear, that, from the commencement to the end, the undertaking, on the part of this country, was all on account of, and in the interest of the king of the Netherlands, and in order to maintain the incorporation of the Belgic provinces with his dominions. He had dwelt at some length upon that part of the subject, in order to impress upon the minds of those who, perhaps, might only have cursorily read the treaties, that there could, upon the face of those recorded documents, be no ground for mistake. He was also anxious that the House should be in possession of the terms of the two treaties, because upon them would turn the whole of his observations. He had referred to the origin of the transaction to show the manner in which it had arisen, upon what principle it was established, and to what definite point it was brought by the last treaty. In all the provisions of that treaty, as well, indeed, as in the first, the House would find that, with respect both to principal and interest, England agreed to discharge the loan in equal shares with Holland. That was the foundation upon which the first engagement was made, and it would have been most extraordinary, indeed it would have been wild, if, upon such an occasion, we had undertaken to make payments which Holland did not undertake to make in equal parts with us. If the facts were as he had stated them—and he thought they could not be denied—then Ministers had acted upon the conventions to which he had alluded, in a very illegal way, because England was only to pay her share of the loan conjointly with her partner, Holland. England was bound to pay, in common with Holland, and only in common with Holland; and in no case whatever was it provided, that this country was to make any payments independent of that power. In order always to be consistent with that policy, and in order to mark, in the strongest manner, the object and purpose of the last specific engagement, in order to limit it strictly, and to leave no doubt as to the construction to be put upon it, a clause was introduced, the most befitting that could have been introduced, for the state of things to which he had alluded. It declared, that "it was thereby understood and agreed, between the high contracting parties, that the said payments, on the part of their Majesties the king of the Netherlands and the King of Great Britain, as aforesaid, shall cease and determine, should the possession and sovereignty (which God forbid) of the Belgic provinces at any time pass or be severed from the dominions of his majesty the king of the Netherlands, previous to the complete liquidation of the same." That was perfectly right, perfectly consistent with the principle of the treaty, and with the origin of the transaction. It might have been said, it might even then be said, that, if there were no such clause as that which he had just read, it would have been lawful for the Government of this country to have continued to have paid the loan to Russia after the separation of the Belgic provinces from Holland. But the statesmen of the day did not choose to leave a doubt upon the question. They said, "This treaty shall not only be executive, but prohibitive." They made assurance doubly sure; they strictly prohibited any further payment in case certain circumstances should arise. That case anticipated by the framers of the treaty had arrived, and, therefore, in conformity with the terms of the clause to which he had alluded, payment should have ceased. On the one side it had ceased—Holland, since her separation from Belgium, had ceased to pay, because she says the case has arisen which was contemplated by the framers of the treaty by which she was to be released from the engagement; England, however, continued to pay, notwithstanding the prohibition he had just read, and in spite of the full release he conceived she had. These were admitted facts, and, therefore, although he was prepared to prove them, it was not necessary that he should occupy the time of the House by doing so; it was a point conceded that the Government of England, taking a different view of the question from that of Holland—upon what ground he knew not—had continued to make payments to Russia, in spite of the prohibition clearly and distinctly set forth in the treaty, and in spite of the fact that their co-partner in the engagement had felt himself entirely absolved from further payment. He (Mr. Herries) must state, that when the attention of the House was first drawn to this subject in the last sitting of Parliament, and when the noble Lord opposite had, upon that occasion, fairly and freely admitted that the facts which he had just stated had occurred, the continuance of Government to pay the loan appeared to him to be so obviously and flagrantly at variance, not only with the spirit, but with the precise words of the treaty, that he really anticipated, before they again assembled, that any motion such as that which he was about to submit would have been rendered unnecessary by some previous act on the part of the Government, admitting the fact of there being some other ground than any which had yet appeared before Parliament, and that they had taken a new view of the case, and had therefore determined to continue to discharge the loan. But by their inaction upon the subject, Ministers had brought him to the conviction that their only defence could be grounded upon the assertion that there was no meaning in the words "shall cease and determine, in case of the separation of Belgium from Holland." To common understandings the meaning of these plain and decisive words was obvious enough. Ministers, he supposed, had some arbitrary reading of their own, by which they chose to translate them; at all events he could conceive no other grounds upon which they could possibly have continued their payments after the separation of the two countries had taken place. But, upon further investigation, it seemed that Ministers had not even that ground upon which to justify their conduct. It certainly was possible to suppose that they had entertained a doubt upon the subject—that there was some difference of opinion between them as to the construction to be put upon the treaties. But that supposition could have no place in their answer that evening, because the House had the authority of the Lords of the Treasury themselves, to whom the execution of this treaty was confided by the House of Commons, for saying that the words of the Convention had not been misconstrued. It was admitted, that Parliament gave directions for the payment of the money in a particular manner, and gave specific directions as to the mode in which the Act should be performed, as was the case with most of the money paid out of the Consolidated Fund. The Lords of the Treasury were directed and authorized by their warrant to pay certain sums in certain particular cases, and these were generally stated with a great degree of strictness. He contended that this was the true interpretation of the present case. He was sure that no one would say, that, because an Act of Parliament was not considered sufficiently extensive, that therefore, the Lords of the Treasury were to be permitted to enlarge it. In all questions of this sort Parliament alone had the power to enlarge the provisions of an Act of their own. On a former occasion he called for an account of the monies advanced under the first treaty with Holland. That return was made by the Treasury in an able and satisfactory manner. Great pains had obviously been bestowed upon it; it was highly creditable to those by whom it was drawn up; it was perfectly correct. In 1828, the Treasury had also been called upon by the Finance Committee to make a return, not only of the sums that had been advanced under the head of the "Russian Loan," but also to state to the Committee the condition upon which that loan was continued to be paid. That return was made, containing, of course, all the expenditure which had occurred under the head specified, together with a brief statement of the conditions upon which we were to continue to pay; and it concluded with these words, 'The payments are to 'cease should the Belgic provinces be sepa'rated from the dominion of the king of 'the Netherlands previous to the liquida'tion of the debt.' Notwithstanding that recorded understanding of the Lords of the Treasury with respect to the loan, and the conditions under which it was paid—notwithstanding the terms of the convention itself—notwithstanding, he would not call it the limitation, but the prohibition, of the clause in the second treaty—notwithstanding the occurrence of the fact, which, upon the face of the documents to which he had alluded rendered it, to all common understandings, imperative on the Government not to make further payments—notwithstanding that our associate in the transaction, knowing well the justice of the case, and understanding well the engagement under which he was bound, had refused to continue to make his payments—notwithstanding all these circumstances, the Government of this country had, during the last three times of payment, continued to pay England's share of the debt. Three times the Dutch government had refused to pay—three times the English Government had continued to pay. It was not for him on that occasion to enter into any argument upon the point, or at what particular time the separation of Belgium from Holland might be technically said to have taken place. Suffice it for him to say, that he had so worded his resolution as to make it apply to any payment that might have been made at any time after the separation had taken place. He had given his most cool and deliberate attention to the subject, and he felt convinced, on a review of all the facts he had recapitulated, that there was not the smallest iota of claim on the part of Russia for the continuance of the payment of the debt by England. We were in this situation—we had made two treaties with Holland for the purpose of liquidating this loan, and accompanied with certain conditions, which conditions apply to the case so strongly that the treaty was at an end unless they were fulfilled, We were only to pay these sums of money jointly with Holland, and for the benefit of that Power. England was not, in her separate capacity a debtor to Russia—Russia had no right to make any claim on us for the liquidation of the debt. We certainly were bound to Russia to make payment upon a particular basis; and one of the ground-works of that basis was,that Holland should continue to make joint payments with us. He would ask, whether, if Russia exempted Holland from the payment of this loan, England would be called upon to pay? The payments had reference only to certain objects. The treaty was made with a view to secure the government of the Belgian provinces to the king of the Netherlands. It was considered that we should do much for the attainment of that object by the adoption of this course. If we were absolved from one part of the treaty, we were absolved from the whole; and if we were held by one part, we were held by the whole. He wished to shew that it was not possible that we could be considered the debtors of Russia in any other respect than as being conjointly bound with Holland in this loan. The conduct, however, that had been pursued would go to show that it was a debt from this country to Russia, not with the concurrence of Holland, but a debt from England alone. Holland refused to pay her portion, on the ground that the loan was contracted to continue her in undivided possession of the Belgic provinces, and that she no longer had the sovereignty of that country; and it was impossible, when the principal was exonerated that the surbordinate party should be held bound by his engagement. After much reflection, he confessed he had not been able to arrive at any decent conjecture as to what the nature of the defence to be set up by Ministers would be. Speaking honestly, he really was not able even to guess at the grounds of objection which might be made by Government to the Motion, which, in conformity with the simple facts which he had stated, it was his intention to submit to the House. He could not suppose that any circumstance previous to the date of the treaties would be urged as a ground for putting a construction upon them contrary to that which he had stated as their most obvious and palpable meaning. Neither could he suppose that any other negotiations would be pleaded as giving a colouring to the treaties which would warrant Ministers in taking a course directly at variance with the obvious meaning of their words. He could not suppose that either of these grounds would be advanced, because, after what had been said on a former occasion, it would have been the duty of Ministers, if the whole of the circumstances under which they had acted were not known to the House, to have come down and explained them. Neither could he believe, although he had heard it stated, that Ministers would seek to defend themselves upon the ground that, inasmuch as that this country had been participant in, or had, in some degree, contributed to the independence of the Belgic provinces, that therefore she was not released from her obligation to discharge her share of the debt due to Russia. He could not suppose that such a ground of defence would be set up, because, at first sight, it was obviously untenable. Parliament had confided powers, or rather given directions, to the Lords of the Treasury to do so and so, under certain conditions. Those conditions were imperative, and Parliament certainly did not give the Lords of the Treasury power to dispense with them, and to act in direct contradiction of them. The Government in no case could act upon its own judgment as to what was right, so as to dispense with the authority of Parliament, in the application of any portion of the public money; and such a proceeding came most ungraciously from those hon. Gentlemen who had been so loud in recommending a most watchful care over the national purse. In continuing these payments under such circumstances, they had been guilty of one of the most flagrant outrages on their own avowed principles, that could possibly take place in any department of the public service. If no justification could be founded upon any thing that had occurred before or after the passing of the Act of Parliament, by which it could be shown that the Lords of the Treasury were authorised to pay England's share of Holland's debt to Russia, the House could, of necessity, come to but one conclusion; and he confessed that he approached with wonder the only real ground of defence which it appeared to him it would be possible for Ministers to set up —namely, that they had read the treaty differently, that they had read the Act of Parliament differently from the rest of mankind, or, at least, that the words of the treaty and the words of the Act of Parliament had not, in their minds, the same import that they had in his. If the words of the treaty, or the words of the Act of Parliament, had been loose or ambiguous, he might have thought that such a solution of the difficulty would have been easy and admissible. But those words were so precise, so very specific, so very cautious, that he was at a loss to conceive how it would be possible for Ministers ever to explain their conduct. He had thus stated, tediously he feared, but still, he hoped, distinctly, all the facts of the case. The question was one of such immense importance in its principle and in its consequences, that in the statement which he had made he had endeavoured to throw out every thing which could tend to diminish its clearness, or to divert the attention of the House from the main facts upon which it would have to express its opinion. He had not treated it as a party question, neither had he alluded to the differences of opinion which existed between political parties, nor indulged in any of the taunts which were but too frequent when those who had lately been in office arraigned the conduct of those who were their successors. Undoubtedly he had neglected a very good opportunity of reminding the right hon. Gentlemen opposite of professions made before they had assumed the situation which they then held. He might have drawn a comparison between what they had promised and what they had performed, but he had purposely abstained from making any allusions to their apparent inconsistency. He felt that the subject itself was one which required to be discussed altogether in a different tone and temper. He felt that it was of the utmost importance that every man should dismiss from his mind every party prejudice, and that he should be able to decide upon the question in reference alone to the authority of Parliament—the constitutional privileges of Parliament, and the proper disposal of the public money. Taken in that point of view, the division of that night would be of immense importance, because the question upon which it would take place, involved principles of the highest order, not only in the direction of international affairs, but in the administration of civil government. If the House rejected his Motion, they would sanction the disposal of upwards of 5,000,000*l.* of the public money without the direction or authority of Parliament. To all those who thought this constitutional principle of importance that all directions for the expenditure of the public money by Parliament should be implicitly obeyed, and to all those who believed that the assumption of the least discretion on the observance of that high principle was fraught with danger to the liberty of the subject, he strongly recommended to vote for the Motion with which he should presently conclude; all those, on the other hand, who thought that expediency would at any time justify any Minister to dispense with the express authority of an Act of Parliament would, of course, vote against him. Finally, as he felt convinced that Great Britain was not called upon by the treaty, or authorised by the Act of Parliament, to continue the payment, he hoped that all who were in favour of retrenchment and economy, as well as those who looked upon the Government as bound by treaties, would vote with him in the Resolutions which he would then beg leave to propose. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the following Resolutions:—

"That, by the Act 55th George 3rd, for carrying into effect a Convention between his Majesty and the king of the Netherlands and the emperor of Russia, power is given to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury to issue such sums of money as shall be required for the payment of the interest or principal of a certain portion of a Russian loan in Holland, to be borne (in pursuance of that Convention) by his Majesty as and when the same shall be payable, conformably to the tenor of his Majesty's engagement, as specified in the said Convention.

"That, by one of the articles of the said Convention, recited in the said Act, it is expressly provided, that the said payments on the part of the king of the Netherlands, and of his Majesty as aforesaid, should cease and determine should the possession and sovereignty of the Belgic provinces at any time pass or be severed from the dominions of his Majesty the king of the Netherlands, previous to the complete liquidation of the same.

"That the application of the public money for the purpose of effecting any payments on the part of Great Britain, on account of the Russian loan in Holland, after the possession and sovereignty of the Belgic Provinces had passed from the dominions of the king of the Netherlands, is contrary to the provisions of the Act 55 George 3rd, c. 115, and is unwarranted by any authority of Parliament."

Lord *Althorp* was free to admit that the greater portion of the right hon. Gentleman's statement was not an exaggeration of the facts of the case, but he had to complain of the irrelevance of the topics on which he had touched towards the conclusion of his speech. The right hon. Gentleman professed that he was chiefly induced to bring forward this Motion on the ground of public economy. A question of public economy was one which very properly commanded a ready hearing in that House, at least from himself and his colleagues, but it would be unjust to the real merits of the case under consideration to represent it as one merely involving the interests of the public purse, without regard to public honour. The question for the House to determine was, not whether a certain saving might possibly be effected in the public expenditure, but whether the faith of the Crown—that is, the honour of the country—was pledged to pay the sums referred to in the right hon. Gentleman's speech. This was the real question before the House, and he hoped, therefore, that it would be borne in mind by hon. Members, and that they would not persuade themselves, that in voting for the right hon. Gentleman's Motion, they were voting merely to effect a reduction in the public expenditure. The question really was—was the public faith pledged by the Treaty of 1815, to the payment of certain sums to the emperor of Russia? He was ready to admit, that if they confined their views to the mere letter of the Act, framed with a view to carry the provisions of the Treaty of 1815, the inferences of the right hon. Gentleman were not unwarranted, but he maintained, that if they impartially examined the treaty itself, they would arrive at the conclusion that we were bound by it to make good the payments complained of by the right hon. Gentleman. The treaty—he felt he was not assuming too much in saying so—was the document which should be their guide in the present investigation, the Act being merely a formal legislative sanction of its provisions. At the first blush it was his own opinion, that we were not bound to continue the payments under the circumstances of separation dwelt upon by the right hon. Gentleman; but a careful examination of the spirit and provisions of that treaty convinced him that the honour of the country was pledged to the payments, and that on no other consideration than that it was so pledged should we have interfered as we had done in the affairs of Holland and Belgium. That was not the time for considering whether the treaty was originally a wise one or otherwise; the simple question, he repeated, was, whether, by its provisions, was the honour of the Crown pledged to the payment of a portion of a certain loan made between the king of the Netherlands and the emperor of Russia. The right hon. Gentleman maintained that we were not bound to make good the terms of that loan; because as its payment was contingent upon the non-separation of Belgium and Holland, the fact of a severance having taken place between the states, made null the original compact. The answer to the right hon. Gentleman's inference would be found in the spirit in which the treaty was entered into, and in a consideration of the object contemplated by the provision which made the integrity of the contract contingent upon the union of Holland and Belgium under one monarch. That consideration would show, that the separation contemplated by the framers of the treaty was one made by external force, and had nothing to say to any separation wholly internal in its source and result. The right hon. Gentleman said, that the sole object of the treaty was to secure the union of the Dutch and Belgic provinces under the king of the Netherlands, and that Holland only derived benefit from its provisions. This was but partially true. Was it no benefit to Russia to be released from a debt? And was it not the evident object of the British Government, in pledging this country to a moiety of the debt contracted in Holland by Russia, to give Russia an interest in preserving the integrity of the kingdom of the Netherlands? It was to effect this object—that is, he repeated, to give Russia an interest in preventing the severance of Holland and Belgium—that this country concluded the treaty, and to that treaty we were in equity still pledged. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to consider the argument founded on the equity view of the case as nugatory. To that he could only say, that as between one upright man in private life and another, so he thought it should be between two nations. If a gentleman pledged himself to the payment of a debt, to which there was also a third party, he thought it would be highly dishonourable in that gentleman to take advantage of the circumstance of that third party having refused to fulfil his engagement, as a legal reason for also refusing to fulfil his engagement. If the conditions on which a debt was contracted were altered or broken by circumstances over which the creditor had no control, did it follow that the moral obligation of the debt was also broken? And as between man and man, so it ought to obtain between nations; what would be dishonourable in the one, would be dishonourable in the other; and what was morally binding on the one was morally binding on the other. So much for the principle involved in the present question. As that question referred to the official department—the King's Exchequer—over which he immediately presided, he felt he was the member of the Government directly responsible for the entire proceeding. He did not shrink from his responsibility, and would merely state the steps which he had taken, in order to show, that if the Treasury acted contrary to law, they did not do so intentionally, and that he did his best to ascertain what the law was before he incurred the responsibility of issuing a Treasury order for the payment of the sums under consideration. When the question of the Russian loan first came under his official notice, he referred it to the law officers of the Crown, in order to ascertain whether, under the circumstances of the case, this country was bound to continue the payment of the monies paid, agreeably to treaty, to Russia on the head of its loan to Holland. And the answer of the law officers was, that we were bound to continue these payments by the treaty, of which the Act of Parliament was a mere formal legislative sanction. In consequence of the opinion of the law officers agreeing as it did with his own, a legal Treasury check was issued for the payment, and the money was paid. It was but right to observe, that the noble Auditor of the Exchequer did, when the matter was first submitted to his consideration, express a doubt whether we were bound to continue these payments. But when the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, and the grounds on which it was formed, were submitted to Lord Grenville, he expressed his concurrence with the propriety of these opinions, and consequently with the course pursued by the Treasury. It was true that in some cases the Auditor of the Exchequer was bound to obey the Treasury when it took upon itself the responsibility; but in the present instance the grounds of the whole proceeding were explained to Lord Grenville, and the result was, a conviction produced in his mind of their justness. These were the steps which he (Lord Althorp) had pursued with respect to the subject matter of the right hon. Gentleman's statement, and for which he felt himself responsible. He did not, as he had said, shrink from his just responsibility; if he was wrong, he was the responsible member of the Government. With respect to the Resolutions of the right hon. Gentleman, he had only to say, that as the two first were merely declaratory of fact, he would merely, so far as they were concerned, move the previous question; but as the third Resolution was a direct censure on Ministers, he would meet it with a direct negative.

Mr. *Pollock* said, the noble Lord maintained his high character for honour and manliness, in taking upon himself the responsibility of the payment in question, but, nevertheless the facts of the case, which appeared to lie in a very narrow compass, were contrary to the noble Lord's decision. The treaty was made to consolidate the two countries of Holland and Belgium, and it contained these expressions, "In order the better to provide for the defence and incorporation of the Belgian provinces with Holland," &c. which clearly shewed that the object contemplated was as he had stated it. It further appeared by the treaty, that the allied powers having claims upon Holland for the benefit done to her, gave them up in favour of the emperor of Russia, and upon that arrangement this convention was entered into for the payment of those monies, upon the condition that the payments should cease and determine whenever the Belgium provinces should pass away and be severed from the king of Holland. That contingency had actually occurred, and the king of Holland had in consequence ceased to pay his proportion of the loan. Who impeached his good faith in consequence? Did any man say, that the king of Holland was bound to continue his payments when Belgium was wholly severed from his dominions, and another sovereign on its throne? He must contend that the treaty referred simply to a separation between Holland and Belgium, and made no sort of allusion whatsoever to the species of the separation, or the causes of that separation, against which they wished to provide. If the king of the Netherlands was not bound to pay, why should this country pay? The noble Lord said, the only cause of separation contemplated by the treaty was external force. Where did he find that gloss or comment? If the objection of the dissevernent was good for Holland, it was good for us; and was there a man in the House who would dare to say it was not good for the king of Holland? But then, said the noble Lord, would they take advantage of their own act in promoting the separation to escape their pecuniary engagement? But the fact was, the disseverance had taken place before. In November the Belgian Chamber declared Belgium independent. Holland had also agreed to the separation, when the Prince of Orange published a manifesto declaring Belgium free, and offering himself as its head; but the people of that country answered his manifesto by declaring that they were independent without him, and would choose another sovereign. This country, therefore, was no party to the separation, as the States-general of Belgium declared their independence on the 10th of November, and this country had not interfered between the two countries up to that time. But this was another answer to the argument of the noble Lord. If this country was a party to the severance, equally so was the emperor of Russia. And if so, what right had he to demand this payment? He would ask, too, what would have been the consequences if this country had not interfered at all (as it only did interfere to prevent the flames of war being kindled in a corner of Europe)? Surely they would not have been bound at all, unless, indeed, they were to accept the construction of the noble Lord as to foreign violence, and take for granted that the meaning of the treaty was something which it did not express, and which was not to be found within it. He wondered where the noble Lord made it out; and even if he could conclusively make it out, still the noble Lord should have come down to the House to state the true circumstances which had arisen, and for which the treaty had not provided. The truth was, the noble Lord could not justify his conduct by either the act of Parliament or the treaty, and he ought to have come down and explained what the circumstances were which enabled him to give an interpretation of the treaty which its letter or tenor could not warrant. It was plain that his wishes were contrary to the spirit of both treaty and act, and his defence was a mere *quod voluit, non dixit lex,* which not even his transparent candour could redeem.

The *Solicitor General* would not enter into a lengthened history of the treaties referred to by the right hon. and learned Gentleman, nor into an examination of the principles of retrenchment now involved in them, but would rest his objection to the present motion on the principle admitted by all jurists and lawyers—that the municipal law of one state did not bind another state, though a party to a common treaty. Whatever, for example, may be the municipal law of Holland, we were not bound by it, only so far as it corresponded with the received usage of the law of nations; the question thus referring itself to one of international law. Without their indulging in the fanciful doctrine of the *lex gentium,* he would assume that every nation was interested in preserving unsullied its public honour or faith, so that, if he should show that the public faith of this country was pledged to the fulfilment of the treaty of 1815, in its entire spirit, it would follow, that, by every principle of the law of nations, Ministers were not only justified in, but bound to act as they had done with respect to the debt due by Holland to Russia. They must have recourse to the law of nations, or, in other words, public faith and a fair and practical consideration of what was right, in strict equity between two parties to a contract. The state of the two countries, also, at the time must be taken into consideration. In 1814, when the first treaty was made, this country was in the possession of all the Dutch colonies, but, by the Treaty of 1815, we unconditionally ceded to Holland all these colonies, excepting only the Cape of Good Hope, Berbice, Demarara, and Essequibo; and considering it politically advantageous to retain these, England consented to grant a payment of money to Holland as a compensation. And it was stated, that this should be the subject of a new treaty. To those there were certain supernumerary articles which should be taken with the treaty. By that supplementary treaty, England engaged to leave 3,000,000*l.* of money at the absolute disposal of Holland, and no qualification was made as to the mode of payment. The obligation of payment was enforced, but the mode of payment was not stated. But, in the Treaty of 1815, it was originally intended that Holland and Russia should be the parties; for what said the preamble? 'His majesty the king 'of the Netherlands being desirous, upon 'the final re-union of the Belgic provinces 'with Holland, to render to the Allied 'Powers, who were parties to the treaty 'concluded at Chaumont on the 1st of 'March, 1814 a suitable return for the heavy 'expense incurred by them in delivering 'the said territories from the power of the 'enemy; and the said powers having, in 'consideration of arrangements made with 'each other, mutually agreed to waive 'their several pretensions under this head 'in favour of his majesty the emperor of 'all the Russias, his said majesty the 'king of the Netherlands has thereupon 'resolved to proceed immediately to execute 'with his imperial majesty a convention 'to the following effect, to which his Britannic Majesty agrees to be a party in 'pursuance of engagements taken by his 'said Majesty with the king of the Netherlands, in a convention signed at London 'on the 13th day of August, 1814.' The great Powers, it appeared, considered they had a demand upon Holland for the sacrifices made by them during the war; but Russia, through the house of Hope, was at the time indebted to Holland in the sum of 50,000,000 of florins. So strong was the obligation imposed on the contracting parties by this treaty, that even war was not to put an end to that obligation or suspend it. War, he repeated, which was the highest prerogative of sovereign power, was not to put an end to the treaty, and he inferred, of course, that no other combination of circumstances could suspend the treaty. They were bound to look at the interest of the three parties, and the treaty was so drawn, that even war between two of them was not to put an end to the obligation. The parties themselves, then, were most anxious to preserve the treaty. He would then come to the clause which said, 'that the 'said payments on the part of their majesties the king of the Netherlands and 'the King of Great Britain aforesaid shall 'cease and determine, should the sove'reignty (which God forbid) of the Belgic 'provinces at any time pass, or be severed 'from the dominions of his majesty the 'king of the Netherlands, previous to the 'complete liquidation of the same.' The terms of this clause showed that the three Powers deprecated the passing away or the severance of those provinces from the sovereignty of the king of the Netherlands—the very terms, "which God forbid," showed this beyond all doubt. Now, he contended, that in equity and justice, it would be extremely unfair for any one of the parties who had so contracted to pay, to take advantage of a circumstance which they all greatly deprecated, to justify the not executing her own engagements. It was said, that the treaty was confirmed by an Act of Parliament, and that the Ministers ought to have gone by that; but what had the emperor of Russia to do with our Acts of Parliament? He might refer us to an ukase, or the king of Holland might refer us to an act of the States-general, but neither of them would think an Act of Parliament binding. Another principle that had influenced his judgment was, that a party could not take advantage of an act of his own to throw off a pecuniary obligation. Now, what had England done? Had she not interfered between the two countries; had she not assisted to accomplish the separation? It was foolish to shut their eyes to the fact, that Russia might interfere—that family relations and various other circumstances might have induced her to interpose and endeavour to prevent the separation—and what had prevented her interference but the interposition of this country? England had been accessary to the separation, and it was not in good faith to say that a separation which had been, in a manner caused by herself, should be now taken advantage of to avoid a pecuniary payment. In his deliberate opinion, he saw no reason whatever to exonerate this country from the obligations of the treaty. Had we commenced war with either Holland or Russia, still we should have been bound to continue the payments, and, therefore, war between any other parties could not exonerate us. Finally, he must say he had heard no argument, and he knew of none, which could be urged to justify the withholding of the payments.

Mr. *Baring* said, that the subject was one of the utmost importance, for small as the sum really paid which had brought on the question now before the House might appear, still it was of consequence in the present financial state of the country; and besides that, the principle on which it was paid involved the payment of a much larger sum; though that might not been thought so much of at the period when this treaty was entered into, when tens and twenties of millions were thrown away so profusely. In those spendthrift times the amount of such a sum as this was not thought a matter worth discussing, but now when the Parliament and the Government were become more economical, and when if they were not so voluntarily, they would be forced to be so by the country, every sixpence in the public expenditure was a matter of importance. At the same time he must say, that whether the sum in question was 5,000,000*l.* or 50,000,000*l.*, if we were bound in honour to pay it; if the honour of the country were involved in it, no man of honesty would, for a moment, doubt the justice and the necessity of making the payment. The first thing, therefore, which they had to look to was, whether, in fact, they were engaged, in justice or honour, to continue this payment. And here he must observe, with great deference to the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down, that he had added very little, if anything, to the plain common sense and manly view of the case taken by the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, on this, as he did on every occasion, gave a fair, straightforward, and candid account of his opinion on the subject. It was not necessary for him to follow the argument of the hon. and learned Solicitor General on the question, because he did not look upon it at all as a mere question of law, but as a question of fact; and if it had been sent to the Court of King's Bench for the discussion he should have thought it would have been very properly treated if it had been remitted by the Judges of that Court to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, as a matter more fit for his decision than for the opinion of lawyers. As, however, the hon. and learned Gentleman had led the opinion of Ministers on this subject, it might be as well to notice one or two of his arguments. In the first place, they were all agreed as to the nature of the engagement. The question then was, were we legally bound, and if not legally, were we bound in honour and equity to adhere to the contract we had entered into? Were there such circumstances in the case, which though they did not bind us in law, yet were of a nature that imposed an obligation which an honest man would consider as binding on him in equity. If there was no legal obligation on us, but only an obligation in equity and honour, arising out of all the circumstances, then he must say, that the course which Ministers ought to have adopted was to come to Parliament, and lay the case before it. His own opinion was, that all obligation on our part had ceased with the separation of the two counties. If the case for which hon. Gentlemen on the other side had contended could be made out—and there were circumstances in favour of Russia which ought to induce us to continue the payments—then, he repeated, the course Ministers ought to have adopted was, to come to Parliament, and to lay those circumstances before it. The hon. and learned Gentleman the (Solicitor General) had said, that the emperor of Russia would not look to Acts of Parliament, but to the treaty. There he begged to differ from him, for the very terms of the treaty itself would induce him to refer to what Parliament might do. The minister of the king of the Netherlands, who signed that treaty, engaged on the part of his master, that he would take upon himself the payment of one-half of the debt in question, but the Minister of the King of England only engaged that his Sovereign would recommend to his Parliament to enable him to take upon himself the payment of the other half. Now, the case against Ministers was, that they acted, in directing the continuance of this payment as if they had to deal only with an ukase, and not with an act of Parliament, for they made no application on the subject. If the payment had been promised to the king of the Netherlands instead of the emperor of Russia on certain contingencies, and those conditions no longer exsisted, he could easily imagine that the circumstances of the case of Holland would justify a continuance of the payment by the authority of Parliament for Holland, because she had given up some of her foreign colonies for a compensation in having Belgium united to her, and had now lost that compensation by the separation of Belgium. But nothing of this kind existed with respect to Russia. She had lost nothing, but in her case the contingency had happened on which the payment was to cease and determine. He admitted, of course, that we were as much bound to keep faith with Russia as with any other power, but the case must be fairly established that she had a legal or an honourable claim on us before the people of this country should be called upon to part with a shilling of their money on her account. The hon. and learned Gentleman had read the words of that part of the clause which named the contingency on which the payments were to cease. Nothing, he thought, could be more decisive against the hon. and learned Gentleman's own case than those words, "The said payments shall cease and determine should the possession and sovereignty (which God forbid) of the Belgic provinces pass or be severed from the dominion of his majesty the king of the Netherlands." Had that contingency taken place or not? If he went to a lawyer, he would say no, as they had heard that night; but if he went to the Minister, he should be told, yes; but there were circumstances in the case which ought to induce us to continue this payment, though not legally bound to do so. To put the question in a plain light, he would ask, if any Member of that House at the foot of the hustings was applied to by his constituents requesting him to inform them on what ground it was he had consented to pay away 5,000,000*l.* of the public money to Russia, would the answer or explanation which they had heard to-night be considered satisfactory by any man of common sense, who looked at the treaty, and who understood the language? He was sure it would not, for he was convinced that no other construction would be put upon the treaty through the country than that which he had put upon it; but it seemed that the hon. and learned Gentleman (the Solicitor General) had found something in it, which ordinary and vulgar understandings could never make out. The noble Lord (Althorp) had admitted the whole case as far as the occurrence of the contingency on which the payment was to cease, but his (Lord Althorp's) argument was, that there were circumstances in the case which justified the continuance of the payments. If so, he again repeated, the noble Lord ought to have come to Parliament before he directed the payment. It was impossible for stronger words to have been selected than those used in that part of the clause—"If the possession and sovereignty should pass or be severed from." It was well understood by the parties to the treaty that there were many circumstances which might divide the two countries. They might be separated by internal discord or civil war, but the passing of the possession and sovereignty was the contingency mentioned by the treaty. The very circumstance of going to war not being admitted as putting an end to the payment, made the case still stronger for the view which he took of it. Indeed, it was impossible that the parties to such a treaty should not have considered all the contingencies which were possible in such a case, and thus fixed upon one which persons acquainted with the condition and the feelings of the two countries, thus brought under one sovereign would not think very improbable. Any one who knew the state of Belgium at that time must have seen that its union with Holland was a great experiment, the result of which was by no means certain. The union of two people, with feelings hostile on so many important points, could not be considered as one fixed and permanent. It was not possible, therefore, that skilful Diplomatists and well-informed politicians could have overlooked such a contingency as had happened. How then, he would ask, could it for a moment be supposed that the parties to the treaty, in naming a contingency by no means improbable—on which contingency the great object of the treaty, namely, this payment was to cease—how could it be supposed that it was not the intention of all parties that it should cease when that contingency happened? But then the hon. and learned Gentleman had contended that the government of this country had itself assisted in promoting the passing and severing of these provinces from the possession and sovereignty of the king of the Netherlands. He would say, that if that were really the case, it would be a strong ground for the impeachment of Ministers who had so acted. He was sure that a stronger ground of impeachment could not exist than such a charge as that Ministers had been so acting. The inference which the hon. and learned Member drew from this assumption was, that we ought not to take advantage of our own acts. Such an argument might do very well in Lincoln's-inn, but he was sure it would not be admitted in Downing-street. The noble Lord (Lord Althorp) would, he was sure, be ashamed to act upon any such reasoning, for there could be no greater political crime than that which it implied. If there were any two points on which our interference would be justified, they were the Tagus and the Scheldt. He would not, however, enter upon that subject then, or allude to the influence which France had now acquired in the Netherlands, for he admitted that there were great difficulties attending it. All he had to do with the argument used by the hon. and learned Gentleman was, to say that it made the case of the Government worse. What subterfuge in law could do away with the effect of these plain words, "The said payments shall cease and determine should the possession and sovereignty (which God forbid) of the Belgic provinces pass or be severed from the dominion of his Majesty the king of the Netherlands?" It must, therefore, be evident that the contracting parties fully intended that the payments by Great Britain and Holland were to cease whenever the sovereignty of the latter over the provinces of the Netherlands should pass. He had heard no case made out to support the view taken of this case by Ministers, and therefore should feel it his duty to support the Motion. At the same time he must say, that he should be ashamed of himself if he allowed his opinion on such a case as this to be biased by any feelings of party. He assured hon. Gentlemen opposite that he had no such feeling on this occasion. He looked upon the question, first as a question of good faith on our part, and if any case were made out to show that in good faith we were bound to pay this sum, or that in point of honour, though not in law, we ought to continue to pay what we had stipulated, he would not support the Motion; but, even in that case, he must say, that Ministers should bring the subject before Parliament, for certainly the Members of that House ought to show to their constituents that they would not sanction any application of the public money unless a good and sufficient cause could be made out for the payment of it. Without taking up the time of the House further, he must say, that unless a stronger case were made out than he had yet heard, he must support the Motion. If the House allowed a case of this kind to pass without interfering in it, there would be an end of that salutary control which it ought to exercise over the application of the public money. It would be permitting this Government to do that which the Government of 1814 had not done—to pay this money without the sanction of Parliament. He hoped that in the decision on this question every hon. Member would exercise his own common sense, without any reference to party considerations. He could not know what arguments might be urged on this question by the noble Lord, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but he must say, that he had yet heard nothing which could warrant him in resisting the Motion before him. At the same time he should have no objection to its being so shaped, or put into any other form which would make it less censurable. If, however, Government should persist in defending the case and resting on its own responsibility, he must support the Motion. In conclusion, he must remind hon. Gentlemen of the possibility of their being again sent to their constituents before the end of the year, and he would, therefore, again ask, how could any one of them justify a vote of the public money without having a good case made out for the application of it? If the whole question should, as he contended it ought to be brought before Parliament, and the continuance of the payment be sanctioned, he was sure that a succeeding Parliament, however strongly disposed to economy, would feel bound in honour to go on with the payments; but certain he was that another Parliament would not sanction the application of any sum of public money without legislative authority.

Mr. *Spring Rice* said, he must express his surprise that the hon. Member who had just sat down, and who said he was disposed to view this case on its own merits both as a legal and equitable claim on the part of Russia, yet should have felt it necessary, in the course of his argument, to make appeals to the opinion of constituents at future elections respecting the continuation of the payments. If the hon. Gentleman was really disposed to argue the question solely as one of justice or of equity, he would have avoided using arguments for the purpose of awaking certain feelings elsewhere. The hon. Member had said, that if the case involved 50,000,000*l.* instead of 5,000,000*l.*, we ought to pay it, if it were a question of good faith, or if any good case were made out for the payment of the money, but on the score of good faith, which he thought ought to be observed in debate as well as in treaties, he could not see why the hon. Gentleman should have thought it necessary to mix up with his arguments those appeals which he had made to feelings of parties out of the House. Such a course might serve to catch a few votes, but it left the argument on the case just where it found it, and he, therefore, would proceed to state the case as it came under the view of Government. Before the Treasury made any payments whatever upon account of this loan, after the separation of Belgium from Holland, they had obtained the opinion of the law officers of the Crown. Notwithstanding which, about October last the Treasury first became acquainted with the fact, that a doubt was entertained in the Auditor's office, whether the next payments could be legally sanctioned by him, and in the commencement of January that noble Lord transmitted a letter to the Lords of the Treasury, requesting the opinion of the law officers of the Crown on a case which he enclosed in it, and asking for special directions on the subject, before he should make any further payments on account of this loan. The letter of the noble Lord, which was dated the 3rd of January, was as follows:—

"*Auditor's-office, Exchequer-office,*
"*January* 3, 1832.

"My Lords—Some doubts having occurred in this office respecting the legality of any issue which might henceforth be directed by your Lordships to be made from the Exchequer for any fresh payment of dividends on the Russian loan by virtue of the Act 55 George 3rd, c. 115, I think it my duty herewith to enclose a statement which has been there prepared of the grounds of those doubts, such as they have been laid before me, and I humbly request that your Lordships will be pleased to obtain from the opinion of his Majesty's law servants whether, under the circumstances there stated, I shall legally be justified in executing, as far as depends upon me, any such direction; and that your Lordships will also be pleased, in a case so highly important to the public faith and to the interests of the State, to give me such special directions as you may judge fit for my conduct in any part of this business, in which it shall really appear that any legal discretion rests with me.

"I have the honour, &c.

"GRENVILLE."

The Treasury, on the receipt of this letter, at once intimated to his Lordship, in reply, that steps would be immediately taken to obtain for him the opinion of the law officers of the Crown in the case which he had submitted for their consideration. Some delay, however, necessarily occurred in obtaining that opinion, owing to the circumstance of the law officers of the Crown being at the time absent at the Special Commission in Bristol. Immediately on their return to town, the case transmitted to the Treasury was submitted to them, and their opinion taken upon it. That opinion was given upon the 23rd of January, and upon the same day it was communicated by the Lords of the Treasury to Lord Grenville. Thus, without giving him any special directions on the subject, the Treasury communicated to his Lordship the information which he had demanded. The Treasury, without directly or indirectly intimating any opinion to his Lordship as to what course he should pursue, transmitted to him the opinion of the law officers of the Crown upon the case which he had himself proposed for their consideration. It was upon the 23rd of January, as he had just stated, that the Treasury received the second opinion of the law officers of the Crown on this subject, in reference to the case transmitted by Lord Grenville. It was sent that day to his Lordship, and by return of post the following letter, which had been only put into his (Mr. Rice's) hands a few hours before his coming into the House, was received from his Lordship:—

"*Exchequer, January* 25, 1832.

"Sir—I have had the honour to receive your letter of yesterday's date with its enclosure, and I request that you will lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury my respectful thanks for the information which they have been pleased to supply to me on this important matter.

"The Statute, 55 George 3rd, c. 115, is the document on which the question must turn, as far as relates to my conduct. That is the authority to which I am bound to conform myself. But I am fully satisfied that its true construction depends (as his Majesty's law servants have stated) on that of the treaty which it recites, and for the execution of which it was made. Where, then, must that construction be determined? The officers of the Exchequer cannot interpret the King's engagements with his allies, or pronounce how they are affected by subsequent events and negotiations. We have here no knowledge of the facts, no cognizance of the principles which govern such decisions. All that is officially known to me on the subject is, that the legal and political authorities to whom the consideration of these high matters properly belongs, have advised his Majesty to consider himself as still bound, in maintenance of the national good faith, to continue their payments; and as far as my humble judgment extends, I trust I cannot err in determining, under these circumstances, to discharge my own more limited duty, in obeying, as before, their Lordships' orders in this behalf.

"GRENVILLE.

"Thomas Spring Rice, Esq."

The first letter from his Lordship, calling for the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, and for special directions from the Treasury, and which he (Mr. Rice) had already read to the House, it would be in the recollection of hon. Members, bore date the 3rd of January, 1832. On the receipt of that letter, a Treasury minute was made, which it would not be necessary for him, he supposed, to state more specifically to the House, than that the purport of it was, that steps should be immediately taken to procure for his Lordship the information which he required. Accordingly, as he had already mentioned, the opinion of the law officers of the Crown was taken as soon as possible upon the case enclosed in his Lordship's letter. It was a material fact, which the House should bear in mind, that the case which had been laid before the law officers of the Crown in this instance consisted of Lord Grenville's letter, and the case which was enclosed in that letter for their consideration. Surely, therefore, throughout this transaction the Government, at all events, deserved credit for plain, fair, above-board dealing, and for an anxiety to discharge its duty to the public and the Exchequer. That opinion was communicated, as he had already stated, to his Lordship, and his Lordship, on the receipt of it, and without receiving any special directions whatever from the Treasury as to the course which he should pursue, wrote that letter to the Treasury which he had just read to the House. [An *Hon. Member,* in the neighbourhood of Sir Charles Wetherell, asked for the opinion given by the law officers of the Crown.—Mr. *Spring Rice,* supposing that the query came from the hon. member for Boroughbridge, replied by asking whether the hon. and learned Member was the individual to call for that opinion?—Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, he did not ask for the opinion, but that the demand had proceeded from some hon. Member behind him.] He was glad that it was a misconception on his part; indeed he had so often heard that hon. and learned Gentleman contend, that confidential opinions given by the law officers of the Crown, in cases submitted to them by the Government, were not documents that ought to be laid before the House of Commons, that he was satisfied that if any motion of the kind were made, he might count on the assistance of the hon. and learned Gentleman in resisting it; but it was not possible that any such question as that could be raised in this instance. His hon. and learned friends, who had given the opinion in question, were present in that House living witnesses to explain their opinion to the House, and to defend it. He had contented himself by making a plain statement of facts, and he would let that statement speak for itself. He would maintain, that there were several papers on the Table of that House, and strong ones, too, exhibiting instances in which the Treasury had interposed by special directions, wherever it appeared to the Government that the public service demanded such an interference. The material difference in this case was, that the Treasury gave no special directions whatever, but merely afforded to the noble Lord, the Auditor of the Exchequer, that information which he called for. That noble Lord himself admitted that, in determining the course which he should follow on this subject, he was bound to look, not only to the Statute, but also to the construction of the treaty; and if that noble Lord had the power to exercise such a discretion in shaping his course, how much more was it in the power of the House of Commons to exercise a similar discretion? He called on Members to look at the true construction and spirit of the treaty, and, if they were of opinion that good faith called for the payment of this money, they would resist the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *Hume* hoped the House would bear with him for a few moments, while he attempted to justify to his constituents and the country the vote which he conscientiously felt himself bound to give on the question now before it. The question seemed to him a very plain one. Was there a treaty, and if so, what were its conditions? The conditions were few, and stated with sufficient perspicuity. They were, in fact, but two—one, that the parties were bound to pay the money, even although a war should break out between them; and the other, that if the union between Holland and Belgium ceased, then the payments were to cease also. This point of the continuance of the payment, in the event of war, was one of the strongest arguments possible against the construction put upon the treaty by the hon. and learned Solicitor General, and by the hon. Member who spoke last, because it showed plainly that all the conditions on which the payments could take place had been foreseen and provided for, and, therefore, there were no proceedings nor no conferences to be consulted with respect to the true construction of the terms of the treaty. He thought, therefore, that the time must come when the payments must cease, and that the Government had really no discretion left with respect to the course they were to pursue towards Russia and the parties interested. He could have understood the propriety of the Government making some concessions, and consenting to some sacrifices, for the purpose of avoiding a war; but that was not the case here. It was the separation of the two countries which was to regulate their decision; and he repeated they had no alternative but to avail themselves of their situation to get rid of the burthen which the treaty imposed on them He could not understand the propriety of the argument of the hon. Member—that the smallness of the sum made any difference. The sum was five millions and a half, and it was the bounden duty of the Government to relieve the country from its payment. He had been anxious, indeed, that the question, important as he considered it in every point of view, should not be brought before the House incidentally, as on the present occasion, but that time should be given the Minister to look at the propriety of retracing their steps. Why, indeed, had they not considered it themselves in the first instance, instead of consulting the law officers of the Crown? The law officers of the Crown, indeed! Why it was a question so plain and so easily seen through, that none but a law officer of the Crown could misunderstand it. Why did not the Ministers trust to their own good sense, rather than consult those who habitually mystified the plainest questions? He admired the candour with which the noble Lord (Althorp) had admitted, that if they had erred, it was through bad advice. He understood the noble Lord to say, that, doubts having arisen as to the construction of the Act, they took the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, and a pretty broken reed they had leant upon. He must again say, he regretted that the Ministers had not trusted to their own good sense. He would call on the House, however, to be cautious how they gave their consent to the course which had been pursued, by supporting in any manner the principle laid down; and he hoped the noble Lord would see the propriety of admitting the error that had been committed, and at once tell them he was ready to undo what had been done. He had listened with attention to the speech of the learned Gentleman (the Solicitor General), and he must say, that not one word he uttered had the least reference to the Act of Parliament, which was the only thing with which the House had any thing to do. One, and not the least of the matters to be deprecated in the proceedings of the Government was, that, with all the doubts they entertained of the propriety of their course, they had commenced paying on the 5th of June, 20,000*l.* which was followed by another payment of 80,000*l.*, although Parliament was sitting at the time, and, therefore, it certainly ought to have been consulted, if it was intended that the House of Commons was to retain its due and proper control over the public expenditure, or the disposal of the national resources. He maintained that the Ministers, under such circumstances, ought to have obtained the sanction of Parliament before they continued such payments under the altered circumstances of the case. If the country was to go on making these payments, which must be continued for forty or fifty years, there was not a man in Europe who would not say, that England was paying this money as a tribute to the great Power of the North, in order that Russia might not interfere with her arrangements; and he would say, if this opinion was allowed to go forth, it would be most prejudicial, as well as disgraceful. On that point, as well as others, he regretted what had been done. His duty to his constituents required him to pursue but one course. The principle involved in the question, and all the circumstances attending it, compelled him to vote against the Government, and he implored every hon. Member in that House, who had a due regard to the exercise of a proper control over the public expenditure, to consider well before he sanctioned the course which had in this instance been pursued.

The *Attorney-General:* After the speech of his hon. friend, and the small reliance he was disposed to place on those "broken reeds," the lawyers could scarcely hope to convert him from the legal opinion he had so strongly expressed. Yet it was fitting that he should offer a few observations with regard to both the points—the one, in some degree, technical, but in truth of high importance, the second involving the merits of the question at issue, which now challenges the attention of the House. In the first place, he wished to remove that erroneous position which appeared to have been taken—that the Act of Parliament was a mere warrant to the Treasury to pay money. It was an Act framed for the purpose of giving effect to the Convention made between his Majesty and the king of the Netherlands, and the emperor of Russia. Such was the object—such the title and preamble—of the Act of the 55th of George 3rd. It recited that Convention, including the words on which the argument in support of the Motion had been founded. But whatever was the fair meaning of the treaty, that the Act enabled his Majesty to perform. This view had been adopted by the distinguished and noble Statesman (Lord Grenville), whose name had often occurred in the debate, whose answer distinctly said, that the Act did confer this power—that he would issue the money, therefore, according to the terms and spirit of the treaty, and that he would take its construction from the Government; "from the political and judicial authority," said his Lordship. And though the hon. Member (Mr. Baring) might, to a certain extent, be right in his opinion, that this was no question for lawyers, he must admit that the Crown lawyers were bound to give their opinion, when required. He possibly would admit further, that if that opinion were such as to coincide with the sentiments entertained by the political authorities, neither the one nor the other was less likely to be correct by reason of that coincidence. Now, in construing treaties, and especially such treaties as created pecuniary obligations, he would make no appeal to the sense of honour which was said to find its sanctuary in the breast of kings, even though it should be banished from all the earth besides, but he would contend, that the instruments which involve the peace of the world, and decide the fate of nations, ought to receive an interpretation at least equally liberal as those which regulate the interests of men in society. In private transactions the rule is clear, and the principle cannot be impugned. "So construe the words that bind you, as you believe the other contracting party understood them." No estimate could be formed of what must have been the mutual understanding between the contracting parties, without reference to the state of Europe when the treaty was framed. England and Holland were engaged in beating down the power of Napoleon: the assistance of Russia was invaluable for this purpose; she obtained a loan of money in Holland, to be expended in the common cause. Not only were her efforts indispensable to the success of their arms, but her continuing co-operation must protect emancipated Holland against the future aggression of France. To secure it, England shared with her the liability to repay the loan to Russia, receiving as an equivalent not only the guaranteed settlement of Europe, but the rich colonies of Holland in the East. True, the payment is not to continue in case of Belgium being *separated* from Holland. He acknowledged the extensive meaning of the word, and that the French word "*soustraire à l'autorité*" had as wide an import. But the relative situation of the contracting parties proved that an amicable internal separation, without forcible interference, from France—much more if brought about with the consent of England herself—could never have been designed to relieve the latter from her engagement; and what the intention of the parties made highly probable, these negotiations rendered indisputable. These negotiations, it ought to be understood, had been, along with the treaty to which they imparted its character, laid before his hon. and learned friend, the Solicitor-General and himself, in consultation with the King's Advocate, Mr. Herbert Jenner, whom no one would suspect of being influenced by any political views. The unhesitating opinion of all three was in favour of the continuing obligations of the treaty. A little before the recess, when an important question had been proposed to him, he undertook to satisfy every hon. Gentleman, who perused the Conferences and negotiations, that a right construction had been given to the treaty itself. It had not at that moment occurred to him that reasons of public convenience might prevent the Government from producing these negotiations, without which the question was plainly argued under great disadvantage. But he then was met by the plausible remark, that if the treaty was binding only in honour, and not by its provisions, in the events of recent occurrences, Ministers ought to have come to Parliament for fresh powers to carry it into effect. Gentlemen opposite had then professed themselves perfectly willing to grant the means that might be necessary. He owned himself, therefore, greatly surprised, when he heard the right hon. Mover, not even hinting at such an alternative, complain that the erroneous view taken of the treaty had deprived the country of a large sum of money, which it was clearly not bound to part with. For his own part, he had no disposition to accept the alternative, as he conceived that between nations no obligation could exist by treaty, but what fairly resulted from the due interpretation and application of its language. He could well understand an individual declining to stand upon his strict legal rights, and sacrificing his own private interest to a delicate feeling: but he did not understand one man gratifying those nice sensibilities at the expense of another: he did not see how a trustee or a steward could be justified in so acting for the principal who trusts or employs him. And the Government stood in the relation of a guardian or trustee to the country. Except in so far as treaty might bind, the country was free from all engagement. The supposed necessity of entering into a new treaty, assumed that the old one was not obligatory. On the part of the country, then, the Government would have been bound to resist a merely honorary claim, and the country, appealed to for that purpose, would be justified in withholding powers to enforce an agreement to which it was no party, either by itself or its agent. Had the Crown been advised to inform Parliament that a former Minister had left a treaty imperfect, and to request a vote of public money to meet the omitted stipulation, the House of Commons would have been justified in answering—"We will comply with no such unreasonable demand; we have enough to do with our money in paying our acknowledged debts: we know we *may* pay if we think proper, though not bound to do so; but the question is, whether we *must* pay, for otherwise we should throw away resources intrusted to us for other purposes by our constituents." If, however, the proposition contended for was, that a doubt had arisen whether the treaty was applicable to the case or not, and that Government ought to have resorted to the House of Commons for an opinion upon that point, he asserted the directly contrary opinion. The adversary's answer would have been still more decisive and scornful. He thought he heard the language that would be justly used—" The Crown is bound by the treaty: Parliament has empowered the Crown to execute the treaty: the Crown which has the prerogative of making treaties, has the duty of executing, and, of course, that of construing them: act upon your responsibility, and seek not to shelter yourselves under the opinion of a majority in the House of Commons." The undeniable justice of this answer was made apparent by that night's debate, for the hon. member for Middlesex had treated the matter as a question of economy, and the hon. member for Thetford had reminded the House that a stern scrutiny would be made at the hustings of the disposal of this money. Many a Member, he was sure, would honestly pronounce a verdict against himself, if the case were his own, who would find it difficult, with the prospect of a speedy visit to his constituents, to decide a doubtful point of law against their interests. His Majesty's Government was bound, then, to assume that undivided responsibility, and act with firmness upon their own views; and their sole duty was to continue the treaty according to its true meaning. Whether they had done wisely in submitting it to lawyers or not, to lend their aid in discovering what that was, they could not, consistently with the principles of the Constitution, hand over the task to the House of Commons, or any other body. He had not been prepared to hear the argument deduced by his hon. and learned friend, the Solicitor-General, from the nature of the separation between Holland and Belgium treated with levity. It was of the essence of the controversy. No greater outrage upon good faith could be imagined, than for a country bound to pay till severance, to bring about that severance, and then refuse to pay. But, then, exclaimed the hon. member for Thetford, you, the Ministers, ought to be impeached, if you did bring it about. Perhaps so, if the Ministers of England had inflamed the animosity of the Belgian people against their government, and incited to the acts of violence that had disgraced Brussels, or in any way fomented the insurrection which made the severance unavoidable. But all these events had occurred in rapid succession, before the Ministers were in power, and even under the control of no English Minister. Still, the separation which they rendered desirable was afterwards approved and sanctioned by our Government, and dishonour would attach to the country, which, under that pretence, should fly from its word. Another excuse for non-payment of our debt was founded on the word "*conjointement*." England and Holland jointly undertook to pay; and it had been urged that Holland by not paying could relieve England from its liability. A most convenient morality! As if a great nation, bound by its own acts, and responsible for its own conduct, could screen itself from an unambiguous duty under the bad faith of its joint contractor. He repeated that, as the Crown was invested with the power of performing treaties, the people would not wish to be trusted with the interpretation of them, or, at a moment of want and suffering, to be tempted by such subtle reasonings to invalidate the contracts imposed upon them by the legitimate authority of the State. He would venture to predict with confidence, that England would rue the day on which it should depart from that principle of honour and good faith which caused it to respect itself, and ensured the respect of every other nation.

Sir *James Scarlett* was not prepared to hear, without remonstrating against it as an unconstitutional doctrine, that the King had a power vested in him, not only to make a treaty or convention, but, as his hon. and learned friend the Attorney General had said, to put upon such treaty that construction which was convenient for the executive to give to it. Much less could he acquiesce in the monstrous proposition that Parliament had nothing to do with the construction put upon it further than to follow it implicitly, Did his hon. and learned friend mean to contend, that if a treaty entered into by the King contained pecuniary obligations as this did, that it could be carried into execution without the authority of Parliament? If so, the House of Commons had no effective control over the public purse, and the Crown, the Ministers, and the law officers, might tax the public at their pleasure, to carry into effect treaties made with foreign countries. If the Government asserted they had a right to demand the acquiescence of that House, because of documents which they exclusively had in their possession, why did they not, as they were bound to do, produce those documents for the information of the House and the country? The Act of Parliament only went so far as to sanction the payment of a certain sum of money, according to the treaty. The question really was, what did the treaty stipulate for? Why, in effect, for the payment of so much money "until the dominion of Belgium should pass away, or be severed from Holland." The French phrase, *sera soustrait*, could not be more happily translated, and it was clear this phrase could never be turned or twisted so as to be forced to imply that the dominion should be severed by arms or by force. The article of the treaty to which the Act of Parliament referred, sanctioning this payment, could not possibly bear the construction attempted to be put on it by the legal officers of the Crown. Where words were of an ambiguous or doubtful nature, then it might be perhaps convenient to go to the context and general clauses of a convention, to enable us safely to arrive at the proper construction which ought to be put upon them; but this was a case so very much the reverse—a case in which the terms of the convention was so clear, definite, and decisive—that he was only surprised that legal ingenuity itself could have raised a doubt upon the meaning of the words. He confessed he should be as well satisfied if they were referred to the judgment of any six country gentlemen—to say, upon their consciences, what was intended by that clause in the Convention—as if they had been referred to the most expert lawyers or civilians of the day.

Sir *Francis Vincent* said, he considered the treaty as binding upon the country, because we still retained the Dutch colonies, which was the original inducement for us to enter into the convention. Further he would say, that he never heard of a contract made between several persons, and which allowed one of them to annul his own act without the consent of the others. To illustrate his opinion he would suppose that this country had become involved in war with the king of the Netherlands, and, by means of a British army, Belgium had been severed from Holland; he conceived, even in that case, we should not in good faith have been exonerated from the payment of the money. According to existing circumstances we had really been parties to the separation of the two countries, for Belgium could not be said to be really independent, until that independence was acknowledged by the five powers who had interfered, and this country was one of the most active of the five. It had further been asserted, that, from the known dislike existing between the two countries, a separation must have been made, contemplated by internal means, but this assertion was a severe reflection upon these diplomatists who professed by the union to contribute to the permanent tranquillity of Europe. He considered there were no grounds for such a reflection, and he thought he was fully borne out in saying, that the only severance contemplated was by external force. When he looked at the date of the treaty, which was the 10th day of May 1815, just previous to the battle of Waterloo, and during the period called the hundred days, when the Belgic provinces were in momentary apprehension of being overrun by the French armies. He had, therefore, come to the conclusion that Ministers, in the course they had pursued, had acted according to the dictates of honour, justice, and equity, and he was determined to support them.

Mr. *O'Connell* observed, that it was highly desirable, on occasions like the present, that the law officers of the Crown should be very cautious what opinion they pronounced on questions which the House might be called on to decide, in the exercise of a high and important duty. He made this observation because he was free to confess that, notwithstanding what had been quoted as the opinion of high authorities on the point of law, he did not, as a lawyer, perceive that any legal ground had been yet offered by any hon. and learned Member, upon which the conduct of the Government in this instance could be defended with success. The stipulation to pay this money was either absolute or limited. Looking to the treaty, he found the limitation clearly expressed in the terms that "this sum shall be payable by this country until the dominion of Belgium shall have passed away, or be severed from Holland." The time then had arrived, when, happily for us, the country was relieved by the express condition of this treaty from all pretext, much less necessity, for paying to Russia this money. Common honesty forbade the continuance of this payment after the period arrived when that dominion had passed away; and he should consider himself guilty of a robbery if he took from the pockets of the people a single shilling to make good any such payment by our Government. He had heard something hinted with reference to the prerogative of the Crown to form conventions and enter into treaties; and that it was also within the King's privilege to accompany such conventions or treaties with pecuniary stipulation for payments to certain of the contracting parties. He was surprised to hear such an allusion made in that House—though it had been done, he confessed, very cautiously and covertly—for they must be sensible that the assumption was falsified by the Act, which spoke trumpet-tongued, being framed upon, and in accordance with, a previous resolution of the Commons, with whom alone must rest the provision for the payment of money, under any treaty or convention. Under these circumstances, he felt if he sanctioned the payment, on this account, of a single farthing, he should be guilty of an act of spoliation upon the public purse.

Mr. G. *Sinclair* said, he had listened to the debate with the utmost attention, in the hope of discovering some sufficient reason to enable him to vote against the resolutions proposed, but he felt bound to say without entering into legal subtleties, but considering the case in a plain and common-sense view that he thought the treaty was no longer binding upon the country. That treaty, it appeared contained, a provision by which we were to pay a certain sum of money until a certain event took place. The simple question, therefore, was, had that event taken place, and no man could entertain a doubt that it had. Belgium and Holland were severed, which it was the object of the treaty to unite; it was not just, therefore, to the people of this country to continue the payments. If there were any further documents which could throw more light upon all the bearings and circumstances of the treaty, he should be happy to see and attend to their contents. It was possible that if such documents were in existence those who had access to them might find the complexion of the case altered; but he formed his opinion from the case before him, and from that he felt bound, although reluctantly to support the resolutions, proposed by the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *Robinson* would be quite ashamed of himself if he were to suffer anything he had heard offered in argument by the Members of his Majesty's Government that night to dissuade him from supporting the resolutions of the right hon. Gentleman near him. He felt the terms of the treaty were capable of no other construction than that put upon them by the right hon. Gentleman who had moved the resolutions. The Act of Parliament gave effect to the Convention, so far as the payment was concerned; and if the Ministers had any doubt upon the bearing of it on the treaty according to the altered circumstances of the case, it was their duty to consult those only who were parties to the Act. He would never admit, that the Representatives of the people were bound by the doctrine of the law officers, in the interpretation of one of their own acts, upon a question which related to a convention with foreign powers, and which involved no point of the law, and which would force upon the country the payment of a large sum of money for many years yet to come. If anything could add to the weakness of the case as stated by the law officers, it was the conduct of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary of the Treasury, who had attempted to bolster up their case by throwing a part of the responsibility of the Act upon the noble Lord (Grenville), but had entirely failed in that attempt; for that noble Lord in his first letter, thought his authority for the payment of the money had ceased, and in his second did not use a single expression to shew that his opinion was changed, or that he was not paying the money out of the Exchequer only according to other people's opinion, and under constraint. By their conduct with respect to these payments, Ministers had placed the country in an awkward situation with regard to the emperor of Russia; for in answer to all reasons for withholding future payments, he would point to what had been already done. This the Ministers had brought upon the public by evading an application to Parliament. These were shortly the reasons which induced him to give the resolutions his support.

Doctor *Lushington* said, that however much he deplored the consequences that had followed from what was called "the settlement of Europe," the only thing with regard to the question before the House was, for hon. Members to consider whether existing circumstances imposed upon this country the necessity of continuing the payments stipulated in the Convention. Unless it could be demonstrated, to the conviction of every honest and upright man, that the conditions contemplated by the treaty was actually, and to the letter, fulfilled, they were not released from the obligation it imposed; and although they might lament, still they were bound to support the burden the observance of treaties might entail upon them. Indeed, in proportion as it was their interest to be relieved from the weight which pressed on them, ought the House to endeavour to come to the consideration of this question, not merely unprejudiced in their minds, but perfectly free from anything like a disposition to convert circumstances which had since occurred, into a release from the moral force of a voluntary obligation. It was a mistaken view of this question to look at Holland and Great Britain as the only contracting parties to this treaty; and he was surprised to hear the hon. member for Cockermouth not only treat the subject in this manner, but urge that the fact of Holland's disclaiming the obligation was a strong reason for our coming to the same conclusion. It appeared to him that Russia was a very material party to the treaty. The question, then, was, whether our obligations with respect to her were diminished? The principle of construing such a treaty was perfectly well known, not only to lawyers, but to every gentleman who paid the slightest attention to these subjects to be this; that we were bound not to look to the specific wording of a single article, but to its context. There was another legitimate mode of looking at a treaty; which was, to recur, not only to the wording of the treaty itself, but to the circumstances in which the contracting parties were placed at the period at which they entered into it. He knew nothing of any documents, or of any other instruments, by which to judge of that situation, beyond what was found in the treaty itself. At that particular political emergency, it was resolved by all the great European Powers, with the exception of France, to establish a system which would consolidate the peace that had just then been made; and one principle of which was, to restrain the power of France, by attaching Belgium to Holland. England and Russia joined in the attainment of that end by means of this Convention; and it might be truly said, that a severance of Belgium from Holland, with the consent of England, was never contemplated by any of the parties to the treaty. He entirely agreed with his hon. friend in his statement as to the mode in which this obligation upon us was created; but he wholly differed from him in his conclusion; for, in his judgment, it was clear that the obligation never could cease. It never could have been in the contemplation of the high contracting parties, that a separation of Belgium from Holland was to terminate the obligation of these parties to observe this treaty, because neither of them could have contemplated that event. The object of the treaty was to induce Russia to take an interest in the continuance of the union which existed between Holland and Belgium. It was, in short, to make it the interest of Russia to prevent the severance of Belgium from Holland, and to endeavour, by every possible means, to make it also the interest of Russia to promote the permanency of that union, and to maintain the Netherlands as an independent State. When Russia entered into this treaty, such were the views contemplated by that power, according to the honest meaning, intention, views, and interests which were entertained at the time by the British Government on the same subject. Russia became a party to the treaty according to its genuine import, as he had described it, and which was known to be conformable to the real object and spirit of the British Government. Now, it was contended, that notwithstanding such were the terms of the treaty, we were clearly released from the obligation which it originally imposed upon us, by the occurrence of a contingency which seems to be there alluded to as that which alone could extinguish the binding force of the obligation upon us. All the hon. Gentlemen who had argued in support of the other side of the question, had contented themselves by quoting a single and isolated case connected with this question. The view which he had taken of the case would be demonstrated by reference to the fifth article of the treaty itself, when it was fully considered. 'It is 'hereby understood and agreed between 'the high contracting parties, that the said 'payments, on the part of their Majesties 'the king of the Netherlands and the King 'of Great Britain, as aforesaid, shall cease 'and determine, should the possession and 'sovereignty (which God forbid) of the 'Belgic provinces at any time pass, or be 'severed from the dominions of his Majesty 'the king of the Netherlands, previous to 'the complete liquidation of the same. It is 'also understood and agreed between the 'high contracting parties, that the payments 'on the part of their Majesties the king of 'the Netherlands and the king of Great 'Britain, as aforesaid, shall not be interrupted in the event (which God forbid) of a war 'breaking out between any of the three 'high contracting parties; the government 'of his Majesty the emperor of all the 'Russias being actually bound to its creditors by a similar agreement.' * But it was

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* Parl. Debates, vol. xxxi. p. 716.

said, such general terms as these were to be found in all treaties, and therefore they were of little importance. Undoubtedly they were; but for what purpose were they inserted? Always to meet the possible occurrence of the case of a war intervening between any of the contracting parties. In this case, they were predicated of any war which might lead to the disunion of Belgium from the kingdom of the Netherlands, and which disunion, it must be apparent from the expression, "which God forbid," is one of those events which the contracting parties were particularly desirous should never occur. He had demonstrated that it must have been as much the desire of Russia as of England, that the separation of Belgium from Holland should not take place; and that it was, at the time of making the treaty, the very last measure which either England or Russia would wish or contemplate. If, then, this was the feeling and the understanding of the parties at the time, he again asserted that it never was intended by the parties not to adhere to the terms of the contract in the event of a separation being effected between Belgium and Holland, without the intervention, and, if he might say so, the express suggestion of the parties to the treaty. The case of severance, then, which had arisen was never anticipated by the parties. For a single moment it would be worth while to consider how the emperor of Russia would meet the case if we were to avail ourselves of the separation which had taken place between Belgium and Holland to escape from our liability. He would naturally say, "When I entered into that treaty, I expected to receive from the hands of the British Government the money stipulated to be paid to me. It is not a question now whether or no the treaty was a politic one. The only fact I can depend upon is this, that it was the intention of the British Government at the time to pay the money." He might well say again to England, were she to attempt to avoid the obligation the treaty imposed on her, "When I received from your hands this compact, in return for all the services I rendered in what was called the cause of Europe—when I lavished the resources of my country to aid that cause, I believed that you would continue that payment until an event had happened, contemplated by all of us with fear, horror, and disgust—a war to be produced alone by your intervention." Would he not naturally add, "Will you turn round upon me—make yourselves the cause of the failure of this treaty—and then avail yourselves of your own guilty act? Shall you be at liberty to use an argument so irreconcileable with all good faith?" Would this country be at liberty to reply, "True it is, we were tied down by the same treaty with yourself—a treaty which existed in the minds of the parties when it was entered into, as a compact binding on us until a certain circumstance should occur, which, at the period of that treaty was by both of us considered as the most improbable and unfortunate event that could happen—but now we have changed our policy, and have determined that this very separation of the provinces of Belgium and Holland shall take place, which once we so much deprecated; and we therefore claim to be released from the obligation of that treaty." He should like to know how the able Diplomatists, and the ingenious Gentlemen opposite would shape an answer to that argument—how would their argument look when compared with the words of the treaty—"should the possession of the Belgic provinces at any time pass or be severed from." In fairness the House ought to consider the words of the treaty in the same spirit in which it was made. But hon. Gentlemen said, look at the letter only of the document, and not at its spirit and meaning; and the construction of the parties, as explained by the circumstances, and understood by every honest man. He remembered nothing similar to this attempt on the part of those hon. Gentlemen, except a circumstance which happened in his early days. It was a transaction between the government of India and one of the native princes. A stipulation was made, by which the prince was to pay a certain sum of money, or else his property was to be taken possession of by the Company's government. To the great disgrace of this country, the government of India at that time, by marching an army into the territory of the prince, effectually prevented the money from being paid up; and then turned round upon the prince, and said, "You have not fulfilled your obligations, and therefore your sovereignty is at an end." This, certainly, was a very strong case; but the principle was the same which it was now attempted to be set up to justify the non-observance of a treaty, on the part of Great Britain, which she had entered into, *bonâ fide*, with Russia. The plain intent and meaning of the compact was, that it should be carried into effect according to its genuine spirit: and so long as the obligations created under it continued to exist, so long it must be performed. He repeated that the circumstances which had so recently occurred in the Netherlands, were not in the contemplation of the contracting parties when the treaty was made; and, not having been so, they could not, in the judgment of honest men, be allowed to operate as a discharge of either party from the obligations of that treaty.

Sir *Edward Sugden* was of opinion, that there was not a single debateable point in the present question. It was his most full and deliberate opinion, that the Government had no power whatever to pay a shilling of the money, under the circumstances that a separation had *de facto* taken place between Belgium and Holland. The Attorney General had this night stood up for the rights and privileges of the Crown in a manner that no crown-lawyer had ever dared to do before. The words in the act of Parliament (and never were there clearer words in an act of Parliament) gave a right to the proper officer to pay certain sums of money while a particular case existed. That case no longer existed. What, then, became of the right? But the argument of the Attorney General was simply this—it is the prerogative of the Crown to make a treaty, to construe that treaty, and to execute that treaty, and the representatives of the people have no right on the part of their constituents, to ask how and for what reason they are to pay large sums of money under it, even though they have reason to believe that there has been a violation of an Act of Parliament. He never knew a more gross violation of an Act of Parliament than was here disclosed, and he never knew a more dangerous doctrine than that which the Attorney-General had laid down. It came with an extraordinary bad grace from those who professed to be such decided Reformers. They now broached the most arbitrary doctrines when no Reform Bill was before the House, but to-morrow, when that Bill came under discussion, doctrines of a most opposite description would be laid down. He wished to learn the legal argument in this case; but, although he used his best attention, he could not hear any thing of the kind. The Attorney General said, in arguing the question, "I have had access to information which is not before the House; you, therefore can form no opinion upon it: but still there can be no doubt of the fairness of the deduction which I have drawn from that information." Surely the House would not be satisfied with such a declaration as that. It was a remarkable fact, that all the hon. Members who rose to oppose the motion founded their argument on a different basis. The noble Lord rested on the Act of Parliament; the next hon. Member relied on the severance of Belgium from Holland by the instrumentality of England; while the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General quoted certain papers in their defence. That House, he must say, would want Reform indeed, if it allowed itself to be misled from the path of duty by such contradictory statements. The terms of the treaty were, that the payment should continue until Belgium had passed away from Holland. The phrase was "passed away." Could there be found in language a more comprehensive phrase? He would ask of all Englishmen, had not Belgium "passed away" from Holland? He would ask, had it not been severed from Holland? Was there, he demanded, a single solitary qualification in the case to justify them in saying, that, under the treaty, this payment ought to be continued? There was not one. If Ministers had come down fairly to Parliament, and stated that the spirit of the treaty demanded their interference—if they had declared that unforeseen circumstances rendered it necessary that a more extensive latitude should be given to the operation of the treaty, he would have been the last man to oppose the application, although the money thus supplied might have been swept into the coffers of Russia to assist in the accomplishment of those objects to which the *Gazette of Moscow* had alluded. But he never would consent that an Act of Parliament should be thus grossly violated. If, on this occasion, hon. Members so far forgot their duty to their constituents as to vote against the resolutions, they would thereby establish the precedent that Ministers could apply the public money, without the consent of that House, in furtherance, perhaps, of objects that might be detrimental to the public interests. The House would then be compelled to accede to treaties having pecuniary obligations attached to them, which it seemed the House was not to be the judge of. It was simply to be called on to pay the money when it might be required, without knowing the reasons for the payment. Such encroachments on the public purse, if tolerated, would go far to prevent their interfering effectually hereafter, wherever necessity should require it.

The *Attorney-General* denied that there was any discrepancy whatever between his statement and that of his right hon. friend the Secretary of the Treasury, and utterly disclaimed any desire to keep the documents secret on which he had founded his opinion.

Lord *John Russell* said, as the question appeared to involve a charge against the Ministry of which he formed a part, of applying the public money without parliamentary authority, he must admit a very important principle was attached to its consideration. Great pains, had been taken not only to hold this up in a strong light, but also to introduce this subject as a question of economy. He could not view it in either of these characters. It was not a question of economy or of dispensing with an Act of Parliament, but the question before them was, whether they should violate the national faith. He, for one, would not consent, for the sum of 5,000,000*l.* to barter the honour and faith of England. Gentlemen opposite had relied on the express letters and words of the treaty. Was this, then, a question that depended merely on the terms of the treaty? Was nothing else to be considered? Were they, in their consideration, to be bounded by the terms alone? Were they to look no further? Those who were selected to consider the subject, thought that they were not to be so bounded. Lord Grenville was decidedly of opinion, that it was not a question of the letter, but of the spirit of the treaty; for, that noble Lord said, in his Letter which had been read by his right hon. friend. 'All that is officially known 'to me on this subject is, that the legal and 'political authorities to whom the consideration of these high matters properly 'belongs, have advised his Majesty to consider himself as still bound, in maintenance of the national good faith, to continue their payments; and, as far as my 'humble judgment extends, I trust I cannot err in determining, under these circumstances, to discharge my own more 'limited duty, in obeying, as before, their 'Lordships' orders in this behalf.' And the noble Lord said this, because it was a question which more particularly belonged to the high legal and political authorities of the country. It was a question of the interpretation of a treaty, and it was not to be taken according to the mere letter, while Lord Grenville meant, of course, to allow the Auditor of the Exchequer to draw the money. The hon. and learned Member (Mr. Pollock) who spoke early in the Debate, admitted that this was not a question as to the mere letter of the treaty, but according to the spirit of it. But, as was said by his noble friend (Lord Althorp), there were other considerations than the mere words to be taken into consideration before this House could come to a satisfactory determination—there were circumstances peculiar to this treaty which ought not to be lost sight of. It had been argued on the other side that they were to allow to Russia certain sums of money on certain considerations, and the chief of them were, that the Belgian provinces which had been united to Holland should continue to belong to that Power, but, if they became an independent State, that the payment of this money should cease. But this was not the view of the contracting Power, for the first words of the preamble of the second treaty of the 19th of May, 1815, were these—'His Majesty, the king of the Netherlands, being desirous, upon the final 're-union of the Belgian provinces with 'Holland, to render to the Allied Powers 'who were parties to the Treaty concluded 'at Chaumont on the 1st of March, 1814, 'a suitable return for the heavy expense 'incurred by them in delivering the said 'territories from the power of the enemy; 'and the said Powers having, in consideration of arrangements made with each 'other, mutually agreed to waive their 'several pretensions under this head in 'favour of his Majesty the emperor of all 'the Russias, &c.'* Thus it appeared that the sum of money to be paid to Russia was partly in consideration of the deliverance of Europe from the hands of the ruler of France; and he would ask, whether the insurrection at Brussels ought to be a sufficient reason to induce us to abandon the engagement which we had entered into jointly with Holland for the payment of this loan. It was, then, on the general interpretation of the treaty, taking into consideration all its bearings, and all the circumstances connected with it, that they were to decide, and not on the interpretation of a single phrase. If they refused to act under this Treaty, would not Russia have a right to say, "It is true there is a separation between Holland and Belgium, but that separation was effected against my wish —I have taken no part in procuring it—I have not yet ratified it; and will you, on the ground of such a separation, which I deny to exist, refuse to pay me the sum which by treaty you owe me?" The course taken by the hon. Gentlemen to-night was, he conceived, most extraordinary. They came down with a direct vote of censure upon Ministers, without calling for papers, without any allusion to the circumstances which had occurred in 1830 and 1831, and on which they must be aware that the interpretation of the Treaty might in a very great degree depend. He never knew such a vote of censure proposed against any Administration, without preliminary inquiry, without previous investigation. If they were supposed to be unfit for the situation which they held—let the question be fairly put and tried upon its own merits. The whole intention of this Motion evidently was, to censure Ministers without previous discussion or inquiry. The proposition was brought forward under the pretence of economy and retrenchment, by those who never had attempted to carry economy and retrenchment into effect. And this course they pursued because they were hostile to the Government, which was engaged in a measure which they could not bear to see carried. His Majesty's Ministers were attached to economy, but they never would, in pursuit of economy, recommend any measure which appeared to them calculated to disparage the public faith. The candour of his noble friend (Lord Althorp) had been spoken of, and he must express a hope that those who had given his noble friend credit for that candour and manly bearing, would not inflict upon his character the disgrace of having disposed of the money of the people of England without a due consideration of her honour and her engagements.

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* Hansard's Parl. Deb., vol. xxxi, p. 714.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* said, that when his noble friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated that the Government had acted with the concurrence of the noble Lord, the Auditor of the Exchequer, he was sure that he could not intend to convey to the House that meaning which his words were naturally calculated to bear. It was quite impossible that he could mean to say, that the Auditor of the Exchequer had expressed his "concurrence" in the propriety of this payment. He (Mr. Wynn) had requested the Secretary of the Treasury to read his noble relation's letter to the House. He had not himself previously seen it, and he had had no communication with Lord Grenville on the subject. From his knowledge, however, of Lord Grenville's general opinions, he had felt deeply impressed with the extreme improbability that they should agree in the construction of the treaty now contended for by the noble Lord. He, therefore, had begged the letter might be read. The House had now heard it, and he appealed to them, whether it in any respect supported the assertion that had been made. The Secretary to the Treasury had taken great credit for the candour and fairness of the Government, in laying before the law officers Lord Grenville's letter, with the statement of doubts which it enclosed, but without any counter-statement or comment whatever, which might tend to influence their opinion. Hearing this, he was not a little surprised since to learn from the Attorney General, that a case on this very question had previously been submitted to him and his learned colleagues by Government, accompanied, not only by the treaty, but by all the minutes of the conferences, and correspondence which had led to it, and that it was on the latter that their opinion was principally founded. Again, the noble Lord said, that the treaty had been referred to the consideration of the law officers of the Crown, and that it was upon their decision and advice that the Government had acted. When he heard this, he thought, and he was sure the House thought, that merely the treaty had been laid before the law officers of the Crown, who had been called upon to give an opinion on that alone. But the hon. and learned Attorney General had stated, that not only the treaty, but the minutes of all the conferences that were held at the making of it, were submitted to the law advisers of the Government; and it was not on the mere letter of the treaty, but on a consideration of all the circumstances of the case, that these opinions were given. The noble Lord (Lord John Russell) spoke of papers necessary for a perfect knowledge of this case not having been demanded; but with whom did the blame of that non-production rest? If Ministers had any explanation to give, why did they not come down and explain their conduct, and why did they not bring down these papers and lay them before the House? Now, when they found, that a great impression had been created by this debate, they asked for time, and the pretence was resorted to, that this was brought forward as a party question. It was, however, no such thing, but the House of Commons was called upon to act as judge in a matter of the highest importance. It was a usual course, when notice was given of a debate on any particular subject, for the Government to send down any papers or documents that might either elucidate the subject, or tend to justify their conduct. It was impossible for persons not in office to be aware of the existence of all the documents that might be necessary to the proper understanding of any case; and it was not very decent for the noble Lord to complain of the want of that information which it rested with himself to produce. Of course, in a case of this nature, his right hon. friend must have depended on the noble Lord and his colleagues to furnish every information which could in the least degree tend to justify their own conduct. The noble Lord knew that this subject was mooted in the House on the 16th of December, and ample opportunity had, therefore, been afforded to prepare all the necessary information; but not a single document had been laid upon the table. The object for which he supported the present motion was, not to criminate his Majesty's Ministers, but that he felt himself bound, sitting as he did in that House, as a judge on the construction of a treaty in which the people of England were deeply concerned, to give a fair and candid opinion on the case. Let him remind the House of the magnitude of the sum in question, and allude to the importance of their decision. Instead of this being merely a party question, between opposite sides, brought forward merely with a view of obtaining a vote of censure on Ministers, the decision was of much more importance. If the House should negative these Resolutions, the payment of this sum annually would be established; because it would be impossible afterwards to recede or refuse the payment. We must continue to pay it, whether Holland continued or not. If it was refused to the emperor of Russia, he would say "the Parliament of Great Britain had determined by a solemn vote, that his money was to be paid to him, notwithstanding the severance of Belgium from Holland, and it was ridiculous to suppose that it could be broken through." It was a question between the emperor of Russia on the one hand, and the people of England on the other; and that House, as the guardian of the public purse, was called upon to give a solemn judgment on the subject. The result of this Motion would be of serious consequence; for if it was rejected, it would then go forth to Europe, that that House considered the conduct of Ministers justifiable, and the engagement to pay the money would be valid; and the payment could never with decency be refused. As to any understanding, or curious construction of treaties, no private engagement, not communicated to Parliament, could bind either the Parliament or the people. This payment was originally sanctioned by Parliament for the purpose of giving Russia a direct interest in maintaining the union and integrity of the newly constituted kingdom of the Netherlands; but from what had fallen from the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, it would appear as if it was now proposed (without any fresh authority from Parliament) to continue it as a reward to the emperor of Russia for his forbearance in not coming forward to prevent that dismemberment of territory which had taken place; was it then to be understood that this payment was to be continued, in order to bribe that monarch to a policy the very reverse of that which it had been the object of the treaty to establish? Was it not too much to ask the House of Commons to consent to the payment of 5,000,000*l.* sterling, for the purpose of obtaining the sanction of the emperor of Russia to the separation of Belgium from Holland? A subsequent Government might interpret the treaty in a different sense, and withhold the payment unless Russia interfered to prevent that separation. The noble Lord implied that the emperor of Russia had agreed, with some reluctance, to the policy that had been pursued with reference to Belgium and Holland; and from the language of the noble Lord it might be inferred that the continuance of the payment of this money was nothing more or less than a bribe to him for his neutrality. The Parliament was called upon, then, to sanction the payment of large sums of money in order to secure the adherence of Russia to a particular line of policy, which was thought to be a desirable object. The Government was bound to shew, that its policy with respect to Belgium and Holland had been good, on which he had very considerable doubts, not conceiving it calculated to uphold the character or to advance the interests of the country. It was the duty of Ministers to make out a case in their justification, and it was too much for them to state as an excuse, that certain papers ought to have been laid upon the Table. The English Parliament was called on to come to a conclusion upon the evidence already furnished. Were they to understand that a payment of money was contrary to the words of an Act of Parliament, and at the same time to be told they should commit a breach of faith in not paying it, because it was in unison with the spirit of a treaty? Such an excuse would never induce the House to neglect its duty on such an important question. If the House went to a vote upon this subject, he must vote in favour of the Resolution. At the same time, if Ministers had any other information to produce, he should be ready to give it his full consideration, but as they had not offered any, or given an intimation that any such was forthcoming, he should feel it his duty to vote for the Motion. He would make one or two observations with reference to the question of maintaining the union between Belgium and Holland. He knew, that former Governments had made the greatest sacrifices for the sake of preserving this union, and maintaining a power sufficiently strong to support herself against the attacks of her neighbours. That was the inducement to preserve the union between Belgium and Holland. That was the chief object of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the result of which met with the approbation of the Parliament and the country. He, for one, lamented that the House of Orange which had been twice raised up by Providence to be the instrument of the deliverance of Europe—which had rendered such eminent services in the cause of freedom and the progress of civilization—which had so nobly distinguished itself in the last war—should have its interests separated from those of Great Britain, with which country it had always had so intimate a connexion. He regretted, that the interests of that illustrious house should be sacrificed; and, above all, for a course of policy, the success of which was very doubtful. In the present case, it was clear that Holland had declined to pay her share of the loan, and he thought that, to a certain extent, she was justified in doing so. Indeed, he thought, if the payment was to be continued, Holland could make out as good a case to receive part of it as Russia, since it was originally given as a compensation for the Dutch colonies. By the treaties it was agreed, that, on certain conditions, a sum of money should be paid to the emperor of Russia, but in case these conditions were not completed, the treaty was to be void. He did not think such a claim could now be made, and he was sure, that if any impartial persons were appealed to, they would disallow it without hesitation. Indeed he had, for the first time that night, heard that the emperor of Russia had refused to sanction the proceedings with regard to Belgium, and that he was an unwilling party to the negotiations that were now going on with respect to that subject. He had thought, until he had been better informed by the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, that the five Powers were acting in unison, with a view to settle the question on a firm basis. If, however, that was not the case, the House ought to have been made acquainted with the circumstance at an earlier period. They were now called upon to come to a vote upon this important subject, and, after all the attention he had been able to bestow upon it, he could not refuse his assent to the Resolutions proposed by his right hon. friend; but at the same time he should be happy, in order that they might have any further information which the noble Lord might furnish, considering it necessary to the full understanding of the subject, to adjourn the discussion for a short time.

Lord *John Russell* disclaimed the construction put upon what he said with respect to the emperor of Russia, who, in his opinion, would not be influenced by pecuniary considerations.

Mr. *Hunt* begged to tell his Majesty's Ministers, and the House generally, that the result of that night's division would be regarded with the utmost anxiety by the nation. Every Member who had a constituent to boast of would be accountable for his vote, and would have to answer for it. He was an economist, and, seeing the present state of the country he should support the Resolutions which the right hon. Gentleman near him had moved, if it were only on the score of economy; but, independently of that, if he understood rightly, an attempt had been made to interfere with the privileges—nay, with the authority—of that House. That was a thing which he could never sanction. The noble Lord, in vindicating the conduct of the Government, said that the question had been referred to the law officers of the Crown, and that Ministers had only acted in conformity with the written opinion which those legal officers had given. He must say that he agreed with the hon. Member who told the noble Lord that, in doing so, he had referred the question to good authority, but had taken very bad advice. Much had been said about the question having been brought forward in the absence of certain papers. Those papers were in the possession of Ministers, and, if they could have been in the slightest degree available to defend their conduct, it was idle to suppose that they would not have triumphantly produced them. The agitation which prevailed in the country would be sooner settled by questions of this nature than by a great noise made about Reform. The people would see what they had to expect from those who backed Ministers in every proposition they made, however absurd it might be; this was a question to try whether a man was for retrenchment or not. He knew that if the late Government had paid this money, the outcry that would have been raised by those who were now in place, would have roused the whole country. The hon. member for Thetford said truly, that there was not a public Meeting that could not perfectly understand the question. There was no disguising the simple fact that money had been paid without the authority of Parliament, and he should be glad to see the Member who represented a body of constituents uphold that doctrine on the hustings. The vote of the House that night would be an earnest of what they might expect from Reform. For his part, he would not be satisfied with a vote of censure, but would vote that Ministers should pay the amount out of their own pockets.

Sir *Robert Peel* rose amidst loud cries of "adjourn" from the Treasury Benches. He said, he hoped at least that those Gentlemen who clamoured for adjournment would not accuse him and his friends of wishing to delay the Reform Bill. Seeing the arguments which had been brought forward in opposition to the Motion, he did not suppose the House would consent to an adjournment. The question lay in a very small compass. It was not whether there existed on the part of this country an engagement—an honourable obligation towards another state, but simply whether a department of the Government was justified, by the terms of an Act of Parliament, in continuing a payment to Russia, after the separation of Belgium from Holland? When, therefore, the noble Lord (Lord John Russell) said that nobody had yet given an opinion as to the binding nature of our engagement to Russia, the answer simply was, that nobody was prepared to express that opinion, because he had not that information which would enable him to form one. When the noble Lord laid the documents on the Table, he might have a different opinion upon the subject from that which he had at present, and far was he from wishing to derive any advantage from a technical construction of a statute; for if an equitable or moral obligation had been contracted, he cared not for the letter of the law, but was prepared to keep strict good faith with Russia. But he would not consent to issue money by virtue of an Act which gave no authority for its payment. There could not be a doubt that the issue was not justified by that Act. If there were secret engagements, had not the time arrived now, after the lapse of fifteen years, when, without inconvenience, they might be laid before Parliament, and the nature of the obligation which they involved publicly declared? If the time had not come, it was decidedly the duty of Ministers to communicate to the House, by a message from the Crown, that such engagements existed, and that it was not consistent with the good of the public service to make them known. Even in the case that in the absence of any engagements, patent or secret, the public interests, on account of recent events, required the continuance of this payment, then, likewise, should Ministers have come down to the House of Commons and declared the fact, and, if they could not disclose all the circumstances, ask for a vote of credit. But certainly they should not have taken that most unwarrantable course of vindicating this issue by pretending an authority which the law did not give. The House of Commons never would support such an erroneous, such a gross construction of an Act of Parliament. The line of defence adopted by the Ministers proved their conviction that they were doing that which was not right. The Chancellor of the Exchequer sheltered himself under the wing of the Solicitor General; the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, crouched under the gown of Lord Grenville, and finding that it could give him no protection, as a last hole wherein to rush, he earths himself in Reform. From thence he invokes the assistance of Reformers, and asks for their vote, not on the merits of the question, but on the ground of their attachment to Reform. Was there ever so childish an appeal? So, because men had agreed with Government on the Reform Bill, they were to surrender the humble privilege of being able to interpret a simple treaty and Act of Parliament. Why, what was the object of Reform? They had been repeatedly told, that it was to ensure a more strict attention on the part of the House Commons to the public expenditure—to give the Representatives of the people an efficient control over the public money. And were Reformers to be the allies of the noble Lord? Were they to manifest their attachment to Reform, by an utter disregard of the objects of Reform, to promote the means, by a sacrifice of the end of Reform? The noble Lord said, that Ministers were taken by surprise: he denied it. So far back as the 16th of December, he had himself stated his doubts upon the legality of the issue, and recommended Ministers to take it into their serious consideration. No payment was to be made until the 5th of January. Nothing could have been more easy than for the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to have come down, stated his doubts upon the letter of the Act, and demanded a new one, to carry into effect our equitable engagement—if such, indeed, existed. After the warning the noble Lords had received, to say they were taken by surprise, was acting neither according to the manliness nor the candour which had been ascribed to them. The question was, if, under the joint authority of the Convention and an Act of Parliament, the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was justified in paying the money? As he had before observed, he did not know whether there were or were not any secret engagements, but on the words of the treaty he certainly had no authority for the payment. It was contended by Ministers, that, by the spirit of the treaty, if not by the letter, the payment was to continue in every possible case of the separation of Belgium from Holland, excepting one, namely, their severance by external violence. To prove this construction of the treaty, the Solicitor General referred them to the cotemporary speeches of those by whom the treaty had been made. He (Sir Robert Peel) was content to try the spirit of the treaty by this test. On the 26th of May, 1815, Lord Castlereagh stated in that House, that the emperor of Russia was to be relieved from the charge of the Dutch loan, that this country was to bear her share of that charge; 'but,' said Lord Castlereagh, 'only so 'long as the Netherlands should belong to 'the House of Orange.'* And again, in reference to the payment of the Russian debt by us, 'it was to be contingent on the 'preservation of the Low Countries to the 'House of Orange.'† So that they not only had the terms of the treaty itself, but the speech of the Minister of the Crown who made it, to prove that his construction of that treaty was the right one. 'But then,' said the Attorney General, 'do 'not take the construction of the treaty from 'the English version of it.' The English version is too plain, too decisive, against him; it contemplates but too clearly the separation of the two countries, either by "severing," that is, by force, or by "passing away." 'Look,' said the Attorney General, 'to the version of the treaty in French.' What, then, are the corresponding terms in the French version? *Soustraire à la domination*—'and these terms apply exclusively,' says the Attorney General, 'to a case of separarion effected by external force. He denied this doctrine of the Attorney General. He contended, that those terms, *soustraire à la domination*, included a separation effected by revolt, as well as a separation effected by foreign armies. He held in his hand a volume lately published by the Dutch government, which contained authentic copies of all the late protocols and diplomatic correspondence relating to the separation of Belgium from Holland. In one of these documents the Dutch minister is speaking of the separation of Limburg and Luxemburg from Holland—a separation about to be effected, not by foreign arms, but by negotiation following on civil contest. What are the terms in French made use of by the Dutch Minister to describe the result of such negotiation? He says the effect of it will be "*de les soustraire à l'autorité legitime.*" The words clearly used by this Minister to express separation by consent and treaty are the very words which the Attorney General says can only apply to a separation by foreign arms. All the learned Gentlemen, opposite, however, pledged their reputation as lawyers, that their construction of the treaty was the correct one. They supported their position by arguments involving doctrines so objectionable, that he must attribute the use of them to a complete blindness as to their bearings. The first of these arguments was, that we had been parties to the separation, and were, therefore, not entitled to profit by our own act. To relieve themselves from a blunder, hon. Gentlemen were eager to charge themselves with a crime. The Attorney General said, that the separation of the Netherlands from Holland had been effected by the procurement of England. What! with all our doctrines of non-interference—with all our desire to maintain the power and dignity of the king of the Netherlands—had we, then, been main agents and instruments in diminishing them? And had the Netherlands been actually lost to that sovereign through the procurement of England? He should be sorry if Ministers really had such a defence; but he was ready to deny that they were parties to the separation, in any sense which continued this pecuniary obligation upon the country. So far from our being parties to the separation, the Prime Minister of England had positively denied that we had anything to do with it. On the first day of the Session, Earl Grey was reported to have said, 'The noble 'Earl had said, that the king of the Nether-'lands was reduced to narrow limits, and 'had been deprived of his provinces. But 'had the present Ministers done this? Was 'it not done before they came into office? 'And had not the noble Duke who was at 'the head of the late Administration openly 'declared that the two countries were so 'separated that he looked upon the re-union 'of them as impossible?'* The present Ministers, then, were in no way responsible for the separation. Were the late Ministers more responsible? So far from it, our original interference was at the express demand of the Court of Holland. If we had been fomenting intrigues in the Netherlands to induce them to declare themselves separated from Holland, we ought not to have profited by our own wrong and injustice; and we should not have been relieved from our obligations. But if treaties entered into at the same time did impose upon us, in certain cases, the duty of meeting our allies and conferring on a difficult state of affairs, it would be monstrous, because we had fulfilled the conditions of those treaties, and done all we could to diminish the evils of separation, that we should be made answerable for that event. The very first protocol of the 4th September begins by setting forth that the king of the Netherlands invites the Powers who were parties to the Treaty of Paris, to consult with him on the best means of terminating the struggles which had broken out in his dominions. The very protocol, too, which determines the separation of Holland from Belgium, expressly speaks of it as having been caused by events over which we had no control. In fact, as had been justly observed by an hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Pollock), Russia was as much a party to the separation as we were. How then continue responsible to Russia? Another argument urged by the other side—most dangerous in its consequences, and still more extraordinary in its principle—was, that in whatever way the severance of the Netherlands from Holland might take place, except by actual foreign attack, our obligations to pay this debt would still continue. Now, suppose the case that France had maintained a powerful party in the Netherlands, and had, by fomenting intrigues, induced Belgium to declare for an alliance and connection with France—there would then have been no necessity for actual aggression upon the part of France, in order to her gaining Belgium from Holland; and yet, "even then," said the Ministers, "our obligations would have continued; for the separation would not have been effected by external violence." Suppose, upon the Belgians electing the Duke de Nemours for their ruler, he had taken possession of the throne of Belgium without marching a single French soldier into that territory—why, even then, according to the doctrine of the Ministers, England would continue bound by her engagements. Is it possible that such a doctrine can be maintained? First, we are to be at an enormous expense in repairing and maintaining fortifications for the express purpose of protecting from France the United Kingdom of Belgium and Holland; and when Belgium shall have been re-annexed to France, we are not only to lose the money expended on the fortifications; but we are to continue payments which we only undertook to pay on the express condition that Belgium should not be re-annexed to France, but continue united with Holland. The whole case, from the beginning to the end, was too clear to admit of any doubt. Look, then, at the Resolutions moved by his right hon. friend. The first and second Resolutions were a mere recital of facts—a quotation from the terms of an Act of Parliament and a convention which no one could dispute. The third Resolution was called a vote of censure by the noble Lord opposite; but, in point of fact, it only implied so much of censure as was necessary to vindicate the authority of this House. He would appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite, as logicians, to say, whether their logic would permit them to take the course recommended by the noble Lord? They were to admit the two first propositions, and then deny the conclusion drawn from them. Said the noble Lord, "although I admit your major, and do not object to your minor, yet, I must object to the conclusion legitimately to be drawn from them. Nay, I must affirm the reverse." According to the noble Lord, the House was to negative the third Resolution, and so affirm that it is in conformity with the Act of Parliament to continue these payments. He hoped that those Gentlemen who were the warmest advocates of Reform would claim, on this occasion, the privilege of judging for themselves whether or no the authority of Parliament was to be vindicated. The arguments for Reform he had yet heard urged, had not appeared to him extremely cogent; but if the noble Lord opposite carried his amendment—if he could persuade the House to adopt any thing so contrary to the truth—to the plain manifest truth—the conduct of those who voted for him would supply an argument for Reform much more powerful than any which their reason or ingenuity had yet discovered.

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* Hansard's Parl. Debates, vol. xxxi—p. 456.
† Ibid.

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* *See* ante, p. 32.

Viscount *Palmerston* concurred with the opening observations of his right hon. friend who had just sat down, in saying that the question lay in a nut-shell, and that the arguments upon it had been all exhausted previous to his rising. Beyond that point his concurrence did not go; for, instead of thinking that they who supported the propositions of the right hon. Gentleman had made out that sort of triumphant case which his right hon. friend thought had been established, he must assert, that he never heard any question supported by arguments so contradictory, or so little calculated to carry conviction to any unprejudiced mind. The hon. member for Preston (who seemed only the condensation of the inconsistencies of all his friends) included in one sentence two arguments diametrically opposed to each other. At one time it was said, that this was a dry question of law, arising out of the construction of an Act of Parliament. At another it was boldly asserted, that the law had nothing to do with it, but, that the question depended upon the actual nature of our engagements. One hon. Gentleman reminded the House, with something like an agony of economy, that 5,000,000*l.* of money was depending upon the vote, whilst another disclaimed the use of any such argument. His right hon. friend (Sir Robert Peel) contended, that a subordinate department of the Government had violated the provisions of an Act of Parliament; but in what did that violation consist? The Act said, that these payments should be made so long as they were consistent with the tenor of our engagements. How, then, had the Treasury violated the Act of Parliament, when it was not shewn that the tenor of our engagements did not warrant the issue of the money? His right hon. friend said, he would not pronounce an opinion upon those engagements, because he had not the documents before him upon which to do so, and yet he maintained, that Ministers had not acted according to those engagements. It was said to be unconstitutional for the Crown to assume the power to interpret treaties. As was said by his learned friend, it was the prerogative of the Crown to make treaties, and if they contained provisions like the present, they must receive the sanction of Parliament. But the approbation of Parliament, and the authority of the Crown being given, it was not the duty of Ministers to come down on every occasion in which a question might arise as to the interpretation of the treaty, but in cases of that sort to act upon their own responsibility; these were the amount of the doctrines stated by his learned friend, and he contended they were perfectly constitutional; he affirmed it was not the duty of Ministers to come down and ask the advice of Parliament upon every question that might arise, but they were to act in such cases according to their own discretion, subject, of course, to the animadversions of Parliament. In this case, it was necessary the House should look to the situation in which the Government was placed, and what was the nature of the object to be obtained. The treaty was framed on the principle that it was to form a powerful State in the Netherlands, as a barrier against France; to accomplish which, Belgium and Holland were united in one kingdom, to be ruled by the House of Nassau. It was necessary, to perfect this arrangement, that Russia should become a party to it, as the armies of that Power had so materially assisted in the liberation of those provinces; but in the first instance Russia objected to the plan, and her reluctance was only overcome by the exertions of this country, who was thought then to have a manifest interest in completing the arrangement. It was well known, that Russia had strong claims at that time to the gratitude of Europe; she had made enormous sacrifices to maintain the integrity of all existing monarchies against the military sway of Napoleon. After repelling the invaders from her own territory, she made common cause with Europe, and considered herself entitled to some recompense, because her interests would be injured by the proposed union between the two countries, and the sole recompense she demanded was the present loan—that was, that England should join Holland in securing the payment of that loan, and in the discharge of her previous debt to Holland. Of her own accord (and this was important to the question) the payment of the loan was made contingent on the integrity of the kingdom of the Netherlands—that was, Russia knew that it was a matter of paramount importance to England, that the union of the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland under one monarchy, should be observed inviolably by all other nations; and accordingly Russia, solely with a view to manifest her ardent desire to co-operate with England, declared, in the terms of the treaty, that the loan should cease to be obligatory when a separation between Belgium and Holland had taken place. If it had been the policy of England to declare against the union of these kingdoms, Russia would, in the spirit with which she volunteered this condition of the loan, have equally co-operated with what she conceived to be the predilections of England, and have made the separation the basis of the loan. And, he asked, was this gratuitous generosity on the part of Russia to be now turned against herself by those in whose favour she had volunteered? Even upon the separation argument, on which the right hon. Gentleman dwelt with so much satisfaction, Russia was entitled to a continuance of her payments. It had been said, that if we are parties to the separation of Belgium from Holland, we are guilty of a crime; but he said, that the English Government were not the cause of that separation, but, after it had once taken place, it was the duty of the Government to make the best of the circumstances in which we were placed. They certainly refused to take those steps which were absolutely necessary to secure the possession of Belgium to the king of Holland; that was, having recourse to military measures. And supposing they had adopted those steps, it would have been impossible to have receded, and the inevitable consequence would have been, that a general war would have been kindled throughout Europe. But instead of this, Government, conjointly with the other great Powers, used all their endeavours to preserve peace, and happily they had hitherto succeeded. These were the principles on which they had acted, and on which they proposed to continue to act. They had been parties to the separation of Belgium from Holland, but their object was, to secure peace, instead of risking the plunging Europe in blood. They had not taken upon themselves the heavy responsibility of involving Europe in war, and, above all, on a matter of principle. It would, too, have been a war of opinion, and the consequences must have been most lamentable. This country would have been obliged to go on when she was once engaged, and, although we might possibly restore the system of 1815, it would be our last effort. We had hitherto acted in concert with Russia and the other Powers, and he hoped such a course had been adopted as would place the peace of Europe on a firm basis; the greatest difficulties had been surmounted, and affairs in general were proceeding in a satisfactory train. Were Ministers now to turn round upon Russia, and exclaim, "We have gone along with you eleven months in friendly negotiation to preserve the peace of Europe, and now we have got you to the point, and Belgium is severed from Holland, we will cease to pay you the money you claimed at our hands." He did not know whether hon. Gentlemen wished such a line of policy to be adopted, but he should be sorry to belong to a Government which could conduct the affairs of the nation upon terms so base and degrading. Even on the separation argument, on which the right hon. Gentleman had rung the changes that evening, he contended, that Russia was entitled to a continuation of the payments. Had this separation been proved? Was it a matter of indisputable fact? [*laughter.*] Hon. Members laughed, but it was not clear to him that the king of Holland had, even as yet, admitted that any separation had taken place. He did not put that forward as a part of his case, but merely to shew the haste with which hon. Gentlemen came to their conclusions. The motion before the House was one of censure of his Majesty's Government. If Ministers deserved it, in God's name let the censure fall upon them —if not, let not hon. Members be entrapped by the fraudulent device, that in voting for the present resolutions they were merely voting for a reduction of the public expenditure. The question before the House simply was this—were the honour and character of England bound to continue the payments of the Russian loan? As a gentleman, and a man of honour—as a servant of the Crown, and as a Member of Parliament, he solemnly declared that he thought that the reputation of England was involved in the negative of the right hon. Gentleman's propositions. If the House should arrive at a contrary conclusion, he could only say, that he should not envy the English Minister who, after that decision, should enter into negotiations with foreign Powers.

Mr. *Paget* moved, that the debate be then adjourned until Tuesday, in order to afford time for such a due investigation as the great importance of the question demanded.

Lord *Althorp* hoped the hon. Member would not persist in his Motion. It was unusual in cases of censure on the conduct of Ministers for the House to adjourn without coming to a decision; and even if it were not the usual practice, he would, now that the debate was brought to a close, beseech hon. Members not to separate without coming to a decision.

Mr. *Paget* had no other object in view than the public service, and would not, contrary to the sense of the House, persist in his Motion.

Mr. *Herries* said, he would not detain the House many minutes, but there were one or two points to which he found it necessary to refer. The first was, as to the actual separation of Belgium from Holland. He had supposed it possible that such a plea might be thought of, but he really had not expected to hear it gravely advanced; he was, therefore, astonished at the novel doctrine of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which was in effect that because the king of Holland had not given his consent to the separation of Holland and Belgium, therefore the separation had not taken place. According to the same doctrine Louis Philip was not at present reigning in France, for he had not heard that Henry 5th had given his consent to the "passing away" of that kingdom. The declaration of the noble Lord was moreover in the very teeth of his Majesty's Speech at the opening of the Session. The words of that document were, 'The arrangements which I announced to you at the close of the last 'Session for the separation of Holland and 'Belgium has been followed by a treaty 'between the five Powers' &c. It appeared, then, by the Speech from the Throne that the separation had taken place which the Foreign Secretary assured them was still doubtful. He contended that every payment which had been made since the King's Speech was delivered was a direct violation of the treaty—that these payments were to cease and determine as soon as the separation of Holland and Belgium was completed. At that late hour he would not attempt to recapitulate the arguments that had been urged against the Resolutions which he had proposed, and it was probably unnecessary, for he felt satisfied that hitherto no answer had been given to the facts he had brought forward. He felt convinced it was incumbent on the House either to support the Resolutions he had offered, or at least to adopt some steps on the occasion of a similar effect and tendency.

Viscount *Palmerston* had been, he hoped not wilfully, misrepresented by the right hon. Gentleman. He never said, that the king of Holland's consent was what was wanting to constitute a separation of the Belgic and Dutch portion of his dominions, but had only expressed a doubt whether that monarch had ever admitted that a separation had taken place.

The House divided on the previous question, viz. that the Resolution be now put; Ayes 219; Noes 239—Majority for Ministers 20.

The previous question was also put on the Second Resolution, and it passed in the negative without a division.

The House again divided on the Third Resolution: Ayes 214; Noes 238—Majority for Ministers 44.

List of the NOES *on the Latter Division.*

Adam, C.
Althorp, Lord
Atherley, A.
Baring, F.
Barnett, C. J.
Belfast, Lord
Benett, John
Bernal, R.
Blamire, W.
Blount, E.
Blunt, Sir C.
Bouverie, Hon. D. P.
Bouverie, Hon. P. P.
Boyle, Hon. J.
Briscoe, J. I.
Brougham, J.
Brougham, W.
Browne, D.
Brown, James
Brownlow, C.
Bulkeley, Sir R.
Bulwer, E. E. L.
Burke, Sir John
Burton, H.
Buxton, T. F.
Byng, George
Byng, G. S.
Byng, Sir J.
Calcraft, G.
Callaghan, D.
Calley, T.
Calvert, N.
Campbell, W. F.
Campbell, J.
Carter, J. B.
Cavendish, Lord
Cavendish, Hn. F. C.
Cavendish, Hn. C. C.
Chapman, T. R.
Chaytor, W. A. C.
Chichester, John P.
Clive, E. B.
Cockerell, Sir C.
Colborne, N. W. R.
Clifford, Sir A. W.
Cradock, S.
Crampton, P. C.
Creevey, T.
Currie, J.
Denison, W. J.
Denison, J. E.
Denman, Sir T.
Dixon, J.
Doyle, Sir J. M.
Duncombe, T. S.
Dundas, Hon. T.

Dundas, Hon. Sir R.
Dundas, Hon. J. C.
Easthope, J.
Ebrington, Lord
Ellice, E.
Ellis, W.
Evans, De Lacy
Evans, W. B.
Ewart, W.
Fazakerley, J. N.
Fergusson, Sir R.
Foley, J. H. H.
Foley, Hon. T. H.
Folkes, Sir W.
Fordwich, Lord
Fox, C. R.
Franco, Sir R.
French, A.
Gisborne, T.
Godson, R.
Graham, Rt. Hn. Sir J.
Graham, Sir S.
Grant, Rt. Hon. C.
Grant, Right Hon. R.
Grattan, H.
Handley, W. F.
Harvey, D. W.
Heathcote, Sir G. T.
Heneage, G. F.
Heron, Sir R.
Heywood, B.
Hill, Lord G.
Hobhouse, Sir J. C.
Hodges, T. L.
Hodgson, J.
Horne, Sir W.
Hoskins, K.
Howard, H.
Howard, P.
Howard, R.
Howard, Hon. W.
Howick, Lord
Hudson, T.
Hughes, Colonel
Jeffrey, Rt. Hon. F.
Johnson, J.
Johnstone, Sir J. W. B.
Kemp, T. R.
Kennedy, T. E.
King, Hon. R.
King, Bolton
Knight, R.
Knight, H. G.
Labouchere, H.
Lamb, Hon. G.
Langston, J. H.
Leader, N. P.
Lefevre, C. S.
Leigh, F. C.
Lemon, Sir C.
Lennard, T. B.
Lennox, Lord G.
Lennox, Lord W.
Lister, B. L.
Littleton, E. J.
Loch, H.
Loch, J.
Lumley, J. P.
Lushington, S.
Maberly, W. F.
Macdonald, Sir J.
Macintosh, J.
M'Leod, R.
Mangles, J.
Marjoribanks, S.
Marryatt, Sir J.
Marshall, W.
Milbank, M.
Mildmay, P.
Milton, Lord
Moreton, Hon. H. F.
Morrison, J.
Morpeth, Viscount
Mostyn, Hon. E.
Nowell, A.
Nugent, Lord
O'Connor, Don.
Offley, F. C.
O'Neil, Hon. J.
Ord, W.
Ossory, Lord
Paget, T.
Palmer, C. F.
Palmerston, Lord
Payne, Sir R.
Pelham, Hn. C. A. W.
Pendarves, E. W.
Penleaze, J. S.
Penrhyn, E.
Petit, L. H.
Petre, Hon. E.
Philips, G. R.
Philips, C. M.
Ponsonby, Hon. G.
Ponsonby, Hon. J.
Power, R.
Price, Sir R.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Rider, T.
Robarts, A. W.
Robinson, Sir J.
Rooper, J. B.
Ross, H.
Russell, Lord J.
Russell, F.
Russell, W.
Sandon, Lord
Sanford, A.
Schonswar, G.
Sebright, Sir J.
Sheil, R. L.
Skipwith, Sir G.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, Hon. R.
Smith, R. Vernon
Smith, G. R.
Smith, M. T.
Spencer, Hon. F.
Stanley, Lord
Stanley, Rt. Hn. E. G.
Stanley, E. J.
Stephenson, H. F.
Stewart, P. M.
Stewart, E.
Strickland, G.
Strutt, E.
Stuart, Lord J.
Stuart, Lord D.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tennyson, C.
Thicknesse, R.
Thomson, Rt. Hon. P.
Torrens, R.
Townley, R. G.
Townshend, Lord C.
Tracy, Hanbury
Troubridge, Sir E.
Trail, G.
Turton, Hon. H.
Tynte, C. K.
Tyrrell, C.
Uxbridge, Lord
Venables, W.
Vere, Hope
Vernon, Grenville
Vernon, G. J.
Villiers, T. H.
Villiers, Fred.
Vincent, Sir F.
Waithman, R.
Walrond, B.
Warburton, H.
Warre, J. A.
Warrender, Hn. Sir G.
Wason, R.
Waterpark, Lord
Wellesley, W. T.
Westenra, H.
Western, C. C.
Weyland, R.
White, S.
Wilbraham, G.
Williams, J.
Williams, W. A.
Williams, Sir J.
Willoughby, Sir H.
Wood, C.
Wood, John
Wood, M.
Wrightson, W. B.
Wrottesley, Sir J.
Wyse, T.
Walker, C. A.
Wilks, John

TELLERS.

Duncannon, Visc.
Rice, Hon. T. S.

List of the AYES.

A'Court, Captain
Agnew, Sir Andrew
Alexander, J. Dupre
Antrobus, G. C.
Arbuthnot, Colonel
Arbuthnot, General
Ashley, Hon. J. A. C.
Ashley, Hon. H. A. C.
Astell, William
Astley, Sir J. D.
Atkins, Alderman
Baillie, J. Evan
Bankes, William
Bankes, George
Bainbridge, E. T.
Baring, Alexander
Baring, Henry
Bateson, Sir Robert
Bayntun, Edward
Bradshaw, James
Bruce, C. L. C.
Brydges, Sir John
Blair, W.
Becket, Rt. Hn. Sir J.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Beresford, Colonel
Best, Hon. William
Boldero, H. G.
Brogden, James
Brudenell, Lord
Buck, Lewis
Buller, James W.
Burge, W.
Burrard, George
Capel, John
Cecil, Lord Thomas
Chandos, Marquis
Cholmondeley, Ld. H.
Clements, Col. J. M.
Clinton, C. J. E.
Clive, Viscount
Clive, Hon. Robert
Clive, Henry
Cockburn, Hon. Sir G.
Cole, Hon. Arthur
Conolly, Colonel
Constable, Sir T. C.
Cooke, Sir Henry
Copeland, Alderman
Corry, Hon. H.
Coote, Sir Charles
Courtenay, Hon. T. P.
Cripps, Joseph
Croker, Rt. Hn. J. W.
Curteis, Herbert
Curzon Hon. Robert
Cust, Hon. P.
Cust, Hon. Sir E.
Dalrymple, Sir A.
Dawkins, John
Dawson, Rt. Hn. G.
Dering, Sir E.
Dick, Quintin
Domville, Sir C.
Douro, Marquis of
Drake, Colonel W.
Douglas, W. Keith
Dundas, Robt. Adam
East, James B.
Encombe, Viscount
Estcourt, T. H. B.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Fane, Hon. Henry
Farrand, Robert

Ferrand, Walker,
Fergusson, R. C.
Fitzroy, Hon. H.
Foley, Edward
Forbes, Sir C.
Forbes, John
Forester, Hon. Cecil
Fox, Sackville L.
Freemantle, Sir T.
Freshfield, William
Goulburn, Rt. Hn. H.
Gordon, Capt. J. E.
Gordon, Hon. W.
Graham, Marquis of
Graham, Lord W.
Grant, Gen. Sir C.
Grant, Colonel
Grimston, Viscount
Guise, Sir W. B.
Hardinge, Hon. Sir H.
Hay, Sir John
Hayes, Sir Edward
Herbert, Hon. E.C.H.
Hill, Sir Rowland
Hodgson, Fred.
Holmes, W.
Hope, John T.
Houldsworth, T.
Hulse, Sir Charles
Hume, Joseph
Hunt, Henry
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Irving, John
Jenkins, R.
Jermyn, Earl
Jones, John
Jones, Theobald
Jolliffe, Sir Wm.
Jolliffe, Colonel
Johnson, H. Hope
Kearsley, J. H.
Kemmis, T. A.
Kenyon, Hon. L.
Kerrison, Sir Edward
Kilderbee, S. H.
Knight, Lewis
Knox, Hon. John H.
Lambert, James
Langton, W. Gore
Lascelles, Hon. W. S.
Lee, John Lee
Lovaine, Lord
Loughborough, Lord
Lowther, Hon. Col.
Lowther, J. H.
Lyon, William
Lyon, David
Mackinnon, W. L.
Mahon, Viscount
Maitland, Viscount
Malcolm, Sir J.
Mandeville, Viscount
Mayhew, J.
Meynell, Capt. H.
Miles, Philip J.
Miller, W. H.
Mullins, F. W.
Murray, Rt. Hn. Sir G.
Neeld, Joseph
Newark, Viscount.
Norton, Hon. C. F.
Nugent, Sir George
O'Connell, Daniel
Ogilvy, Hon. Col.
Peach, N. W.
Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir R.
Peel, W. Yates
Peel, Colonel J.
Pelham, J. C.
Pemberton, T.
Piggot, G. G. W.
Polhill, Captain F.
Pollington, Viscount
Pollock, F.
Porchester, Lord
Perceval, Colonel
Praed, W. M.
Pringle, A.
Pusey, Philip
Ramsbottom, J.
Rickford, W. R.
Robinson, G. R.
Rose, Rt. Hn. Sir G.
Ross, C.
Russell, C.
Ruthven, G. S.
Rochford, G.
Sadler, M. T.
Scarlett, Sir J.
Scott, Sir E.
Scott, Sir S.
Scott, Henry F.
Seymour, H.
Sibthorp, Colonel
Sinclair G.
Smith, S.
Smith, A.
Somerset, Lord G.
Stanhope, Captain
Stewart, C.
Stewart, Sir Henry
Stormont, Viscount
Sugden, Sir E.
Taylor, G. W.
Thynne, Lord J.
Thynne, Lord H.
Throckmorton, R.
Thompson, Ald.
Townshend, Hon. Col.
Trench, Colonel
Trevor, Hon. A.
Tullamore, Lord,
Ure, M.
Valletort, Viscount
Vaughan, J. Edwards
Villiers, Viscount
Vyvyan, Sir R.
Walsh, Sir J. B.
Wall, C. B.
Watson, Hon. R.
Webb,
West, F. R.
Welby, J. E.
Wetherall, Sir C.
Weyland, John
Wigram, W.
Williams, O.
Wortley, Hon. J. S.
Wrangham, D.
Wyndham, Wadham
Wynn, Hon. C. W. W.
Wynne, J.
Wynne, C. G. W.
Yorke, C.
Young, J.

TELLERS.

Clerk, Sir George
Herries, Hon. J. C.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, January 27, 1832.

MINUTES.] Returns ordered. On the Motion of the Marquis of LANSDOWN, the number of Clergy resident, or non-resident for the year 1829, and for Copies of Instructions given by the Home Secretary, and Reports received by him with reference to Reform.

Petitions presented. By the Earl of COVENTRY, from the Inhabitants of Worcester, complaining of the distressed state of the Glove Trade, and praying that the Importation of Foreign Gloves be prohibited:—By the Duke of DEVONSHIRE, from the Inhabitants of Kinsale, for Reform:—By a NOBLE LORD, from Inhabitants of Langton, for an alteration in the Beer Act, and for the abolition of Slavery, from the Inhabitants of Lewis, Ashton-under-Lyne, Wereham, Cefnellaur, and Atherstone; the Curate and Parishioners of Killishee; the Congregation assembling in St. Michael's Established Church, Ashton-under-Lyne; of the Minister and Congregation of the United Secession Church, Grimsby, Arbroath, and Annan; of the Minister, Elders, and Members, of the United Associate Congregation in Auchtergaven; of the Minister and Elders of the Presbytery of Lorn; of Protestant Calvinistic Methodists, at Tregaron, and Llanafan; of the Methodist Congregation at Altrinehame; of Wesleyan Methodists, at Ebenezer Chapel, Carnarvon, Aberton, Weeley, Tyddyn, and St. Peter's Port, Guernsey; of Protestant Dissenters, of Chepstowe, Union Street Chapel, Southwark; Bethel Chapel, Cemeus, Llanbadrig; Aldringham, Avebury, Little Alie Street, Goodman's Fields, Abersycham, Eynsford, Tabor, Thorne and Halfield, Saron Llanfechel, Castleford, Kellington, Darrington, Astley, Featherstone, Aldborough, Skelbrook, Knighton, Arncliffe, Abury, Beckham, Cheshunt, Ashbocking, Ashfield-cum-Thorpe, Badsworth, Askan Bryan, and Straddishall. Ordered to lie on the Table.

ARBITRATION BILL.] Lord Tenterden moved the Second Reading of the Arbitration Bill.

Lord *Ellenborough* hoped, that in each of the Law Reform Bills a clause would be inserted, extending the advantages of those Bills to British India.

Lord *Tenterden* thought, that it would be better to effect the object desired by the noble Lord, by a separate Act referring to each of the other Acts, at the close of the Session, if it was considered adviseable to extend these Acts to our Indian possessions.

Lord *Ellenborough* said, the noble and learned Lord had anticipated his wishes, and he was further of opinion that it would be desirable, at the end of each Session, that such Acts as had been passed during the Session, which had reference to the improvement of the law, should be considered by persons to be appointed for the purpose, in order to determine to what extent they might be applicable to the colonies. He knew many individuals who would be ready to assist in the work, and to supply such further information as might be necessary to the better understanding of the affairs of India.

Bill read a second time.

TITHES (IRELND).] Lord *Ellenborough* begged leave to ask the noble Marquis whether there would be any objection to lay before the House, from time to time, the evidence produced before the Committee appointed to inquire into tithes in Ireland.

The Marquis of *Lansdown* said, that he would call the attention of the Committee to the noble Lord's suggestion.

Lord *King* begged to be permitted to observe, in reference to what had passed on this subject last evening, that the noble and learned Lord (Wynford) was quite right in his observations relating to the collection of tithes in Ireland. The law was similar in both countries, and it was not considered a conspiracy for three persons to give notice for them to be taken in kind. At the same time although the law was interpreted in that way at present, yet some years ago the practice had prevailed which he had reprobated.

Lord *Wynford* had also made further inquiries into the subject, and he had reason to believe that such a practice had been pursued in a very inferior Court.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* observed, that he spoke with great hesitation, but, to the best of his recollection a case had occurred many years since, in the county of Cork, in which a great many persons had given notice to the collector to take the tithe of potatoes in kind, at the same time, on the same day, a circumstance which rendered it impossible to collect the tithe at all. The consequence was, that the Parliament of Ireland passed a statute declaring such an act a conspiracy. He was ready, however, to admit that a great distinction ought to be made as to the number of persons giving notice, twelve persons giving notice at the same time ought not to be considered as acting in concert although 1200 so acting would certainly supply *prima facie* evidence of a conspiracy.

MUNICIPAL POLICE.] Lord *Ellenborough* was desirous to learn of the noble Lord, the Secretary for the Home Department, whom he saw in his place, whether his Majesty's Ministers intended to bring under the consideration of Parliament any plan for the improvement of the Municipal Police, according to the recommendation of his Majesty, in his last gracious Speech from the Throne? Certainly something should be done to prevent the recurrence of such disgraceful disturbances as had occurred at Bristol and Nottingham.

Viscount *Melbourne* said, that the subject was one of great difficulty, and had occupied the anxious attention of his Majesty's Ministers. A measure was now under consideration, which would be submitted to Parliament as soon as it could be matured.

Lord *Ellenborough* would only observe, in reference to the noble Viscount's remark that his Majesty's Ministers had departed from the usual course, by recommending, in the King's Speech to Parliament, a measure, respecting which they themselves had not made up their minds.

RECIPROCITY SYSTEM.] Viscount *Strangford* said, that he had given notice a few nights ago, that he would move for the return of papers connected with the great commercial question of the Reciprocity System; but he found that he should not be able to bring forward that Motion until he should have in his possession certain other papers, for which he did not mean to move just now. But he wished to inquire of the noble Lords opposite, whether there would be any objection on the part of his Majesty's Ministers to lay before the House a return showing the "Several sums of money which have been paid out of the Treasury, from the 1st of January 1826 to the 1st of January 1832, to corporate bodies, or to private individuals, having a right under Charters to levy duties on foreign shipping?" He found that such a return was necessary before he could bring the question of the Reciprocity System fully before their Lordships; because the Ministers having engaged, by treaty with certain foreign states, to admit the vessels of those states into the British ports on payment of the same dues that were paid by British vessels, were unable to fulfil their engagement otherwise than by compensating, out of the Treasury, corporations and individuals who had the right by charter to exact from vessels into certain ports double the duty paid by British vessels. He had been given to understand that a large sum of money was abstracted annually from the Public Purse on this account, and that the sum was increasing with the increasing influx of foreign shipping into our ports. It was, therefore, necessary to ascertain the amount paid from the Treasury in that way, before our gain or loss, by the system of Reciprocity, could be accurately estimated.

Lord *Auckland* was not aware of any objection to the return desired by the noble Lord; but he thought that the best way would be for the noble Lord to give notice of a motion, and reserve his speech till he brought it forward.

Lord *Ellenborough* remembered that similar returns had been presented three years ago, and the practice did not at that time appear to him to be injurious to the public. He therefore thought it would be desirable to connect the returns received at that time with those now required by his noble friend, and to bring the information up to the latest period.

Lord *Auckland* said, he should be happy to act on the noble Lord's suggestion, and would bring down the information to the latest possible period, with the most perfect conviction of a satisfactory result.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, January 27, 1832.

MINUTES.] Bills brought in. By Mr. CRAMPTON, for erecting a *Nisi Prius* Court in Dublin, and a Bill to amend the County of Dublin Road Bill:—By Mr. BENETT, to prevent Bribery and Treating in the Election of Members of Parliament for Liverpool. Read a second time; Cholera Prevention (Ireland); Exchequer Court (Scotland). Committed; Sacramental Test, Court of Session (Scotland). Read a third time, and passed; Corporate Funds; Embezzlement Prevention.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE, of the number of rated Householders in each of the Metropolitan Parishes:—On the Motion of Sir GEORGE CLERK, of the number of Officers and Men employed in the service of the Coast Guard in the Counties of Kent and Sussex, shewing the total annual expense of the same; of the total expense of every description of the Coast Guard in the Counties of Kent and Sussex, from the period of the reduction of the Coast Blockade, to 31st December, 1831; of the quantity and value of the seizures of Smuggled Goods, and of the number of Persons apprehended and convicted of Smuggling, on the same coasts during the same period; of the quantity and value of Smuggled Goods seized by the Coast Blockade, and of the number of persons apprehended and convicted of Smuggling, on the Coasts of Kent and Sussex, during the corresponding months of the year 1830:—On the Motion of Mr. COURTENAY, of the Imports and Exports of the United Kingdom, for the year ended 5th January, 1831; distinguishing the trade with each foreign country or British possession, and shewing the principal articles of Import and Export, with the quantities of such articles; and, in the case of the Exports of British Merchandize, their declared value; together with a statement of the quantities of imported articles retained for Home Consumption:—On the Motion of Sir JAMES GRAHAM, of the number of Troops which his Majesty's Ships *Romney* and *Ceylon*, fitted as Transports, are respectively capable of carrying; and the quantity of Tonnage that would be required for conveying the same number of Troops in Merchant Ships hired as Transports; of the cost per Man per Month for wages and victuals, and for wear and tear of the *Romney* and *Ceylon*, and also the cost of a hired Transport per Month, of 400 tons, for a voyage to Malta and back, and and also of one to Jamaica and back:—On the Motion of Mr. RUTHVEN, of the Names of the Magistrates included in the Commission of the Peace in Ireland, up to the latest period; specifying those who are in Holy Orders, as well as those who are practising Barristers, Solicitors, or Attorneys at Law; of the number of Magistrates in Ireland who have directed a Writ of *dedimus* to be issued for the renewal of their Commissions, and have accordingly paid respectively the Fees required thereupon, up to the latest period; of the Names of those persons who have been superseded as Magistrates in Ireland, during ihe last six Months, by the issue of new Commissions or otherwise; specifying those who were in Holy Orders, practising Barristers, Solicitors, or Attorneys at Law.

Petitions presented. Against the General Registry Bill. By Mr. CHAYTOR, from the Inhabitants of Haughton le Skerne, Durham:—By Sir MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY, from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; from the North and South Shields Law Society:—By Mr. HODGSON, from the Inhabitants of Newcastle-upon Tyne. By Mr. BLAMIRE, from Whitehaven; Inhabitants of Charlton and Heskett, and Landowners of Llanwix and Crossby; and by Mr. TREVOR, from the Freeholders of Walsingham, Heighington, West Auckland, St. Helen's Averland, and of Lanchester:—By Mr. HODGSON, from the Soap Manufacturers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, against the duty on Soap:—By Mr. HODGES, from Daniel Jervis, praying that Margate and Dover might be united, to form an Electoral District under the new Reform Bill:—By Mr. WATSON, from Inhabitants of the Eastern Division of Kent, against the Tax upon Fire Insurance:—By Mr. BRISCOE, from the North Western Metropolitan Union, for a Repeal of the Corn Laws:—By Mr. FOLEY, from the Freeholders of the County of Worcester, against the Division of Counties under the Reform Bill:—By Mr. BLAMIRE, from certain Soap Manufacturers of Whitehaven, for the Repeal of the Duty on Soap:—By Mr. CRAMPTON, from the Cabinet Makers; and by Mr. RUTHVEN, from the Joiners of Galway, praying that provision may be made in the Irish Reform Bill for the peculiar Franchise of that place; and by Mr. CRAMPTON, from the Clerks of the Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin, against any alteration in the present Act for regulation of the Office in relation to them.

GENERAL REGISTRY BILL.] Mr. *Blamire*, in presenting the Petition of the Bankers, Merchants, and Traders of Carlisle, against the General Registry Bill, said, that the petitioners, among whom were the principle inhabitants of that city, and the vicinity were apprehensive, that if the Bill passed into a law, the result would be, that, either as lenders of money or borrowers, it would be impossible to carry on business, as it would completely prevent one party from receiving, and the other from depositing, original title-deeds, a method now frequently had recourse to. The Bill would put an effectual stop to all equitable mortgages upon landed estates.

Mr. *Philip Howard*, in bearing testimony to the respectability of the petitioners, and supporting the prayer of the petition, would not go so far as to pledge himself to oppose any plan of local registration, which might, after due consideration be introduced. He had the strongest objections to the hazardous project of making the safety of all the authorised attestations of property depend upon that of one building; to the additional expense it would entail on landed proprietors; and to the injurious effect of drawing to an already overgrown metropolis a large share of country professional practice. In several countries, in France and Italy, by the Code Napoleon, district registries had been established and found to work well; but the cumbrous machinery of a metropolitan registry had never entered in to the contemplation of those who drew up that celebrated code. The success which had attended the establishment of a registration-office in Edinburgh was no argument for one in London, when the difference of the two countries in point of extent, population and wealth was compared.

Mr. *Trevor* assured the hon. member for Stafford, that there was a manifest and decided feeling against his bill throughout the whole county of Durham and the North of England; and, in pursuance of the duty which he owed his constituents, he should oppose it to the utmost of his power.

Sir *Matthew White Ridley* fully concurred with the sentiments just delivered by the hon. Gentleman: he saw no other use or advantage in the measure, except that it would drain the pockets of the people in the country, to fill those of the lawyers in London.

Mr. *John Hodgson* said, he never knew such a unanimity of opinion prevail against any measure as that which obtained against this Bill. He regretted that the hon. member for Stafford, in bringing the matter forward, had alluded to the opinions of a learned authority, a member of Government; he trusted that a Government which had obtained office by popular opinion, would not sanction the adoption of a measure which was opposed to the sentiments of the majority of the people.

Colonel *Sibthorp* must add his testimony to those of other hon. Members. In Lincoln the Bill was most unpopular.

Mr. *Hunt* said, as it had been declared that if the Bill came to a second reading, a motion would be made to except the North of England from its provisions, he must observe, that the Bill was quite as unpopular in the West as in the North: The people of Somersetshire were to a man opposed to it.

Mr. *John Campbell* observed, as so many personal allusions had been made to him, he must be permitted to say, that he knew attempts had been made by the petty lawyers of the provinces to persuade people, particularly the Statesmen of Cumberland, that they were to be deprived of the title to their estates, and that Government was to be put into possession of all documents relating to their lands. Whenever the proper opportunity arrived, he would explain thoroughly what the real object of the measure was.

Mr. *John Hodgson* said, the hon. member for Stafford was unjust in the imputations he had attempted to cast upon the country lawyers. He believed they conscientiously entertained the opinions put forth in their petitions without looking exclusively to their own individual interest. He also believed that they had no considerable numbers of people under their influence, and he would further venture to say, that, in the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, there were not twenty persons worth 10*l.* of property each, who were not opposed to the measure, as would be shown by petitions from all classes of persons.

Mr. *Strickland* said, many more petitions would be brought up from Yorkshire against the measure, which would convince the hon. and learned Member that all classes of persons of property were opposed to his Bill. He (Mr. Strickland) had always advocated the necessity of local registries for attested copies of title deeds, but there were no doubt difficulties attending the case. He did not see how they could form one regulation for a large proprietor, and another for a small one.

Mr. *O'Connell* observed, that he was fearful of the propriety of passing a General Registry Bill; but as to the expense attending the registration of deeds, he could speak from the experience of Ireland. There the charge was 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* He hoped the opposition that was getting up against the Bill would induce Gentlemen to look with a favourable eye towards local registration, if the Bill for a General Registry should fail.

Mr. *Blamire* felt himself placed in rather an awkward position with regard to this Bill, because he had understood last Session that its provisions would not effect customary tenants and copyholders, and he had told them so; but it now appeared they were brought within the operation of the Bill, and these persons turned round upon him, and said he had deceived them.

Mr. *Paget* thought it would be generally allowed that grievous evils were sustained daily from the expense of the transfer of real property by the existing laws. He had seen frequent instances of hardships growing out of their operation, he had seen possessors of estates, who had enjoyed them for centuries, reduced to absolute want by being dispossessed of their patrimony and completely fleeced by lawyers and law expenses. He, therefore, thought that if such an amendment of the law could be brought about as would enable a safe plan of registration to be carried into effect, it would be a great point gained. He hoped, that, when the measure was better understood, it would be found to be based upon a plan which united simplicity with utility.

An *Hon. Member* remarked, that a difference of opinion prevailed in the minds of those best acquainted with the subject as to the measure being useful or safe. He objected to it, because it would interfere with every man's private affairs.

Mr. *John Campbell* had no doubt the opposition to the measure would die away as the Bill came to be better understood. He would have hon. Members remember the difficulties which were now experienced in purchasing property, and how it was frittered away by law processes and expenses. The landed proprietors smarted severely for every transaction which had relation to their property—they paid for their mystery and secrecy, and their business was badly done into the bargain.

Sir *Edward Sugden* could not agree in the observations just made by the hon. and learned Gentleman, and he was certain, that if the Bill was looked at as a matter of profit and loss, the latter would preponderate against the debtor, and against the necessitous. The evils resulting from the inattention or neglect of an agent could not afterwards be overcome. Without entering further into the matter, in his opinion, the Bill could not pass that House.

Petition to be printed.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM — BILL FOR ENGLAND—COMMITTEE—FOURTH DAY.] Lord John Russell moved the Order of the Day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee on the Reform of Parliament (England) Bill.

Sir *John Brydges* rose for the purpose of objecting to the House then resolving itself into a Committee. The only argument he had heard in support of this fatal measure of Reform was, that the exigency of the time required it. He protested against legislating upon such grounds. There was no proper and statesman-like method of legislating, but on principle; measures founded upon expediency were not likely to be permanent. The folly and mischief of giving way to temporary considerations, was fully exemplified by the example afforded by two measures recently passed, he alluded to Catholic Emancipation and the Game Bills. With regard to the first, he appealed to the House whether it had at all tended to tranquillize Ireland. On the contrary, it was notorious that that unhappy country was more agitated and more demoralized than at any period since the Union. As to the second measure, it was equally notorious that poaching had increased since the bill had passed, and he feared the same effects would follow from the Reform Bill. Instead of the elections being more pure than formerly, they would be more corrupt. The present system worked well, and he looked upon the nomination boroughs as essentially a part of the Constitution. He must equally complain of the intended creation of Peers which was talked so much of. That high prerogative of the Crown he had always understood was limited to the reward of merit and desert, but it was now to be prostituted for the purpose of carrying this most obnoxious measure in another place. He did not apply the term prostitution to the individuals who were to be elevated, but to the principle of the elevation itself, and he believed he was not singular in his opinions, for he had heard of one gentleman who, when offered a coronet, refused it, with the observation, that he had always heard that the honour of the Peerage was granted for services performed, and not for the services to be done. He felt the measure of Reform was pregnant with mischief to the real interests of the country, and he was, therefore, determined to oppose it at every stage and in every shape.

House went into Committee.

The Chairman (Mr. Bernal) proceeded to read the 14th clause, viz.—" And be it enacted, that each of the counties enumerated in the schedule marked F to this Act annexed shall be divided into two divisions, which divisions shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament, which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith, and that in all future Parliaments there shall be 'four' knights of the shire, instead of two, to serve for each division of the said counties; (that is to say) 'two' knights of the shire for each division of the said counties; and that such knights shall be chosen in the same manner and by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if each of the said divisions were a separate county; and that the Court for the election of knights of the shire for each division of the said counties shall be holden at the place to be named for that purpose in the Act so to be passed as aforesaid, for settling and describing the divisions of the said counties."

Mr. *Croker* objected to the clause, as part of the general machinery of the Bill, besides which, he had a particular objection to the clause on account of the list of counties contained in the schedule attached to it. But, presuming that the noble Lord meant to postpone that part of the clause which related to the schedule, he should reserve his opposition to a future stage. He begged it might be understood that he did not approve of the clause, and, if an opportunity offered, he should record his vote against it.

Sir *Robert Peel* wished to offer a suggestion to the noble Lord which he thought would be an improvement in the Bill. He had supported the clause for the division of counties last year, and should give the same vote this year, if the right of voting in counties and in boroughs were to remain as at present constituted by the Bill. But he thought that the right of voting itself might be simplified. He suggested that every right of voting accruing from freehold property situated in boroughs and cities should be exercised within such borough or city, and not be extended to the county. Preserving that right of voting, he would then maintain the integrity of the counties, giving the larger ones four Members. His proposition would simplify the Bill. He would, of course, permit freeholders of such towns as had not a right to send Members to Parliament to continue to vote for the county. On this ground, he entreated the noble Lord to consider whether the plan he proposed would not obviate many difficulties, and prevent much dispute. He would state some of the complicated questions which might arise under the Bill. He would suppose that he was possessed of a freehold garden within a borough of 5*l.* a-year value. That would give him a vote for the county within which that borough was situated, but no vote for the borough. Suppose he built a house in the garden, and inhabited it himself, and that the value of the two united might be about 10*l.* per annum; a barrister for the county might say it was worth more than 10*l.* and reject his vote for the county; while a barrister for the town might say it was worth less than 10*l.*, and not allow him to vote at the borough election. He would then be deprived of voting both for the county and borough. The next year the question might be agitated again, and the barristers might alter their opinion, and he should have a vote both for the county and the borough. If he subsequently let his house to one person, and his garden to another, his tenant might lose a vote for the borough, and he himself might have a vote for the county. Or, suppose that he made his house in the town worth 10*l.*, and let it, the tenant would have a vote for the borough, and the landlord would have a second, for the county, on account of the garden. All these complicated rights would be avoided by requiring that the right of voting accruing from property of any description situate within a city or borough, should be exercised at the election for that city or borough, and not for the county—that is to say, the owner of a 40*s.* freehold in the town of Warwick should vote for the town and not for the county of Warwick. He knew that objections might be made to the plan—that it would be argued against as calculated to draw a marked line of distinction between the town and county interests. He did not assert that this objection was wholly without force, but he did not think it was by any means conclusive. The freeholders of the towns not returning Members to Parliament would exercise a great influence over county elections, and maintain the connection between town and county interests. But in the case of the large towns now about to acquire a new right of sending Members to Parliament, he saw no reason why those towns should also influence, and perhaps determine, the county election by pouring in a host of small freeholders. He would, then, supposing these views realized, propose that counties should not be divided; that there should be no interference with counties, except that the larger counties should send four Members. He believed that it would give general satisfaction should the counties not be divided, that large counties should possess the power of sending four Members to Parliament under the Bill, and that great towns should be prevented from exercising undue influence in the elections for counties. By leaving the right of voting for cities and towns to those who possessed the necessary qualification there, and excluding them from voting on that right for counties, thousands of questions as to the right of voting for one or for the other, which must arise if that plan were not adopted, would be prevented. He made to the noble Lord, therefore, a double proposition—namely, that the large counties be not divided, and that the towns possessing Representatives of their own should not be allowed to interfere, through the instrumentality of small freeholds, with the county Representation. He trusted that the noble Lord would receive the suggestion in the same spirit in which it was offered, and that due consideration would be given to its value.

Lord *John Russell* did not wish to throw any doubt on the right hon. Baronet's wish, or question his desire to make the Bill more simple. If he did not say at once that the suggestions should be taken into consideration, it was because the same proposition—not that for dividing counties, but that suggested by the right hon. Baronet—had been under consideration before the right hon. Baronet alluded to it. The proposition that freeholders in towns, should vote only for those towns had been already two or three times discussed. The great objection to it was, as the hon. Baronet had noticed, that it would produce a division of interests between the inhabitants of towns and counties. When the freeholders of Birmingham assisted to elect a landholder as the Representative for the county of Warwick they became identified in some measure with their Member, who was thus neither the Member of the agricultural nor the manufacturing interest. The Members of that House would represent distinct classes only, were the right hon. Baronet's proposition to be adopted. This was his answer to the suggestions made by the right hon. Baronet; and he was confirmed in his views by the dread which the freeholders of towns entertained at being deprived of their votes for the counties. He should be sorry to destroy their rights which tended to preserve harmony between the different classes of the community, and to soften that division between the landed and trading interest, which was already too strongly marked. Let us beware of separating the Members of this House into two distinct and hostile parties in behalf, the one of agriculture, the other of commerce. Another point was, that a man might exercise his privilege of voting for the county whether he was resident or non-resident in the borough in which his freehold was situated. But the Bill required that borough voters should be resident, and, therefore, if the right hon. Baronet's proposition was entertained of confining freeholders to boroughs the consequence would be that many voters possessing freeholds in boroughs which as the Bill now stood would enable them to vote for counties, would be altogether disfranchised, because they were non-residents. He had a still stronger objection to the suggestion, which he had stated on a former occasion. It was this—a number of boroughs were preserved of no considerable size: if the freeholders of towns were to be confined to them, Parliament would give a great predominance to the landowners over the residents of the boroughs. He would illustrate his meaning by a case: in Tavistock, there were formerly 120 freeholders, but these had been gradually reduced to twenty-seven by the Duke of Bedford buying up their properties. The effect of this Bill would be to give votes to 300 householders; but if they were to give the small freeholders of Tavistock votes for that place, it would be immediately the interest of the proprietor to increase their number, as they would be persons over whom he might possess influence. It was likely the same cause would have the same effect in other places; on the whole, therefore, he did not think the right hon. Baronet's suggestion would be attended with advantages equal to its disadvantages. He must also observe, that to give four Members to a county without dividing it, would only embarrass the freeholders in their choice. If there were so many as four Members to be chosen, the freeholders were not so likely to make a good election.

Mr. *Cressett Pelham* hoped the clause would be postponed, as he believed it was universally felt by the House that it was of great importance, and he, for one, wished to have time to consider the probable effects likely to acrue from its adoption.

Colonel *Sibthorp* hoped the noble Lord, out of deference to the opinion of the House, would assent to the postponement of the schedule. The noble Lord might now, from the sample of last night, perceive he was not so strong in numbers as, perhaps, he had flattered himself he was on divisions where the views of Government clashed with the feelings of independent men in that House. The Bill proposed to cut up and anatomize the country, to which he would not consent. He considered the present clause as "burking," in effect, the whole system of county Representation, and he should oppose it.

Mr. *Gore Langton* expressed himself grateful to the Ministers for what they proposed to do—to Reform the Representation, and as an independent Member of that House, and the Representative of a large county, he held it right to express his opinion on any of the provisions of the Bill, which, he thought, admitted of improvement. To the clause at present before the Committee he had considerable objections on several grounds, the first was, that the small independent freeholders who were at once the honour and security of the country would lose their comparative weight, while the influence of the large landed proprietor would be increased. Suppose a landed proprietor of sufficient influence to command 100 freehold votes—and there were many such—if to these were added his leasehold tenants and tenants-at-will, it was evident this additional power, working upon a divided county, would command an immense additional influence, and the inevitable result would be, the utter extinction of the influence of the small freeholders and gentlemen of moderate landed possessions. But, in addition to this ground of objection, he did not think the division of counties proceeded on a fair principle. The larger counties were to have four Members, the smaller ones three each, freeholders of the smaller counties—Dorsetshire for example—would have three votes, while in Somersetshire they would have but two, although the constituency of the latter formed a part of the more important county, Under these circumstances, although he was a sincere and steady Reformer, he felt it imperative to move as an Amendment upon the clause, that all the words after "that" be left out for the purpose of introducing these words, "that in all future Parliaments there shall be four Knights of the Shire returned to serve in Parliament for each of the counties in schedule F." The object of his Amendment was to do away with that part of the clause which provides for the division of counties.

Lord *John Russell* observed, that it was thought right in framing the Bill to preserve the existing rights of the freeholders of the counties of cities, other large towns to be enfranchised had no such claims.

Lord *Milton* thought the division of counties was an evil; but he was afraid it was an evil inseparable from the Bill proposed by Ministers. In fact, if an addition of Members was given to counties, it would be necessary to divide them. The evils of electing four Members at once would be very great, as had been stated by his noble friend. The hon. member for Somersetshire had complained, that while each freeholder of Dorsetshire and other counties, similarly circumstanced, were to have three votes, the freeholders of Somersetshire and the larger counties generally would be practically disfranchised by being divided into two bodies. The hon. Member had further argued, that the influence of the great landed proprietors would be increased, and that of the smaller freeholders reduced, but he thought their votes, as far as freeholders alone went, would hold the same proportion as at present; and he considered, therefore, that the fears of the hon. Member were visionary. The divisions to be established would be of such large extent that the result contemplated by the hon. Member was not likely to arise. Though he was far from saying, that the division of counties was not an evil, he did not ascribe it to the cause stated by the hon. Member; the evil he lamented was the destruction the measure would occasion to those feelings and associations which had existed so many centuries, and which it would be mischievous now to attempt to extinguish. He disliked to have ancient customs abrogated. The right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) had remarked, that unless the small freeholders of towns and boroughs were excluded from the county Representation, the allowing four Members to counties would increase their influence in the return of Members for such counties. He did not understand, however, how this operation was to be effected. He would take the county of Warwick for an example, that county had three large towns Birmingham, Coventry, and Warwick. If the whole countywas to elect its four Members generally, the three towns united must have immense influence. But he would assume, that in the division, Birmingham would be placed in one district, and Warwick and Coventry in the other, their influence must be reduced in consequence, for there would be no common bond of combination. If hon. Members objected to the division of their counties, they must content themselves with having fewer Representatives. He did not think the proposed increase was too great, but of that increase the division was a necessary consequence. He should, therefore, oppose the Amendment.

Mr. *Goulburn* was of opinion, that the Committee was not prepared to decide on the clause, for want of sufficient information as to the mode in which each county was to be divided. Till they had that information, they could not argue the question, nor decide what effect the clause would have. It was said, that the landed proprietor who could influence a great number of votes would have more power by the proposed division of counties than he would have had, had they remained entire, but how was it ascertained that the whole of the voters he could influence would reside in one and the same division? If they were divided between two districts his influence would be nugatory, and he had heard many complaints on this head. It was feared that the influence of the landed interest generally would be weakened by such means. Many leading properties in particular counties would be entirely cut up. It was necessary that the Government should lay a plan for the division of counties on the Table, before the Committee could, with any propriety, vote on the clause. He required to know if the counties were to be divided according to their geographical features, or according to the situation of the great towns they contained. If the former mode of dividing the counties were to be adopted, he thought it probable that in some districts the agricultural interests would be left without any Member whatever to represent them. Suppose, for instance, in the county already cited by the noble Lord, Warwickshire, the towns of Birmingham and Coventry were to come within the same division, would not such a scheme entirely overwhelm the agricultural voters? The proposition of his right hon. friend (Sir Robert Peel) was well calculated to remove these difficulties, by confining the town and borough voters to their own places of residence, and excluding them from the county Representation.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* said, he had strong objections to the division of counties, though, when first proposed, his objections to it were not equally strong as at present. On the contrary, he was disposed to give it his support, as he considered the franchise was only to be given to independent leaseholders, who would be able to resist any undue influence attempted to be exerted by the great landed proprietors, although aided and promoted by the division of counties. But since the change had been made in the Bill, which was necessarily consequent upon the adoption of the motion of the noble Lord, the member for Buckinghamshire, which gave the right of voting to tenants-at-will, that change had effected so great an alteration in the character of the constituency of the country, that it was impossible to get over the repugnance he felt to agree to the division of counties, as proposed under the Bill. The admission of tenants-at-will, combined with the division of the counties, could not fail to have the effect of materially impairing the independence of the elective body. Two or three great families, by combining together, would generally carry an election. Who could doubt, for example, that such a family as that of which the noble Marquis, whose motion he had just alluded to, formed a member, would possess far more influence on a division of a county than if the whole body of the freeholders and voters within it were allowed to vote for the four Members at once. He would not go further into the question of tenants-at-will, although, if that question was brought before the House, he would certainly oppose it; but, with regard to the present amendment, he felt it his duty to give it his hearty support.

Lord *Althorp* said, that one objection urged by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Goulburn) against the consideration of this clause at present was, that the House was not in proper state to enter upon it, in consequence of not having any account of the mode by which the counties were to be divided, and the other information connected with the subject, laid before it. Now if the House would just revert for a moment to the situation in which it was last Session, when this question was under discussion, it would be seen that it was at least in as good a state for considering it now as it was then. True it was that the right hon. Gentleman then raised similar objections to the discussion of the clause; but the House at the time proceeded with the clause, though it was then proposed that the counties should be divided without knowing how that was to be done. In fact the determination of the division was left to the Commissioners. There was no doubt that the information required by the right hon. Gentleman was not before the House, but when the Commissioners had agreed upon their report, that report would be made the subject of an address to both Houses of Parliament, and the whole matter would then be finally settled and determined by an act of the Legislature. The objection of the right hon. Gentleman, therefore, as far as the Committee was concerned, was done away with, and the Committee was just as able to decide now, as it was last year. It was, in fact, quite prepared for the consideration of this question. The hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down, and who had voted for this clause in the last Session, now objected to it, because it appeared to him that, as the Bill at present stood, such a division would be calculated to throw the influence at elections into the hands of a few great landed proprietors. The hon. Member however, might, perhaps, find that there was some inconsistency in the arguments which were urged against, and in the effects which were anticipated from, the division of counties. It would appear, for instance, by the suggestion that had been offered by the right hon. member for Tamworth—for depriving freeholders in boroughs of the right of voting for counties, and for not dividing counties—if that suggestion were adopted, that while some hon. Members thought the division of counties would augment the influence of the great towns, others were of opinion that it would increase the influence of the great landed proprietors. There was no doubt that both the influence of towns and of great landed proprietors respectively would be increased by the division of counties; but he could not see how that would operate exclusively one way or the other, either as regarded the landed or the commercial interest. But the hon. Member said, that after the change which had been made in the Bill, with respect to tenants-at-will, this division of counties would have the effect of giving increased power and influence to the large landed proprietors. The Bill did, certainly, increase that influence, and such would be the operation of it whether the counties were divided or not; but it would not increase their relative importance, as compared with the towns, whether the counties were or were not divided. Suppose that a large landed proprietor in a county could command 100 votes, and that there were 100 voters in the adjoining town—here was a similar increase of power—communicated *pari passu* to both interests, and in that way the balance between them would be fairly preserved. He did not see how, if this clause were carried, the influence either of the landed proprietors or of the towns would be overwhelmed by that of one or two great families in the county. It was on these grounds that he thought that no undue influence would be given to either party by the clause. His principal reason for supporting it, as essential to the Bill, was, because he was satisfied that, by effecting a division of the counties, they would thereby diminish the expense at elections. It would diminish the expense by diminishing the area of the canvass, and every man who knew any thing of elections was aware that the more enlarged that area was, the greater was the expense in proportion. The hon. member for Somersetshire had said, that the division of counties would wholly destroy the influence hitherto possessed by the independent freeholders and gentlemen of small property, and that their relative importance would be altogether overpowered and overwhelmed by that of the great leading families in each county. It appeared to him that the operation of this clause would be quite the reverse of that anticipated from it by the hon. Member. One objection urged by the hon. Gentlemen opposite to the consideration of this clause now was, that they might have, in the first instance, a description of the proposed divisions before them, in order to judge of their effects, and they spoke of the possibility of large properties being so divided as to destroy the influence of the holders altogether. It was certainly more probable, that, in effecting the division of counties, a large property would be so divided than a small one, and in that case the gentlemen of small property stood a greater chance of having their influence in the county increased. With regard, for example, to the county which he represented, he could state that there was no mode of dividing that county, without dividing and, therefore, diminishing the influence of that property with which he was connected. In that respect, therefore, the clause would have an advantageous operation for the interests of the smaller proprietors. On the grounds he had stated, he hoped that the Committee would agree to this clause. He did not regard the proposition as one involving any of the principles of the Bill, but he looked upon it as materially calculated to promote many of its best objects, and in that light he trusted it would meet with the support of the Committee.

Mr. *Praed* did not object to give the franchise to every freeholder, but he objected to increasing the number of Representatives for popular places, if, with that increase of Members, each voter was also to have an additional share in the election of Members. By the operation of the clause before them, each voter in certain counties would be entitled to a third vote. He was of opinion that it was an error in the original construction of the Representative Assembly of this country to allow any person to have more than one vote, for by the present system it was frequently the case that the same persons, constituting, perhaps, a bare majority of the electors, returned both Members. As an illustration of this point he would take Northamptonshire. At present the two noble Members who represented that county were returned by a majority of votes. This was certainly an evil of itself, but how much was it increased when it was considered that the large minority of the county was totally unrepresented. In the present case if large counties were not divided, each freeholder might have four voters; he wished to restrict them to two, and he thought this object might be attained even without the division of counties, by allowing each freeholder to only vote for two Members, although four were to be the number returned. This was a new principle, and he threw it out for the consideration of the House, and would not further press it at present; but, as he understood the object of a Representative Assembly was to allow all classes to be heard, it frequently happened, as in the case he had stated, that a bare majority returned both Members. He was therefore of opinion some measures should be taken to make the voice and views of a large minority known in the Legislature.

Mr. *Wilbraham* said, the bill was chiefly popular out of doors, from its tendency to overthrow an oligarchy, which had usurped the rights of Representation in a great degree, to the injury of the majority of the people. This clause was, however, defended by the noble Lord and his supporters, on the ground of its being especially calculated to diminish the expense of elections, but there was other machinery provided by the Bill sufficient for that purpose, and which would reduce the expense of elections to one-tenth of what it was at present. He alluded to that part of the bill which allowed the poll to be held at several places, and which provided, also, that no freeholder should travel more than fifteen miles to the place of election. He considered that the proposed division of counties would be injurious, because it went to overturn all old associations—because it would detract from the dignity of county Representation—and because, by increasing the power of the great landowners, it was altogether against the main principle of the Bill itself, which was putting an end to the influence of the oligarchy throughout the country. He had voted for this clause in the last Session, but was now opposed to it for the same reason as that assigned by the hon. and learned member for Kirkcudbright—namely, the introduction of the tenants at will franchise into the Bill. The great power that the adoption of this principle would give to wealthy and powerful landowners would materially affect the independence of many counties, and, dividing them, would increase this influence so much, that a few landowners joining together would control the election of Members for the division of the county in which their respective properties were situated. Another very objectionable point in the clause was, allowing the small freeholders of towns returning Members to vote for the counties and not for the place in which their freeholds were situated, although they had common interest with the towns, and none with the counties. He knew that the number of such freeholders already was so great (and there would be great facilities and temptations held out by this clause to make more) as to give them power to return Members for the division of a county, although their influence would not be so great if the counties were kept entire. In the county he had the honour to represent, in consequence of the manner in which it was proposed to divide it, the mercantile and commercial interests would be able to return the Members for one of the divisions. There could be no doubt on his mind that the effects of the clause would operate in this manner against the interests of the landowners. On these grounds he would support the Motion of the hon. member for Somersetshire.

Mr. *William Peel* was surprised that the noble Lord opposite would not adopt the reasonable proposition that had been made by his right hon. relative. He thought it was only fair that the votes of town freeholders should be confined to the places in which they resided. It was possible that a man might own the greater part of a town, and, if he was not resident in it, he could have no vote for the place although he was so materially interested, but he was thrown into the mass of the county Representation, with which he could have no object in common. This was an anomaly that ought not to exist. With regard to the division of counties he wished to press this one fact upon the House, that Birmingham was said to contain 2,000 freeholders, who would have the power to return both Members for that division of Warwickshire in which it was situated, although they only had influence sufficient to return one by the present system. He feared other instances of the same kind would be proved, and, therefore, he should support the amendment.

Mr. *John Campbell* had no hesitation in saying, that he would support the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Somersetshire. This division of counties appeared to him to be a most unnecessary and wanton interference with the ancient institutions of the country. He was an unflinching Reformer, and whatever went to give a full and fair Representation of the people, should have his support; but the division of counties was not necessary for such an object, and was actually inconsistent with it. Counties, as they now exist in this country, are more ancient than any divisions of a similar nature to be found in any country in Europe. Even in the time of the Conqueror, when Doomsday was compiled, they were considered as of great antiquity, and they probably subsisted long before the time of Alfred their reputed author. The people, in general, were vehemently opposed to this part of the Bill, as he had had an opportunity of observing during the last circuit. All the persons with whom he was brought in contact exclaimed against it, as a wanton and unnecessary interference, and all agreed that it would materially increase the influence of the great landed proprietors. This clause was defended chiefly from its tendency to decrease the expense of county elections; but there was already other, and sufficient machinery provided in the Bill to effect that object. The noble Lord (Lord John Russell) had defended the clause by a most extraordinary reason. He had assigned, as one cause of the necessity of the division, that he did not consider, that the bulk of the persons who would be called upon to vote, would be able to judge accurately of the merits of more than two candidates. It was a pretty compliment to the noble Lord's own constituents, as well as to the intelligent constituency of the country in general, to tell them, they were incapable of forming an accurate judgment of the qualifications of four persons to represent them in that House. The noble Lord had the merit of first discovering this incapacity, for Cromwell, in his scheme of Reform—when he allotted many Members to several counties, giving to one as many as fourteen—had no intention to divide them. It was obvious, that this proposition would add very much to the influence of the landed aristocracy. The noble Lord (Althorp) compared 100 voters in a town with 100 voters on a landed property, and spoke of the influence of the one balancing that of the other. But did the noble Lord not consider, that the 100 voters on the estate of the landed proprietor were under his power, and might be made to vote as he pleased; whereas, the 100 voters in the town were scattered and divided, and were not subject to any particular influence. The result would be, that, in many instances, the landed proprietors would possess so much influence, that other means must be taken to guard against it. He would not conceal from the Committee, that he thought one of the inevitable evils which would result from this clause, would be the introduction of the Vote by Ballot. He had no wish to see the influence of the landlord destroyed, neither did he wish to see it unbounded; and, to open the nomination districts which this clause would create, he was sure that the Ballot would be demanded. The Ballot he abhorred; but it might become necessary as a palliative for a still greater evil.

Sir *George Murray* said, the principle under discussion was of a novel kind, and which might apply to Scotland as well as England. The noble Lord (Althorp) in arguing against the objections that were made to the clause on account of its increasing the influence of great landed proprietors said, it would have, in many instances, the contrary effect and had illustrated his case by a division of his own property in Northamptonshire. The noble Lord thence assumed that the measure would not increase the influence of the first landed proprietors. But the hon. member for Cheshire (Mr. Wilbraham) had shewn that, in his county, one of the divisions would be represented by the commercial and manufacturing interest, which would preponderate over the agricultural class altogether. The same was said to be the case in Warwickshire, therefore, it appeared that one of two things would follow from the division of counties—either the placing the Representation of a county in the hands of some great family, or of some great town. Now, though he (Sir G. Murray) might consider it desirable that family influence, such as now existed in different parts of the country, should be retained, he was not for extending it, creating it, and raising it up all over the country, as this Bill with this clause assuredly would do. It had been truly said by the hon. member for Somersetshire, that this clause would destroy the influence of the small gentry, and small landed proprietors in counties—the most independent class that could be found in them. It was in the small counties in Scotland that the influence of the great families more peculiarly prevailed; and he thought that a similar result would follow in England, if this proposed division of counties should be effected. This clause went to convert the country into a series of departments, and they had already seen a departmental constitution tried in France, where it had failed. He trusted that they should not behold such an example imitated in this country. He thought the suggestion of his right hon. friend, (the member for Tamworth) for separating the constituency of towns from that of the counties, should have been adopted. In conclusion, he objected to this division of counties as being wholly contrary to the wishes of the people generally, and as affording some kind of precedent for the cutting up of the counties in Scotland, as proposed in the Scotch Reform Bill.

Sir *Edward Stanley* said, that nothing would tend more to diminish the expense of election than this division of counties. It was notorious that the expense of a contested election was in proportion to the size of a county, and this was the chief cause of the monopoly that existed in the return of Members, and deterred many independent men of moderate fortunes from engaging in a contest. In this respect the division would operate most beneficially, it would enlarge the class from which Members could be chosen, and he thought by these means great families were likely to find their influence diminished. The hon. member for Cheshire had said, that he feared if a division took place, the manufacturers would return two Members for one of the divisions of that county, but he (Sir E. Stanley) feared, if the county remained entire, and had its Representatives increased to four, the manufacturers would return, not only the two, but ultimately the four Members. If the county was divided, there might, and and probably would be, a compromise, as happened in other places; in Yorkshire for example, the manufacturing interests returned two Members, and the agricultural the other two. On every consideration he could give the subject, he thought it was better that large counties containing 200,000 or 300,000 inhabitants should be divided, and that each division should return its own separate Representatives. There were at present fifteen counties not in the Bill, each of which was to continue to return two Members. He could not suppose the division of a large county, which contained as great an arrear and population as those small ones, would be under the influence of large proprietors any more than the existing small counties were. If that should happen, the same cause would operate with another sort of influence; a town situated in one of the divisions might have a predominating influence. The advantages of a diminution of expense were so great in contested elections, that any other inconveniences resulting from the division were of trifling importance. He thought the arrangement generally would increase the influence of the landed interest, and diminish the control of the great families; and he should object to the proposition made by the hon. member for Somerset for the reasons he had stated.

Mr. *O'Connell* felt it is duty to say a very few words, as he had before pronounced an opinion against the division of counties. The last time the subject was before the House, he had yielded to the arguments brought forward to convince him that the oligarchical power would be increased by such a division. It now, however, appeared to him, that if no division took place, it would be easier for any four great proprietors in a county, to subject it to their own views, than if a division took place, and thus the present state of things would have a greater tendency to make counties like close boroughs; as, however, proprietors might differ in politics, they could each be easily satisfied by nominating one Member. If then, as he conceived would be the case, the popular power were increased by dividing counties, the power of the oligarchy must decrease in proportion, and the anomaly was not to be tolerated of having large and small counties. Warwick and Rutland, for instance, return an equal number of Members. For these reasons he should support the clause as it stood in the Bill.

Mr. *Ewart* said, if the hon. and learned member for Kerry's argument was true, that the principle landowners could combine in the counties as they now existed, it must follow as a matter of course that the chances of combination would be greater when the counties were divided. The numbers to combine would be fewer, the temptation greater, and success easier to be calculated upon. The hon. member for Perthshire (Sir George Murray) had compared the proposed divisions of counties to the departmental divisions of France, and had inferred, that, as that plan was unsuccessful, the same would be the consequence with this country; but that right hon. Gentleman had not noticed one material fact which bore upon that view of the subject. The common statistical computation gave to France 4,000,000 of small proprietors, and to England about 400,000 great and small. That country had besides, no leviathans with possessions which spread over nearly a whole county, therefore the chances of control were infinitely greater in England than in France. The principal argument urged in favour of the clause was its tendency to reduce expense, but that might be obviated by local arrangement. Power and influence were wrong in principle, and the spirit and essence of Reform alike required they should be controlled. He, therefore, would vote in favour of the system, as it stood at present, as tending most to preserve the freedom of the people and the security of free election. In the various plans of Reform proposed by Mr. Pitt and others, although an increase of county Members was projected, there never had been any division of counties proposed.

Mr. *Croker* said, that, as regarded the mere theory of the case, he certainly could not make up his mind as to whether any great difference would result from the division of counties into two electoral districts, or the allowing the four Representatives to be elected by the whole body of the county, as the two Members were at present. In practice, however, he thought, that the question of the entirety or division of counties for the purposes of Representation, would be found to be one of considerable importance. But as it was impossible at the present moment to examine the question upon practical grounds—for none of the details of the mode by which it was to be carried into operation were before them—it could only be discussed theoretically; and as a mere theory. He repeated, that he was not one of those who set any great store by the manner in which it should be decided. He thought it no more than fair, however, to apprise the noble Lords opposite, as well as the House generally, that there appeared to him to be a difficulty in the way of the proposed division which had not yet been observed. That difficulty arose out of the clause then under their consideration, taken in connection with that which followed. He assured the noble Lords, that the observations which he was about to make originated in a spirit of candour, not in a desire to oppose the measure, or to throw unnecessary difficulties in its way. He was about to point out to them a difficulty which he really thought so serious, that it would be impossible to allow it to remain as a part of the Bill. At all events, if it were allowed to remain, he would undertake to say, that it would not last to any second election. The experience of a first would demonstrate the necessity of a remedy. When the Bill was first brought in, it was proposed, that certain great counties, having a larger population than 150,000 souls, should have four Members; and as a corollary upon that proposition, proceeding upon the principle of arithmetical proportion, was framed the second clause, to which he had alluded, and by which it was proposed to give to all counties having a population of more than 100,000 souls, three Members; while seven or eight inferior counties, which had less than a population of 100,000 souls were to retain the old number of two Members. If the old Constitution were to be changed, and a new system adopted upon a scale of arithmetical proportions, nothing certainly could be fairer than such a distribution of county Representation. But Ministers, since the introduction of the Bill, had been induced to alter their proposition with regard to the first class of counties, and instead of having twenty-five counties of a large size, returning four Members each, they had determined to divide those twenty-five large counties into fifty small counties, returning two Members each.

Lord *Althorp:* In the original Bill it was always proposed to divide the large counties.

Mr. *Croker* continued. That was by no means so understood; and, indeed, up to a very late period, it would seem, that the Ministers had not finally decided that point. But whatever might have been their original intention, their present resolution to divide the large counties, but not to divide the middling class of counties, which were to have three Members each, was the point to which he was about to call the attention of the House. Upon that point he believed he was not mistaken. Then if that were so—if the large counties were divided, and the middling sized counties were not—it would absurdly happen that, in a great many instances, the smaller counties would return the greater number of Members. He would first notice the absurdity arising in the case of some of the counties which were to be divided, Cumberland, for instance, was one of those counties which was to return four Members. It contained 171,000 inhabitants. Equally divided then, each half called, he would suppose, the one East and the other West Cumberland—for under the clause of the Bill, they must be considered as separate and individual counties—each half, he said, would contain about 85,000 inhabitants, returning two Members to Parliament. But the county of Devon, which was also to be divided, contained 494,000 inhabitants, so that each half would contain about 247,000, being nearly double the amount of the whole population of the undivided county of Cumberland. The same disproportion existed between the counties of Kent and Northampton. Kent had 478,000 inhabitants. Northamptonshire only 179,000: yet they were to be equally divided for the purposes of Representation, although the whole population of the one did not equal half the population of the other. He confessed he could not conceive upon what principle it was, that Ministers proposed to give only one Representative to every 120,000 inhabitants in Devon and Kent, while in Cumberland and Northamptonshire they gave one to every 42,000 or 43,000. If ancient limits and existing customs were to be thrown aside, then the new system to be built up ought not to contain such anomalies as these, and the inhabitants of the larger counties would have a right to complain of the injustice done them in the new distribution. But the anomaly of this arrangement of Ministers appeared in a still stronger light when the degree of Representation given to the divided counties was contrasted with that which it was proposed to give to the middling counties. Dorset, Hertford, Hereford, Cambridge, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, and Monmouth, each having a less population than the half of either Devonshire or Kent, were to return three Members. It was not his intention to found any motion upon the statement which he had just made; but why, he would ask, was Monmouth, which contained only 98,000 inhabitants, to have three Members, and thus receive a larger share of Representation than East or

West Devon, or East or West Kent, with 240,000 inhabitants; than Lanarkshire, with 317,000 inhabitants; or than Cork, with 800,000 inhabitants? It was a curious coincidence that the county of Cork had very nearly as many inhabitants as the whole principality of Wales. By the last returns it appeared that Cork, including the city, contained 805,000: Wales, 807,000; yet Cork, including its county, city, and borough Members had only seven or eight Representatives, while Wales had twenty-eight. He did not mean by that statement to complain, that Wales had too much Representation, but that Cork had too little; that was to say, if disturbing all the ancient arrangements of the country, they adopted the principle of proportion upon which Ministers professed to proceed. As far as regarded himself, he was glad that Monmouth was to have three Members, but, at the same time, it was impossible to reconcile the anomaly of such a county returning three Members, when the more populous divisions of Lancashire, York, Somerset, Devon and Kent were to have but two. He would only further observe, that the amount of taxes paid by each county, and by each division of a county, differed very nearly in the same proportion as their population. For instance, South Devon annually paid 44,000*l.* while one of the divisions of Cumberland paid only 10,500*l.* One other observation, and he had done. It was his firm belief, that if Ministers did not separate the Representation of districts from that of counties, their Bill would be found, in practice, totally inefficacious for the objects for which it was intended; and they would find that, before two or three elections were passed, the agricultural districts would call loudly upon them to protect them from the inroad of town voters, by whom their voices in the election of Representatives would be drowned. It would then be too late to remedy the mischief. The advantage, once given to the towns, it would be impossible to withdraw it—it must be continued; whereas, if the noble Lords were to limit every man's right of voting to the place in which the right of voting accrued, no harm could possibly come from it. If, afterwards, it should appear necessary to extend the franchise, it could be easily done; but if it were unduly extended now it could never be withdrawn. Under these circumstances, he really hoped that the Ministers would reconsider these two points, and remove the third Member from these eight counties, and, what he thought still more important, relieve the counties at large from the influence of the borough freeholders, who ought, on every principle of the Bill, to vote on their own localities. He would take the opportunity of observing that he intended, at the proper time, to propose that Oxfordshire and Dorsetshire should be added to the number of the counties which were to return four Members, as they appeared, by the census of 1831, to contain as many inhabitants as Cumberland did when it was added to the list of those which were to return four Members but if either of the Members connected with those counties would undertake the task, he should be happy to resign it into their hands.

Lord *John Russell* observed, that the right hon. Gentleman seemed to have taken up a notion that this Bill was founded upon some regular arithmetical proportion of population. It had never been so laid down by those who supported it; so that the whole of the argument constructed by the right hon. Gentleman on that hypothesis fell to the ground. All the arguments that the right hon. Gentleman had adduced at various times, and in various ways, had no reference whatever to the principle of the Bill. All his statements, therefore, as to Devonshire and Cumberland were not applicable to the Bill, and could not enter into the present question. The reason, shortly, why he (Lord John Russell) should support the division of counties were these—our county Representation, although extremely good in many respects, was accompanied with this drawback, that it was attended with too great an expense to gentlemen of small fortunes. First, there was the expense of agency, in itself very great; then that of conveying the voters to the place of election, and third, though it was against law, but it must to a certain extent be tolerated, the expense of finding refreshment for the voters. If large counties remained entire, the expense of agency would be doubled, so was the distance which the voters had to be conveyed, and of course the measure of refreshment to be afforded them. He therefore thought the effect of the division of counties would be much, to lessen the expense of elections, to throw them more open to men of small fortunes, and that the power of control and the monopoly now possessed by large fortunes would be put an end to. He also believed, that men were much more likely to make a good election when they had to choose two Members than when they were called upon to select four.

Mr. *Croker:* The noble Lord had accused him of assuming, that Ministers proposed to extend and diminish Representation in proportion to population. He therefore begged to remind the House, that when the noble Lord brought forward his measure, he proposed that counties having upwards of 100,000 inhabitants should have one additional Member, making three; and that counties having upwards of 150,000 inhabitants should have two additional Members—making four. He thought that, when such reasons were laid down by the noble Lord for increasing the Representation of counties, he was not very wrong in the argument which he had just submitted to the House.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* had entertained doubts with respect to this clause, but now he was in favour of it. He knew that in London, where there were four Members there was often a compromise, and so it would be in counties, where one or two individuals with great power might combine or bring in two others who were not known in the county. He regretted to observe so much stress laid upon the different classes of electors who were to return Members. There could be no real distinction between town and county voters, for their interests were identified, and they mutally subsisted by each other. It was also wrong to distinguish between commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural Members, and to apportion the number to each, but if there were fears that the commercial interest would predominate in particular counties, they were certain that agricultural gentlemen were sometimes returned for towns. All these distinctions, therefore, he considered futile, as the various classes had but one common interest, and depended on each other. The great question was, whether we were not getting rid of a great number of anomalies, and whether, on the whole, a great portion of the property and intelligence of the country were not admitted into the Constitution by the Bill now before the House.

An *Hon. Member* begged leave to ask the noble Lord, how it was that when the principle of population was given up with regard to boroughs, and that the numbers of houses and the amount of assessed taxes were taken instead, why the same rule was not applied to counties? He had made some calculations with reference to that subject, and he found, if the principle of the number of 10*l.* houses, and the amount of assessed taxes had been applied to Cumberland, that county would have had no right whatever to any augmentation of Members.

Lord *John Russell* replied, that it was considered that the amount of the assessed taxes, and the number of houses applied to small boroughs would be a test of their relative importance, but the rule if applied to counties, would not shew the same results.

Mr. *Strickland* also supported the proposition for the division of counties. With respect to large counties, he thought there could hardly be a difference of opinion. The plan must work well. It must give satisfaction to all parties—to all classes—and to all interests. With respect to the smaller counties, although they were undoubtedly more open to objection, he trusted that the division would have good effects because it would prevent unnecessary contests and unsatisfactory compromises. He was not such an admirer of the wisdom of our ancestors as to yield implicitly to the propriety of continuing in our own times a state of things, which might have been applicable enough to the circumstances of the nation some centuries ago, but which was no longer tenable. Because Alfred the Great had so divided the kingdom into counties as to leave one much larger than another, and because, subsequently, other kings had allotted to each county, without distinction of size, two Representatives, he did not, in the present day, feel himself prevented from supporting a measure which had for its object the greater equalization of the Representation of the whole kingdom. With regard to the division of counties giving increased influence to certain families and great proprietors in particular districts, he would suppose the fact would be so, and that certain individuals would influence the return of Members who had not previously done so; still as there was to be a large infusion of popular opinion at the same time into the House, the value of the power would be proportionally diminished, and it would be worth no Ministers while, to make bargains with persons who could influence the return of one or two Members only. For these reasons he should vote for the clause as it stood.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* declared it as his opinion that the expense of county elections would not be diminished if the provision giving four Members to counties was not accompanied by another, tending to lessen the frequency of contests. When there were but two Members for a county, either of these Members, who conducted himself to the satisfaction of his constituents, would in ordinary times be quite sure of his return, without incurring the expense of a contested election; but if there were four Members for a county, he would be placed in a very different position, for every unpopular act of any one of the other three Members would be likely to produce an opposition which would subject him to all the expense of a contested election. The expense of a contest for the county of York, as it stood at present, was such, that no man of common sense would venture to enter into it, even with the fairest chance of success. That expense induced men of honour, ability, and character to shun the attempt to be elected as the Representatives of their respective counties in Parliament. He regretted to see a spirit existing which inferred that a seat in Parliament would not be so much sought after, when there was not much to be got by it but labour and fatigue, but he hoped he should never see the day when a seat in that House ceased to be an object of honourable ambition. He thought that the giving four Members to one county, while another had but two, would be a cause of jealousy to the inhabitants of the county where only two Members were returned. He approved of the division on that account, and he was further satisfied that the possession of four votes by electors would lead to collusion and jobbing. The evil of that system was likely to be somewhat diminished by the present clause, which went to divide the large counties, and he should therefore vote for it.

Mr. *Sheil* said, this was no party question, but one of general importance as it was defended on the score of the diminution of expense it would cause at county elections. He was happy to observe that the Irish Reform Bill contained an improved method of taking the votes at county elections, which was not found in the English Bill. In that Bill the certificate of the registration of the freeholder, when supported by the affidavit of the freeholder himself, was conclusive, to all intents and purposes on the question of the right of voting. The production of it was sufficient to establish his right; and what would be the consequence? why that the delay and expense of elections would be much reduced. That was an improvement which he much hoped to see introduced into the English Reform Bill. By the present system much delay and litigation would be occasioned, because every vote that was brought up to the hustings might be made the subject of dispute, and its validity there contested. The Irish registry system was adopted as the ground work, but the machinery of the English Bill was much more complicated, and would be found more expensive in operation. According to the improved method of voting for Ireland, eight questions might be put to an elector, the purport of each of which was prescribed by a *formula*; but in England the necessary questions might be put by the Sheriff in any way, which his caprice folly or ignorance dictated. He thought, therefore, the mere division of the countries would not do much towards diminishing the expense of elections, unless it was accompanied with the expedient he had mentioned.

Lord *Althorp* did not mean to deny, that there might be something advantageous in the proposition of the hon. and learned Member; but he did not well see how it could be adopted at the present moment: and as the clause for the division of the counties had a general tendency to diminish the expenses of elections, he trusted that it would have the support of the hon. and learned Member whose object in saving expense would be so far answered.

Mr. *Cresset Pelham* said, the Ministers had failed to show any sufficient grounds for what they were now recommending to the House, and therefore, he should vote for the amendment. The argument relied on for the division of counties was, that it would reduce the expenses of elections, but that evil was not confined to counties. Borough elections were sometimes as expensive and contests more frequent. At Liverpool each election was attended with an enormous outlay, while Mr. Wilberforce had been returned for Yorkshire free of all charge.

Mr. *Hunt* said, that the question was so wound up with the Reform Bill itself, that he thought, if this clause was lost, the

Bill might as well be given up altogether. he repeated, that if this clause was lost, the Bill might as well be given up altogether. He said so, because, if it was lost, what would become of the cry of, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill?" He had before voted with the Ministers on this clause, and should vote with them again now; for no arguments that he had yet heard had had the effect of changing his opinion on the subject. He thought that the giving any man four votes was an evil. In his opinion, the Members for the counties had always been sent into that House by the Aristocracy, and he believed they would continue to be so sent. See how they had voted last night. Why, he had heard one of them say, that the Ministers had a———bad case, but that he must vote with them to help them out.

Mr. *John Weyland* intended to support the clause for the division of counties, because as the law now stood, it placed the Representation of a county in the hands of the most opulent men in it, for they alone could command the means of bearing the expense of a contested election. He thought it probable that by dividing counties some of the divisions might be exempt from their influence, particularly if the expenses of elections were at the same time reduced. He believed that this clause would be the best means of emancipating candidates from this overwhelming expense, and counties from the influence which, if they were not divided, might be exercised over them by a few wealthy individuals. With respect to towns, as they were to receive Members on the principle of their relative importance, the same measure ought to be adopted with counties. Norfolk had an agricultural constituency of 300,000 persons, and Wiltshire had but 230,000, yet the former, so far as agriculture was concerned, was to return but five Members, and the latter thirteen. This inequality was contrary to the principle of the Bill, and he, therefore, hoped it would be amended previous to the third reading, or he must oppose it.

The Committee divided on the clause Ayes, 215; Noes 89—Majority 126.

The first part of the fifteenth clause was then read, and it was moved that the blank words between the words, "there shall be," and "Knights of the Shire," be filled up with the word "three."

Lord *Milton* objected to the proposition. All the inconveniences which had been described as likely to attend the election of four Members, he thought, would also belong, in a minor degree, to the election of three; and the selection of counties, in his opinion, was monstrous, and unjustifiable on any principle of fairness or common equity. The names of the counties selected were Cambridgeshire, Dorsetshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Monmouthshire, and Oxfordshire. The allotment of three Members to these counties appeared to him decidedly opposed to the principles which pointed out two as the most desirable number of members for any place to have. Two was sanctioned by ancient custom, and seemed to insure to each of the political parties into which all societies in this county divided themselves to elect their chief or Representative. It appeared to him that three Members as well as four would lead to cross voting, against which they were secure when there was two Members to be elected. He would ask his hon. friend near him, who represented Cambridgeshire, on what ground could that county lay claim to three Representatives when Bedford and Huntingdon were to be given only two? The counties included in this clause would also have an unreasonable advantage over the others in Committees above stairs, where they would have three agents, while many, with equal pretensions, would be allowed but two. In the case of Norfolk, the section which adjoined Cambridge would have a greater population than the latter county; but in any dispute between them relative to bridges or roads, the latter would have the advantage of an additional Member. If there must be such changes, the West Riding of Yorkshire, the half of Lancashire, Devon, and Kent would be better entitled to three Members than the counties on which that privilege was to be conferred. After the division of counties came into operation, each division, he conceived, would be a separate county to all intents and purposes; but he had always looked upon these divisions as a necessary evil. He disapproved of this clause, and thus entered his protest against it; but he did not intend to divide the Committee, although, should any other hon. Member do so, he should certainly vote with him.

Colonel *Sibthorp* was glad to see any thing like division among hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House. For his own part his objections were as great as ever to this detestable Bill — he would not use a stronger epithet, but it amused him to hear the noble Lord talk of the division of counties as being contrary to ancient custom. This came with a good grace from those who were knocking down all chartered rights and uprooting all corporations. Ministers were putting up the manufacturers and kicking down the agriculturists, and it was even thought they had paid but little attention to the Church and the Sovereign. One hon. Member had thought proper to tell his constituents, that the Aristocracy was "knocked on the head," that the Peerage was a "cypher." He rejoiced, however, to know, that the House of Peers had boldly done their duty, notwithstanding the pitiful menaces thrown out against them on a former occasion, and he believed they would exercise a similar regard for the true interests and liberties of the country when the present measure was before them. His objection was not confined to an additional Member being given, which the clause contemplated, he also objected to the selection of counties made by Ministers, some of which compared in point of importance to others which were worse treated, instead of receiving an additional of member, deserved to be put in schedule B. He should most heartily give his vote against the clause, and, indeed, against every part of the whole Bill.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* considered the clause a needless departure from the customary mode of representation, and he feared that no beneficial results were likely to flow from adopting it. In no instance was there a triple-representation in the early periods of our Parlimentary history, and the only cases in which single representation had taken place were of modern origin. The same object which Ministers had in view by the mode of representation now proposed, might have been obtained by quadruple representation of certain counties, leaving the other counties as they were at present represented. The anomalies throughout the Bill were preposterous It contained no tangible principles whatever. Justice was set at nought by this plan—the West Riding of Yorkshire, containing, as it did, a population of about 800,000, was to have only two Members allotted to it, whilst the counties of Buckingham and Dorset, with an inferior population, were to have three Members each. There were other absurdities of the same description throughout the Bill; but he did not rise so much to expose these as to press upon the noble Lord the necessity that the whole of the details should be before the Committee, ere they were called upon to give their sanction to the clause. Places mentioned in the schedules had been postponed until the proper information relating to the places named in them could be furnished, and a similar precautionary course ought to be pursued with regard to the counties named in this clause, if they intended to proceed fairly and impartially. The schedule was now embodied in the clause, so that they were called upon to say, not only that they were prepared to give additional Representatives to certain counties, but to go further, and select the particular counties that were to have them, while they had not named the most important counties throughout the kingdom which were to have four Representatives. It must be obvious that there were important points to be considered in the selection of counties, particularly as to the amount of town population contained within them, and already represented. Unless this was attended to in the allotment of Members to divisions of counties, they might be only increasing the commercial or manufacturing interests, instead of allotting members to represent the agriculturists. He considered that the fairest method would be to describe those counties by a scale after subtracting the several portions of their town population already represented. These objections involved considerations of much importance. He neither approved of the principle of the clause, nor did he think the counties named in it, were entitled to the distinction conferred upon them, tried either by the tests of population or property, or of both combined. He, therefore, trusted, that if the clause was passed, the noble Lord would leave a blank for the names of the counties to be filled up on a future occasion.

Lord *Althorp* stated, that there was some truth in the observations of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, with respect to the principle of the clause being first agreed upon by the Committee, before the counties were named. That he readily admitted, would be more in accordance with their usual course of proceedings. He should, therefore, move that the clause be passed, leaving the names of the counties subject to its provisions to be hereafter inserted. He would now go to the question as the principle of the clause itself, which was, whether second-rate counties not considered of importance enough under this Bill to return fourMembers, should have three allotted to them. It was contended by his noble colleague, that the number of Representatives for those counties ought not to have been increased, because there were more important districts which were to have only two Members, and he had instanced the West Riding of Yorkshire. If the principle of giving three Members was objectionable in the case of any one county, the same principles would apply to all the counties, whatever was their relative wealth or importance; so that the only question for the Committee to decide was, whether it was fit and proper for any place or county to return three Members. If four Members were to be given to those counties, the districts would be too small, and there would be an unequal Representation thus introduced. The case of one Member to represent a place which the Constitution now recognised, he admitted, was a mode of Representation comparatively modern, yet it had been found to be beneficial; and the triple Representation now proposed was of an analogous character; and there was certainly an intermediate class of counties between the largest and the least. It had been further objected to the principle, that it would produce discord and frequent contests, because, as there would be an odd Member to be elected, the different interests would be desirous to obtain that Member; but he was not aware that the towns which returned only one Member, had greater contests than those which returned two. Indeed, he was rather inclined to believe, that where interests were nearly balanced, compromises would be more readily come to about the third man. Another objection was, that some freeholders would have three votes, and others but two, and that this would be a source of jealousy; but, in applying the plan, the interests of the class of freeholders generally had been attended to, rather than the interests of particular voters; and he trusted that the Committee would agree with him, that the clause was one which was calculated to prove advantageous to the country.

Colonel *Wood* felt assured that, if three Members were given to any counties, in all those counties there would be a perpetual struggle at elections. The third Representative would entail upon the people local dissentions and heart burnings, which it would be impossible to eradicate. His chief objection to the clause was this —that it introduced a totally new principle into the Representation. If it were necessary that the agricultural interest should be represented in a fuller manner, this might be most easily effected by retaining some of the places now included in schedule B, which had a large rural population. This was a mode which he ventured to suggest for the adoption of the noble Lord; and it would get rid of the objections which had been urged as to the likelihood of causing continual struggles at elections.

Mr. *Adeane* said, it appeared to him that the agricultural interests had not been sufficiently considered in the Bill. Indeed, he believed that interest had been less attended to in the present than in the former Bill, because, by the late Bill, the smaller towns were to have a constituency of 310 householders, and if they had not that number within themselves, they were to be made up from the adjacent rural districts. He did not presume, at present, to say whether such a plan would, on the whole, have been desirable; but the probable result would have been, that the Members returned by partly rural constituents would not be adverse to agricultural interests. If, therefore, the landed interest was not sufficiently represented by the present Bill, the proper method would be to increase the number of county Members —and he laid claim to an additional Representative for the county he had the honour to represent. Cambridge was as well entitled to a third member, as Cumberland was to four; and he should hereafter return to this subject at the proper time.

Sir *John Walsh* considered that the clause, if adopted, would lead to an increase of election expenses in those counties affected by it, from the exposition of interests, and clashing of parties it would introduce. Besides this evil, it would assuredly not tend to the tranquillity of the country, from the party feuds and heats it would occasion; and, as he suspected that there would be constant contests for the third man, there would be no time for the angry passions, generated by constant opposition, to cool.

Mr. *Hunt* remarked, that as Ministers

could say nothing for themselves, he would say something in their behalf, and in defence of the clause by which it was intended to give three Members to some counties. They were aware that a third interest had grown up of late. There was now a Whig, a Tory, and a Radical interest to be represented, and the third Member was for the Radicals. Thus the three Members would form a sort of unicorn team, and it was easy to settle how they were to be harnessed. The Whig and Tory must be next the wheel, because, being habitual jibbers, they needed the double thong, and it was very clear, that the Radical would insist upon taking the lead. He did not see, however, why Buckingham was to have three members, while the West Riding of Yorkshire was to have only two. If no better reason could be given for the clause than the noble Lord had assigned, he should vote against it.

Mr. *Praed* did not think the clause would cause an increase of election expenses. His objection to it was, that it increased the number of votes which each elector was to give. He had no objection to the increased number of Representatives, but he wished the electors to be confined to two votes. This proposition appeared to him reasonable and easily to be effected, and he would submit it to the House at the proper time.

Mr. *Croker* would postpone the observations he had to make on this question until it was again before the House; but he must say now, he conceived two would be a much safer number to fill up the blank with than three. He wished just to remark to the House, that they had constituted fifty-five new counties, that was, they had doubled twenty-five counties, added two Members to Yorkshire, and two to Lincolnshire, and one to the Isle of Wight. And it was a curious fact, that thirty out of these fifty-five counties having but two Members each, were superior in population to the eight counties to which they were about to give three Representatives.

Mr. *Goulburn* also objected to the filling up the blank with the word "Three." He agreed with the noble Lord in the propriety of preserving the agricultural interest, as much as possible, in the counties; for the purpose of balancing the Representation of the towns; but he apprehended that, after the Bill came into operation, the contests in the counties would be solely carried on by the town and the country parties, for the purpose of securing the third Member. This would be the effect of giving three Members to the counties; and, he thought, instead of increasing their Representation, it would be much better to confine the voters in the vicinity of the towns to the exercise of their privilege in those towns.

Mr. *Fyshe Palmer* could assure the House, that, so far as the county of Berks was concerned, no objection was felt to the triple Representation. On the contrary, he had every reason to believe that this part of the measure met with the greatest approbation in that county. An hon. Baronet (Sir J. Walsh) had said, that county Members would not be easy in their seats, if there were a triple Representation. Good God! was the Representation to be arranged for the convenience of the Members of that House, or for the advantage of the people? He thought that, under the provisions of this Bill, the counties would no longer be obliged to look out for men of large property to be their Representatives, but would be enabled to choose gentlemen whose talents and services would be devoted to the good of their country.

Sir *John Walsh*, in explanation, stated, that he had only said, that the triple Representation would give rise to great expense and contests in the different counties.

Viscount *Palmerston* recommended the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goulburn) to look at the list of counties which were to have three Members, and he would find that they were counties the most agricultural of any in England, that they had the smallest number of large towns, and that those towns were of a description the most under the influence of the great landed proprietors. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think, that the number of contests would be increased by having three Members, instead of two; but there were obvious reasons why the possession of the right to return three Members would diminish contests. It would be seen that there were always three parties, and where there was a third Member, they would naturally settle the dispute by a compromise.

Mr. *Goulburn* denied the statement of the noble Lord with respect to the preponderance of the agricultural interest in those counties. He must instance Cambridgeshire, where the power of the town of Cambridge throughout the county was so great, that it must always return one of the Members.

The word "Three" inserted in the blank.

Upon the question that the clause stand part of the Bill,

Mr. *Robert Adam Dundas* said, he was desirous of knowing, when he saw that additional Members were to be given to some of the English, and to the Welch counties also, why it was, that counties in Scotland, possessed of still greater populations, were still to be left with only one Representative?

Lord *Althorp* said, the hon. Member should remember that, if the Scotch county Members were not increased, yet eight additional borough Members were to be given to that country, and these additional Representatives to Scotland were not to be taken from other Scotch boroughs, but from English boroughs. He should also remember, that the additional Members to the counties in Wales, and in England also, were to be taken from English boroughs only, and not from Scottish boroughs, so that the latter country ought rather to be gratified than displeased at a measure which would give her eight additional Representatives. He did not, upon that occasion, think it at all necessary to enter into the comparative Representation of both countries.

Mr. *Robert Adam Dundas* said, he really thought that, in adopting this sweeping measure of Reform, equal justice should have been done to all counties. He felt very confident that the measure would create great dissatisfaction in Scotland, amongst even all those persons who were zealous in the cause of Reform.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* thought the statement of the noble Lord by no means satisfactory. If the existing proportions between England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland had been preserved, he would have had some ground to stand upon. But the noble Lord, when he added eight members to Scotland, and five to Ireland, had abandoned the principle of the proportionate Representation settled at the time of the Unions, and this was an admission that Scotland and Ireland were not adequately represented. The noble Lord was therefore bound to provide fully for this inadequacy of Representation; and the proper mode would have been, not to have looked at the three kingdoms as distinct and separate countries, but to have considered them as one whole united kingdom. The noble Paymaster of the Forces had said of the Anti-reformers, that, in giving up Gatton or Old Sarum they had given up the whole principle—using the language adopted by Cromwell, in respect to the Scotch army at Dunbar, he said the Lord has delivered them into his hands. On the same principle, the moment the Government admitted that Scotland was not adequately represented, it was placed in the situation of the Anti-reformers. And he (Mr. Fergusson) must say, that admitting, as the noble Lord had done, the principle was bound to do complete justice to Scotland, and give to it as many members, in proportion to its wealth and population, as to England.

Lord *John Russell* would not deny that Ministers had, perhaps, been guilty of some imprudence, in venturing beyond the lines marked out at the time of the union of Scotland; but he put it to the hon. Member, as a Reformer, whether, when Ministers had made a departure from the proportion of Representation fixed at the time of the Union, because they thought it would be beneficial to Scotland, it was right for him to make Ministers repent their liberality, and show them that their generosity had been misplaced? Such an attack he might have expected from the Anti-reformers: but it was not just on the part of those who were engaged in the same work of Reform with Ministers, and who approved of the changes already made. Hon. Members who wished well to the cause of Reform ought to consider the situation in which Ministers were placed, not entirely with reference to what their own opinions might be of what was just and right to be given to this or that particular county, but with the intention of doing what they possibly could to promote the welfare and success of the cause to which they were mutually and reciprocally engaged. It was true, that no additional members were given to the county Representation in Scotland, as in Wales, but at the same time it ought also to be borne in mind, that eight Members were given to great Scottish towns.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* said, it was the distribution of the additional members of which he complained; for he found that the agricultural interest in Scotland had been entirely neglected. With respect to the observations which the noble Lord had thought proper to indulge in, he must say, that he considered them wholly uncalled for. He would allow no one to dictate the line of conduct he was to pursue. His constituents and that House alone had a right to decide whether he acted properly or otherwise. Though he thought Scotland was not fairly treated, he would not, however, desist on that account, to give his cordial support to the English Reform Bill.

Mr. *Dixon* agreed with the hon. Member, that Scotland was not fairly treated. He would beg to ask whether Lanarkshire was not better entitled to additional Representation than Gateshead? The noble Lord was, in fact, forming a new Constitution for the country. He was no longer bound by what was done at the Union, and he ought to have consulted only justice. He had the honour to represent a commercial town, but he must say, that the agricultural interest of Scotland was neglected. He trusted, therefore, that additional Representation would yet be given to the large Scotch counties. He hoped that the Representation of three or four of the larger counties would be increased.

Mr. *Pringle* agreed in the observations made by the two hon. Members who spoke last. All parts of the empire ought to be placed on one footing. Scotland was rapidly increasing in wealth and population; the people of Scotland were looking most anxiously to this change, and he did hope that Ministers would do his country justice.

An *Hon. Member* wished the Scotch Members to recollect that a great boon had been conferred on Scotland by the annihilation of the system of self-election, and the establishment of an independent constituency.

Sir *George Clerk* said, the present occasion was the proper time for putting in the claims of Scotland for additional Members, because, if this Bill passed without such a claim being made, the Members for that country would lose the only opportunity for making their pretensions heard. The Members for Scotland wanted nothing from the generosity of his Majesty's Ministers; but they boldly threw themselves on the justice of the House. There was a general feeling in Scotland that that country was not fairly treated by that Bill.

Mr. *Gillon* deprecated this discussion, and declared that the people of Scotland were pleased, not only with the additional Members, but still more with the alterations that were to be made in the franchise. The hon. Gentleman opposite, he believed in his conscience, only made these remarks with a view to defeat this Bill.

Mr. *Dixon* denied, in the most unequivocal manner, that he made any remarks with a view either to delay or defeat the Bill.

Sir *George Murray* maintained that the word "liberality," used by the noble Lord opposite, was not at all applicable to Scotland. It was only right, when a great change of this kind was to be brought forward, that the interests of all parts of the empire should be consulted. Before the discussion on the Scotch Bill was brought forward, it was the duty of the Members for that country to obtain from the Ministers some pledge that justice should be done to it. Different principles ought not to be applied to the different portions of the United Kingdom. Every part of it ought to be treated equally and fairly, when the Ministers undertook to make a new Constitution. He claimed, in particular, an increase of Representation for the agricultural population of Scotland; and insisted that justice would not be done to that country, unless it received an additional Member for each of the large counties. Ireland, too, he believed would not have justice done to her unless her Members now insisted on it.

Mr. *Stanley* said, that the arguments of the hon. Members opposite upon this occasion were strangely inconsistent with the whole of their previous conduct with respect to the question of Reform. They who had given the most unqualified opposition to the Reform Bill in all its details, were now coming forward as the advocates of equal Representation and the extension of popular rights. In the course of this inopportune discussion, however, an important admission had been made by the hon. Gentlemen opposite—namely, that the people of Scotland were favourable to Reform. He would now entreat hon. Members who were friendly to Reform not to allow their desire to obtain additional Representatives for Scotland to impede the progress of the great measure. He could not sit down without once more expressing his astonishment at the inconsistency of the hon. Gentlemen opposite.

They now talked of taking one Member from this county, and another from that county in England, to add to the Representatives of Scotland, after having, by their votes in support of General Gascoyne's Motion, pledged themselves not to alter the number of the Representatives for England. He called upon them to reconcile their conduct now with their conduct then.

Mr. *Goulburn* hoped, that those who complained of unnecessary discussion and irritating debate, would remember the speech which had just been delivered by the right hon. Secretary. Was it just to taunt Members on that side of the House with inconsistency, because, having originally opposed the principle of the measure, they afterwards endeavoured to improve its details? The right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues had profited by the suggestions which had proceeded from that side of the House, in order to correct their blunders.

Mr. *George Sinclair* said, that the people of Scotland would be called into political existence by the measure which had been brought forward by Ministers. It gave Scotland an increased constituency, which was of more importance than an increase of Representatives.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* thought it not at all surprising that Ministers should be peevish after the division which took place at four o'clock that morning. The lectures which the noble Lord and the right hon. Secretary had thought proper to read the House were the most unprovoked he had ever heard. Unless the right hon. Secretary was more successful in putting down agitation in Ireland, than he was in putting down agitation in the House of Commons, the less he was in that country the better. As to inconsistency, he thought that the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill-men, were more obnoxious to that charge than the hon. Members amongst whom he sat. In conclusion, he entreated hon. Members, however great their admiration might be of what he had thought it necessary to address to them, they would abstain from expressing approbation in the usual manner, lest they should disturb the repose of the hon. Gentleman in the Chair. [Mr. Bernal was at that time fast asleep The allusion to his situation produced a general roar of laughter, which roused him from his slumber.]

Clause agreed to.

The Chairman reported progress, and the House resumed.

COMMITTEE ON EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.] Mr. *Charles Grant* said, that in rising to move for the appointment of a Select Committee on East-India Affairs, it would be necessary for him shortly to revert to what had been done on the subject in the last Session of Parliament, as well as to the course which, in his opinion, it would be expedient to pursue in the present Session. As the period at which the Charter of the East-India Company expired approached, a very general wish had arisen that the subject should be investigated by both Houses of Parliament. Accordingly, Select Committees were appointed for that purpose. The Committee of the House of Commons sat until nearly the close of last year. The Charter would expire in 1834. The time was rapidly passing away, and it became necessary, without further delay, to consider the best means of prosecuting the inquiry during the present Session. At the end of that period, he trusted that the Committee would be able to close their labours, and to present to the House, and to the country, such information as might qualify them to form a sound judgment on the great Question which was about to be determined. During the interval between the close of the present Session and the commencement of the next, an opportunity would be afforded to the House and to the country to look into the various materials which would be collected by the Committee, and to prepare their minds for discussing the important subject. At the same time, it would be the duty of his Majesty's Government to avail themselves of that interval, for the purpose of duly considering those plans which they must on their own responsibility propose for the future conduct of East-India affairs. In the discussion of those plans the whole of the next Session would be occupied; and there was every reason to hope, that after the ample materials laid before them, and the ample time afforded for deliberation, Parliament would, by the close of that Session, be enabled to come to a complete and satisfactory decision on this most important Question. The Committee which had already been appointed by both Houses of Parliament had collected a vast mass of information, although some of it existed at present in an irregular shape. But in the course of their examination there were many important points which, he was apprehensive, had not yet been touched upon. When he proposed the Select Committee on the subject twelve months ago—which Committee was accordingly appointed—it was his feeling, and the feeling of the other members of the Committee, that it was not desirable that his Majesty's Government should take any prominent part in the proceedings of that Committee. There were at that time, and, of course, there were at the present time, two parties: those who approved of the renewal of the privileges of the East-India Company, and those who disapproved of the renewal of those privileges. It was from the controversy between those two parties that it was expected the truth must be elicited; each party endeavouring to prove its own case. But the Court of Directors did not feel themselves called upon at that time to enter into the examination of the question at all; and those who were opposed to them, owing to particular circumstances, were unable to do justice to their own case. The examination, however, proceeded during the Session, with a confident expectation, that in the present Session, the Court of Directors would take a leading part in it. No petition from them to that effect had, however, been presented to Parliament; and it was now felt that some more direct and extensive means of investigation must be resorted to than those which had hitherto been adopted. His Majesty's Government had, in the last Session, not felt it their duty to take any direct part in the investigation, but had felt it their duty to watch the proceedings of the Committee, and to supply all the documents which they had the power to furnish; being resolved, that if no other mode of obtaining final information on the subject offered itself, that a satisfactory mode should be proposed by them in the present Session. In the course of the last Session some most important parts of the question, were brought under the consideration of the Committee, and a number of individuals were examined, whose knowledge of India enabled them to communicate a great deal of valuable information on the subject. But at the close of the Session, it became a matter of consideration in what manner, during the present Session, the question might be most advantageously considered; and the result of that consideration was, the Motion which he was about to have the honour of submitting to that House. He need not dwell on the vast variety of subjects which would necessarily come under the consideration of the Committee, connected with the whole legislative and other policy of our Indian empire. In proposing the appointment of the present Committee, he was quite aware that he asked of the Gentlemen of whom it was to be composed to take upon themselves no light task. He had communicated to those Gentlemen his intention; and he had expressed to them his earnest hope that, if they did undertake it, they would bestow upon it their almost undivided attention; and he had received assurances from them that they were disposed to do so. Looking at the vast range of subjects which were to be considered, it must be evident that it was impossible they could be advantageously investigated by a single body. It was absolutely necessary that he should submit to the House the expediency of sub-dividing the Committee, and thereby availing themselves of the great principle of the division of labour. In order to carry into effect this principle, in the best possible manner, it would be necessary to have a considerable number of sub-divisions—at least six or seven—all diligently devoting their time and attention to the particular points submitted to them. It might appear to some persons to be a difficult matter to assign to the different sub-Committees the different topics upon which their labours were to be particularly employed. But those departments had been already defined elsewhere. In the India House, and in the Board of Control, the business is divided into six distinct departments, each occupied with its own peculiar subject. He should propose, therefore, at least six Sub-Committees, each of which should have the consideration of a particular department. But there were other matters requiring consideration, and he should, therefore, proceed as far as to propose eight Sub-Committees. This practice of forming Sub-Committees had seldom been resorted to by that House, except in cases like the present, of the highest importance. Committees were generally appointed for some specific purpose, on which they were expected in a few days to make a Report to the House. The number of Members of which such Committees were composed, was consequently comparatively small. But in this case, as the subject was one of extreme importance, as it would require long-continued attention, and as the Gentlemen of whom it was his intention to propose that the Committee should be formed, had assured him that they were prepared to devote as much of their time as possible to the investigation; and further, as the number of the Sub-Committees would be seven, or probably eight, and at least labouring four days in every week, it was impossible to prevent the number of Members from swelling far beyond the usual amount on such occasions. It was necessary also to provide for the unavoidable absence of some of the Members, and for other contingencies, in order that there might always be a supply equal to the demand. The number which he thought desirable was about forty-eight or forty-nine. General Committees on this subject had always been numerous. That last year consisted of thirty-eight Members—that the year before of thirty-five. In 1813, the General Committee on this question consisted of forty Members. He trusted that the Members of the proposed Committee and the House would do him the justice to believe, that in making this proposition his only motive was to facilitate the labours of the Committee, to bring those labours to an early close, and to place before the House and the public, previous to the Parliamentary decision on the case, as fairly and fully as possible, the materials on which alone a sound judgment could be formed. It might be supposed by some, that notwithstanding the members of the Committee, and notwithstanding the number of Sub-Committees which he proposed to form, it would be difficult to bring the investigation to a close in the present Session of Parliament. Certainly that difficulty would exist if there had been no previous inquiry. But a large mass of information had been obtained by former Committees, and was lying on the Table of the House. The Committees of the House of Commons and House of Lords had received the evidence of many individuals on the subject; and although that evidence was not systematically arranged, still the materials were there, and with those materials the proposed Committee might be supplied. In addition to this, directions had for some time been given by the Board of Control to its officers to prepare to give all the information which it was in their power to communicate. Those officers had been employed in arranging the evidence given before the Committees of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and in framing a summary of the whole. Immediately on the appointment of the Sub-Committees, the attention of each of them would necessarily be directed to the collection of the evidence peculiar to that department confided to its examination. In addition to this, the superior officers of the Board, with which he had thehonour of being connected, were preparing statements, historical summaries, and every species of document calculated to place the main facts of the case in as clear a point of view as possible. The Board of Control had, in addition, collected many most important documents which would be laid before the Committee. The same labour had been undertaken at the India House, and the Directors had offered their best assistance on the subject. That assistance would be valuable, as all must acknowledge who knew anything of the zeal and industry of the officers of the India House. They had, he was happy to say, offered him their assistance in the most prompt manner; and he expected to receive the most valuable aid from their labours. He believed he should be thus enabled to lay information of a most important nature before the public; and he owed it, in justice to his own department, to say, that they had shown the utmost zeal to forward the inquiry by their services. Under these circumstances, he should move "That a Select Committee be appointed upon the affairs of the East-India Company, and to inquire into the state of the Trade between Great Britain and the East Indies and China, and to report their observations thereon to the House."

Mr. *Courtenay* wished to offer a very few words at present on this subject; but he had no intention whatever of opposing the motion, which, on the contrary, met with his cordial approbation. He was extremely glad to learn from his right hon. friend, that the greatest exertions had been made to furnish every information calculated to facilitate the labours of the Committee. One of the greatest inconveniences experienced in the former Committees on this subject was, the desultory mode of proceeding. He, therefore, rejoiced at the adoption of any means calculated to get rid of the evil then experienced. He had no doubt, from what he knew of the persons employed to prepare the various statements and documents which were to be furnished, that very great advantages would be derived from the proposed mode of proceeding. He wished, however, to ask his right hon. friend, whether the new mode of proceeding to be adopted in the Committee, was not framed on rather a more extended basis than was quite reconcileable with the usual inquiries referred to Committees? He was not quite clear, that all the topics which his right hon. friend intended to submit to the investigation of the Sub-Committees were entirely relevant to the measure which would be introduced to Parliament for the future guidance of the affairs of the East-India Company. If, however, it should be found, that the Committee had too much to do, it could easily select the topics which it would be most expedient to submit for the consideration of Parliament. He should support the Motion of his right hon. friend; and should he be a Member of one of the Sub-Committees, he would endeavour to advance, as much as possible, the topic of inquiry on which he might be engaged; and would, in every way, promote the end in view, and would endeavour to put the information furnished to the House in such a state, that a correct judgment might be readily formed on the subject. He hoped, however, that the Committee would bear in mind that the principal objects for consideration were, whether the China trade should be thrown open, and whether the management of East-India affairs should continue, as heretofore, in the hands of the Company; and, if this be decided in the negative, to what other body it should be transferred? There were other important subjects of inquiry; for instance, the management of the revenue, and the administration of justice, but these would not so properly come under consideration in an inquiry relative to the renewal of the Charter, as at a subsequent period. He thanked his right hon. friend for the trouble he had taken in bringing this subject under the consideration of the House.

Sir *James Macdonald* said, that there were no topics connected with this subject which would not be well worth the attention of the House and the public. With respect to the ultimate object in view, he believed it to be that which his right hon. friend had suggested, namely, how the interests of this country could be brought to bear advantageously on those of that great empire, and how the interest, the prosperity, and the happiness of the people of that country could be best promoted and secured.

Mr. *Goulburn* would not detain the House more than one moment: but he had a question to put to his right hon. friend. It was understood, that the former Committees appointed for this purpose were directed only to collect evidence, and to put it in form; but they were not directed to give opinions on the several topics of their investigation. But, if he understood his right hon. friend correctly, he intended that the present Committee should be instructed to report their opinions. He wished, therefore, to know whether this were so or not? He understood that the Committee was to be divided into a number of Sub-Committees. If that were the arrangement, was the House to hear the opinions of each of these Sub-Committees as to the particular topic of investigation referred to it? He had no intention to offer any opposition to the motion for the appointment of the Committee; but he was desirous of obtaining this information.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* also wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it was intended that one of the several sub-Committees should devote its sole attention to a subject on which a Committee had already been occupied during the whole of one Session?

Mr. *Charles Grant* answered, that the words of the Resolution he had just moved were the same as those which had been used on a former occasion. Certainly, for himself, he was not prepared to say, that one Sub-Committee should be solely occupied with the department of China. Those matters of detail, however, would be best regulated in the Committee. With respect to the question of his right hon. friend the Sub-Committees would not report to the House, but to the general Committee, which would make its Report to the House.

The Committee was appointed.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, January 31, 1832.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read a first time; Embezzlements Prevention; Corporate Funds. Read a third time; Land Revenue.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Lord ELLENBOROUGH, an Estimate relating to the Finances of India, prepared by the India Board, October 1830, with Returns of all Civil Officers and Establishments connected with the Governments at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

Petitions presented. By the Earl of KINNOUL, from the Freeholders and others of the County of Perth, against the Bill for the Reform of Parliament, and thanking the House of Peers for their firmness and decision in resisting the former Bill.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, January 31, 1832.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read a second time; Contempts in Equity; *Nisi Prius* Court (Ireland); Dublin County Assessment.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. Alderman WOOD, of all raw, thrown, and manufactured Silks Imported and Exported, and brought into Consumption, from 5th January, 1831, to 5th January, 1832, distinguishing the different descriptions of Silk, and the Countries whence Imported, with the amount of Duty; of the amount of Drawback paid on the Exportation of British Silk manufactured goods for the year ending 5th January, 1832; distinguishing Stuffs and Ribbons of Silk only, and Stuffs and Ribbons of Silk mixed with other materials; of all Foreign manufactured Silks, Imported without Payment of Duty, for Manufacture, or Printing, &c., on condition of being afterwards Exported, in the year ending 5th January, 1832, and distinguishing the different descriptions of Silk:—On the Motion of Lord KILLEEN, of all Superannuations granted to Constables in Ireland, stating their periods of Service, and the Cause of their Superannuation, and of all Stipendiary Magistrates, the dates and their appointments, Services, and Emoluments:—On the Motion of Mr. HARVEY, for the Names and Residences of all Persons employed in the Receipt and Collection of the Revenues arising from all Property under the management of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, with the Amounts collected, and the full Emoluments such Persons receive, and an Annual Account for the last seven years, of all Charges made by Persons employed as Auctioneers in the Sale of Crown Property; of the amount of *ad valorem* Duties paid on the Sale or Mortgage of Real Estates during the years 1829, 1830, and 1831:—On the Motion of Mr. HUME, an account of the Gross Amount collected in each of the last five years from Seamen's Wages in the Royal Navy for the use of Greenwich Hospital; and also the Amount collected from the Seamen in the Merchant Service for the same purpose:—On the Motion of Mr. Alderman VENABLES, a Statement of the Aggregate Amount of Money ordered by the Commissioners of Bankrupts to be divided as Dividends among Creditors for two Months, anterior to the 11th of January, 1832; and the like Account for two Months anterior to the 11th of January, 1831:—On the Motion of Mr. JEPHSON, the Charter of the University of Dublin; of the number of Students admitted to Scholarships during each of the last five years, and of their present Number; of the number of Fellows entitled to Vote at an Election of a Member for the University; of the number of Students who have taken the degree of Bachelors of Arts, during each of the last five years; of the number of Bachelors of Arts who have attended the Divinity Lectures during each of the above years, and the Number who, during the same period, have taken the degree of Master of Arts; of the number of Masters of Arts now on the Books; of the Average Amount of Annual Fees payable by a Non-resident Master of Arts for keeping the Name on the College Books, and whether any and what change has been made in the Amount of Charge during the above period:—On the Motion of Mr. MAURICE O'CONNELL, of the number of Days the Court of Exchequer Chamber in Ireland has sat for the despatch of Business, and the Names and number of Cases heard in each of the last two years:—On the Motion of Mr. ATTWOOD, of the amount of Tonnage Duties, and the rate per Ton, paid at Calais, on each voyage by the Post Office Steam Packets from Dover; stating by whom the said Tonnage Duties are paid; of the amount of Tonnage Duties, and the rate per Ton, paid at Dover on each voyage by the Post Office Steam Packets belonging to the French Government; of British and Foreign Tonnage, which have entered the several Ports of Great Britain, distinguishing the several Countries, for the last six years, ending 5th January, 1832:—On the Motion of Sir ROBERT INGLIS, the amount of Monies which would have been applicable to his Majesty's Civil Government in England, if the Hereditary and the Temporary Revenues of the Crown enjoyed by his Majesty King George 2nd, had been enjoyed by his Majesty King George 3rd, from 25th October, 1760, to 29th January, 1820; and by his Majesty King George 4th, from 29th January, 1820, to 26th June, 1830; distinguishing each year; and distinguishing also the Hereditary and the Temporary Revenue of the Crown respectively; shewing also, first, the amount of the Annuity received by their late Majesties in lieu of those Revenues; secondly, the amount of Monies granted by Parliament for the discharge of the Civil List Debt, during the said period; and, thirdly, the difference to the Public on the Balance of the said Account, so far as the same can be ascertained.

Petition presented. By Sir HEDWORTH WILLIAMSON, from Durham, against the General Registry Bill:—By Lord KILLEEN, from the united Parishes of Skreen and Rathfigh, for an increased number of Representatives for Ireland:—By Mr. SANDFORD, from the Glove Manufacturers of Worcester, against the Importation of French Gloves, and from the Magistrates, Clergy, and Inhabitants of the same Town supporting the above Petition, and confirming its statements:—By Mr. HARVEY, from Henry Wilton of Sawbrook Court, London, against the Bankrupt Act Amendment Bill; and from John Batty Tuke, Esq., praying that the Crown Lands may not be let except by Public tender:—By Mr. CHARLES CALVERT, from the Students of Medicine, Webb Street, Southwark, for the removal of impediments to the Study of Anatomy:—By Mr. Alderman VENABLES, from the Glovers of Woodstock, complaining of the State of the Trade, and praying for the prohibition of French Gloves:—By Colonel DAVIES, from the Glovers of Great Torrington, with the same prayer:—By Colonel PAGET, from the Inhabitants of Berwick to be entitled to Vote for the County of Northumberland.

PROPERTY OF INTESTATES.] Mr. *Harvey* moved, that a return of the property received by the Crown, belonging to the Intestates, with an account of how it was appropriated, should be laid before the House, and of the number of acres of land in England now inclosed, and to what extent the same might be capable of improvement. This Motion he had before made, but the returns to it had not yet been presented.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* objected to the production of this account, as involving a great many difficulties; the Motion was couched in much too general terms—the precise nature of the documents required ought to be specified.

Mr. *Spring Rice* wished to explain why the return relative to intestates had not been made. He had inquired into the matter, and found that to make up such an account as the hon. Member had moved for, and the House had ordered, would compel the Solicitor of the Treasury to suspend all other business in his office for six months. He wished to forewarn the House of the great expense also which the return would cause. He had no objection whatever to produce it; but he should wish that the House should first of all be in possession of an estimate of the probable expense of making out the return. If it chose to order the return after such an estimate was laid before it, of course it was in the power of the House to do so; but he wished that the House should, in the first instance, know the expense.

Mr. *Harvey* would undertake to say, that the whole expense would not be 50*l.* The right hon. Gentleman had shown him a return for one year, and he was sure that similar returns for every year might be prepared for 40*s.* each. The amount of some estates which went in this way into the hands of the Crown was immense: and he had been told only a few days ago of one estate of upwards of 100,000*l.* which thus went into the possession of the Crown. This was a source of public revenue, which was quite unexplored, and an account of which ought to be before the House. If there was a difficulty of making out the returns, from their magnitude, that was an additional reason why the House of Commons should inquire into the matter. The Solicitor of the Treasury was very well paid—he attended to a great variety of business, and ought to have time to furnish such an account. If the business of his office were conducted properly, it would not, he was sure, take one clerk three days to make out the return.

Mr. *Hume* said, it was the duty of the Solicitor of the Treasury to lay an annual account before the Treasury, and there could therefore be no difficulty in making the return, unless indeed the Solicitors had rendered no account to the Treasury, in which case the return ought to be immediately and imperatively called for. He would recommend an abstract, and he was sure that it might be prepared for a few shillings.

Mr. *Spring Rice* had not refused the production of the paper. His observation was, that before the Motion was agreed to, it would be proper that they should be acquainted with the probable expense to which it would lead. If the hon. Gentleman would move for the accounts for the last seven years, which would probably just as well answer his purpose, they would be prepared much more easily and at considerably less expense.

Mr. *Hume* would wish to know whether the accounts of the Solicitor to the Treasury were not annually rendered to the Treasury?

Mr. *Spring Rice* could not take upon himself to say, that during the last thirty years—the period embraced by the motion—such accounts as those sought for had been annually rendered to the Treasury; but this he knew, from the manner in which the department of the Solicitor to the Treasury was conducted, that the accounts of that office were as regularly rendered as they possibly could be to the Treasury.

Mr. *Hume* again suggested, that, under such circumstances, an abstract of those accounts might, without much difficulty be procured.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, that if the question went to a vote, he should support the hon. Gentleman, the Secretary to the Treasury.

Mr. *Harvey* was ready to accede to the proposition of the hon. Gentleman, and to limit his Motion to the last seven years.

Motion withdrawn, and notice of a Motion on the subject given for the next day.

BREACH OF PRIVILEGE.] Mr. *Perceval* said, that he rose for the purpose of calling the attention of the House to a breach of one of its most important privileges. It would be in the recollection of hon. Members that on Thursday last, previous to his moving for an address to his Majesty to appoint a day of general fast, he took occasion to enforce the standing order of that House for the exclusion of strangers. On the succeeding morning, there appeared in several of the newspapers, a report of the proceedings that had taken place in that House during such exclusion of strangers from the gallery. Under these circumstances, he felt it is duty to bring such a matter under the notice of the House. He did so, because he thought it incumbent on the House to assert and maintain one of its mos important privileges—that of the exclusion of strangers from its debates whenever there should appear sufficient reason to it for doing so—a privilege which would be utterly without value if it were to be in the power of any hon. Member to report their proceedings while that standing order was enforced. He did so, because this standing order was one of those high and invaluable privileges which they had received from their predecessors, and which they were in duty bound to preserve and hand down unimpaired and inviolate for the use and service ot their successors. If, by their negligence and carelessness in the non-enforcement of their undisturbed rights, they were to allow this privilege to be thus openly, grossly and directly invaded, and thereby suffered to fall into utter and entire disuse, though they themselves might not reap the inconvenience that would thence arise, their successors, no doubt would, and the true blame must in that case attach to those upon whose shoulders at present rested the duty of preserving that privilege entire and unimpaired. They had no right to say, that they would treat with disregard the breach of that privilege, because, in a given instance, they might not clearly see the use of enforcing it. He trusted to be able, in a few words, to demonstrate to the House the utility of enforcing its standing order in this particular instance; and, with that view, begged to call the attention of hon. Members to the circumstances under which this breach of privilege had occurred. It was the undoubted privilege of that House to exclude strangers during its proceedings: and under such circumstances, the publication of its debates was a direct and wilful contravention of that privilege, flung in the face of the House, who had evidently excluded strangers for the purpose of keeping its debates secret from the public. Probably that statement, and his having called the attention of hon. Members to the circumstance that they, as the guardians of the rights and privileges of the House, were in duty bound to maintain them, constituted in themselves sufficient grounds for the Motion which he was about to submit to the House. He begged leave, however, to observe, that the individual who should choose, when the standing order was enforced against the admission of strangers, to publish the debates of that House, without either the intervention of those usual channels of conveyance whereby a certain degree of accuracy was ensured in the transmission of their debates to the public, or without any other means of guarding against their errors, must feel that in thus contravening the orders of that House, he was taking a course that would lead to much misrepresentation, and he must feel, that being debarred from those channels of information upon which a dependence could be placed, he ought to be held responsible for those blunders and inaccuracies which might go forth to the public in such a publication. In the report which in this instance had been given of the speech which he had had the honour of then addressing to the House, there was so much of what he had said, that it evidently must have been furnished by an individual who heard that speech, and who was present at the debate; yet, at the same time, he had no hesitation in saying that no plain intelligent man could possibly read that report without seeing that the design with which it had been drawn up was to throw the speech which he had made into complete and utter ridicule. He charged that individual, whoever he was, that made the report, with direct and deliberate falsehood. The direct and deliberate falsehoods that were to be found in that report he should state to the House; and he further charged that report with the general intention of throwing ridicule on the whole of his speech. He should now lay before the House the gross misrepresentations which that report exhibited of the sentiments that had fallen from him (Mr. Perceval) on the occasion in question. In the commencement of that report, he was made to assign as his reason for enforcing the standing order against the presence of strangers during the debate, "that he would not allow the public to know the blasphemies that might be spoken in answer to this speech—that the blasphemers, if any in this House, might not be able to give publicity to their blasphemies." Now, there was just so much of what he did really say in that part of the report, as to show that it was given by a person who was present on the occasion, but it contained in it, at the same time, nothing of the true *animus* and spirit of the observations that he then made use of. What he really did say with regard to the point, at the time, was, that it would ill become him, after the attention, both patient and respectful, with which he had been listened to on a previous occasion, when bringing forward a similar motion, to impute to any hon. Member in that House an intention to treat such a subject in a blasphemous or irreligious manner; but he added, that there were individuals out of that House who, as on the previous occasion, would try to make his speech the subject of blasphemous animadversion, and some of his near friends and relatives had objected to his bringing forward the Motion for that reason. He had said, that he had replied to them, "that without at all yielding to the force of such an objection, he had at once at hand the means of obviating it—that he had the power, as a Member of that House, of excluding strangers from the gallery during the debate—of thus taking away the possibility of any paper publishing it, and, in that way, of preventing that blasphemy which they dreaded on the subject." That was what he really had said, whereas this report made him talk of the blasphemy that might be spoken by the hon. Members in that House in reply to this speech. He should state to the House another instance of the gross misrepresentation which characterized this report, in proof of the expediency of this Motion, and also as tending to show, that when strangers were excluded, if any individual should have the power of attempting to give in full what then passed, they would be exposed to the greatest possible misrepresentation. In another part of this report he was represented as having said, "that he was sincere, and that he was arguing these truths in his usual way, when he is under an influence." No individual who read that phrase could for a moment doubt that the intention of the person who published what he said in such a shape, was to throw ridicule on his speech. What he said on that occasion simply was, "that upon any subject, when he entertained strong feelings, he might be afraid that his speech would partake of the warmth of feeling by which he was influenced, but that he was not in the present instance carried away by warmth or passion—that he but rarely trespassed on the House, and that he had been only induced to do so on this occasion by a strong sense of duty." There was another passage from this report of his speech which, he would undertake to say, no man who heard that speech, or who at all knew him (Mr. Perceval), could have put down and deliberately published, without knowing well that it was a falsehood. He was made to say, "Let the kings and priests be expelled, and all such mummery be averted, unless you will listen to my voice for a fast and humiliation." He would assert, that a grosser perversion could not possibly have been committed by an intelligent man of the sentiments that fell from another, than that passage exhibited, and that it was altogether an entire falsification of what had been said by him (Mr. Perceval) on that occasion. He thought that he only had discharged his duty to himself and to the House in bringing this matter under its notice—to himself in freeing himself from the falsifications which that report contained of his sentiments; and towards the House, in calling its attention to the due enforcement of one of its standing rules, so that hereafter it would not be in the power of any individual when strangers were excluded to publish their discussions, thus exposing hon. Members to the risk of having their sentiments grossly falsified and misrepresented. He should conclude by moving that the printer of the paper which he now held in his hand, *The Times*, should be called to the Bar of that House. He begged to observe, that the report of which he complained appeared under the regular head, and in the usual parliamentary report in two papers—the *Morning Chronicle* and *The Times*; while in another paper—the *Morning Herald*—it was put less ostentatiously at the end of the parliamentary report, and with a paragraph stating that it did not come from their usual sources. He thought it, however, better to select a single paper, with a view to try the privilege of that House, and for that purpose he had selected *The Times*. He believed that before he made his Motion, the first step to be taken was to hand the clerk a copy of the paper, and have it read at the table.

Paper accordingly handed in, and the passages complained of read by the Clerk.

Mr. Perceval moved, that "John Joseph Lawson, the printer of *The Times* newspaper, be ordered to attend at the Bar of that House upon Thursday next."

Mr. Cresset Pelham seconded the Motion.

Mr. *Hume* said, that there could be no doubt, that by the rules of that House, the publication of its debates was in itself a breach of the privileges of that House. He did not understand distinctly, from what had fallen from the hon. Member, whether he meant to complain of every species of reporting; for, as the hon. Member must be aware, it undoubtedly did so happen that every kind of reporting of their debates was in contravention of the privileges of that House. He apprehended, however, that the observations of the hon. Member on this occasion, did not apply to reporting generally, but that he intended to complain of the particular instance of the report of his own speech. Now, unless the hon. Member meant to complain of reporting generally, his observations must apply to the reporting that had taken place in this particular instance, and then the question arose, how far that was his object, and, secondly, who was the individual meant on this occasion. He (Mr. Hume) had no hesitation in saying that, on the occasion alluded to, when he found that he could not raise the question concerning the exclusion of strangers, that he did then exercise that power which belonged to him as a Member of that House—that he did write down every thing as accurately as he could—that the same was done by other individuals, with respect to the debate which then occurred; and that, having done so, when the debate was over, he had given what he had written to a gentleman out of the House, to do what he pleased with it. It so happened that on that occasion he did not come in the way of the reporter for *The Times*, nor did he see any one connected with *The Times*, but if he had met the reporter of that journal, it was as probable that he should have given the report in question to him as to any other individual. He had not had time to read the whole of that report after it was published, but he had read the commencement of it, and his impression was, that it was correct. He had not given the quotations at length, as they appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, but he apprehended the Scripture quotations were filled up from the parts of verses he had given. Further, as to the general report itself, he had heard other hon. Members say, that it was a tolerably correct account of what the hon. Member had said. He had made the report of the debate on this occasion, because it was attempted to exclude the public from hearing or knowing what took place in that House through the usual channels of intelligence, and he should do so again whenever a similar attempt was made. If any one was guilty of crime in this instance, he was the criminal, though he believed he had only exercised a right which belonged to him as a Member of that House. He could assure the hon. Member, that he had no other desire but to do him justice and to tell the truth. In doing what he had done, he had not committed a greater breach of the privileges of that House than was every day committed by the publication of their debates, which, he repeated, was in direct contravention of a standing order of that House—an order that he had over and over again endeavoured to get repealed. Again he would repeat, in reply to the complaint of the hon. Member as to the inaccuracy of his (Mr. Hume's) report of his speech, that he had attempted to give as faithful an acconnt of it as he possibly could; that it was not possible for him, unpractised as he was in such a matter, to follow an hon. Member in full through a speech that occupied nearly an hour and a half; that whenever a similar occasion arose in which those who could thus follow, hon. Members were excluded from the gallery, in order to prevent the publication of their debates, he would endeavour to supply a report of them—and perhaps more practice would make him perform it better than on this occasion, and that in that way he should do what in him lay to prevent the hon. Member, or any other hon. Member who should hereafter attempt it, from excluding the public from a knowledge of the proceedings that took place in that House. He had often before dwelt upon the inconvenience of leaving their debates to be published in an unauthorised form, and he had urged the propriety of having reporters duly appointed for reporting the debates of that House, and who would be responsible for the correctness of the reports which they furnished. While, however, he was for the adoption of such a measure as that, he was as much alive as any hon. Member in that House to the extraordinary and admirable accuracy with which the debates of that House were at present given to the public, whenever an occasion arose in which it was necessary to give them at any length. He had frequently, on such occasions, looked through column after column of the reports of their debates without being able to detect a single solitary error in them. A facility of making such reports was not possessed by him; but he could assure the hon. Member, that if he had not the power, he had at least the will, and that so far from having any intention to impart a false gloss to his statements, or to misrepresent his opinions, he had every desire to do him all the justice he possibly could. If there were any mistake in the report, the hon. Member might thank himself, for if he had not excluded strangers, his speech would, no doubt, have been accurately reported.

The *Speaker* rose and said, I feel it necessary to interpose at this stage of the proceeding. Of all the extraordinary declarations I have ever heard in this House, that which has been just made by the hon. member for Middlesex is the most extraordinary. That hon. Member not only confesses, but avows, that he has, as a Member of this House, taken advantage of the power which he thus possesses to commit a breach of the privileges of this House. The hon. Member, on an occasion when the public were excluded from the debates in that House, has furnished a report of them to the public; and he has stated his determination to do so again, whenever a like occasion may arise. The hon. Member must be aware, that to furnish a report of a debate in that House, and even to furnish his own speech, on the part of any hon. Member, constitutes a breach of the privileges of the House.

Mr. *Hume:* I never did it in my life.

The *Speaker:* I am arguing no new doctrine; but I am bound to express the sentiments I entertain, and, most honestly believing that the hon. Member has acted from a misconception of the privileges of this House, to tell him that every step he avows himself to have taken, has been in him a breach of the privileges of this House. The accuracy of the statement has nothing to do with the question. The privilege of the House is, that what passes in the debates of the House shall not be circulated amongst the public It is not necessary for me to point out to the House, or to the hon. Member, how extremely futile such a rule would be, if every Member could, of his own free will, put it aside; but I will tell the hon. Member, that either he or I am completely ignorant of the privileges of this House—he, in supposing himself justified in giving to the public any speech made in the House, or I in presuming such conduct to be a gross breach of privilege.

Lord *Althorp* said, that every hon. Gentleman who was acquainted with the privileges of the House, must concur in what had fallen from the Chair. It undoubtedly was a breach of privilege to publish the debates, and whether that publication took place through the means of any hon. Member, or of any other person, made no difference in the matter. He (Lord Althorp) was rather surprised that his hon. friend had made the observations which he did. If his hon. friend would refer to any hon. Gentleman acquainted with the privileges of Parliament, he would find that it was clearly and distinctly a breach of those privileges to publish any of their debates. He submitted to the hon. Gentleman who had made the Motion, that having fully attained his object in clearing himself from any misrepresentation which might have gone abroad of his sentiments, he should not persevere further on this occasion. He did not think that any further step which the hon. Gentleman could take would have the effect of more completely asserting the privileges of that House; and he did not suppose that the hon. Member in question contemplated any thing like strictly enforcing the privileges of that House against the publication of the debates. They had only to look back to the history of the last half century, to see how the practical enforcement of those privileges had been departed from. About half a century ago, it was considered a breach of privilege to publish the names of any Members who spoke in that House; but, nevertheless, fictitious names were resorted to, and the debates were given at length. He was sure that in the state of the public mind at present, it would be a vain attempt on the part of any man to enforce generally the privileges of that House against the publication of the debates. He now came to the question immediately before them. The printer of a newspaper obviously would do his utmost to procure all the information he could, and communicate it to the public, and in this case the editor of the paper in question had evidently made use of the best means in his power to obtain information. He stated that circumstance, in order to shew that the breach of privilege in this instance, as far as the newspaper was concerned, was not a more aggravated one than that which was committed every day in the usual way. The case was so clear a breach of privilege, that if the hon. Member persevered in his Motion, he must vote for it; but he did hope the hon. Member would see that such a course was not desirable, and that he would accordingly abandon his Motion.

Colonel *Davies* thought, that the breach of privilege had not been committed by the editor of *The Times*, but by the hon. member for Middlesex. But then that breach of privilege was one which they were all liable to commit, if the privilege was enforced strictly according to its letter; for any Member who communicated verbally to a stranger what had occurred in that

House, was guilty of a breach of privilege —he was guilty of a publication, if he spoke of their proceedings at his club, or in any other place. Now, the hon. member for Middlesex had done this, and the person who got the statement from him, might, as it seemed to him (Colonel Davies), publish it, without any breach of the privileges of that House. If the editor of *The Times* was guilty, others were equally so; and every editor of every paper in which the report appeared, ought to be called before the House. What would the hon. Gentleman gain by persevering in his Motion? Several attempts of the same sort had been made before now, and the House always got the worst of it. The attempt to insist on the privilege was contrary to the sense of the public; aye, and to the sense of every Member of that House; and he hoped, that as the hon. Gentleman had done what he considered to be his duty, in bringing this matter before the House, he would be satisfied and would proceed no further.

Mr. *Cresset Pelham* said, that it was for the credit of the House that the hon. Member brought forward his Motion, and upon that ground the House ought to support it. He thought it was a tenable Motion, both as regarded his character and the character of the House. He should be ashamed of himself if he did not offer his humble support in favour of the Motion of the hon. Member. Coupled with that Motion a question had arisen about the exercise of this privilege of excluding strangers. The noble Lord had referred to the middle of the last century, and had said that up to that time the names of the speakers were not given, but he would tell the noble Lord that that power was exercised in the middle of the preceding century. It was exercised at the time that Lord Strafford was brought to the bar.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, that the least doubt could not exist in the mind of any hon. Member of the House whether or not the Speaker had correctly laid down the law of the House. Independent of such high authority, it was not to be denied that there was no more distinct breach of privilege than the publication of anything that occurred in the House. But could there be anything so ludicrous as the variance between the privilege and the practice? The privilege was, that it was criminal to publish anything whatsoever that took place within the walls—the practice was to publish as much as possible; and he remembered to have heard more than one hon. Member complain that the privilege was not sufficiently broken in his own case, by the reporters having given him too short a speech in the newspapers. The privilege, however, as it existed, was one without the breach of which the people of England would not be contented, if they were now content to the extent it went; and it certainly was one which, if rigidly enforced, there was not a village or hamlet in the country that would not strongly protest against its continuance. Even at the moment he was speaking, it was possible there might be strangers listening to their debate, which, of course, ought not to be the case; these strangers might, too, give to the public what occurred; and he then asked, could there be a greater absurdity than the variance between the privilege and practice? If, then, there was any occasion upon which this privilege might be waved, or one on which it might be, with a degree of impunity, broken, it was when religious dissertations were the subject of debate. The Members of that House differed, very many of them widely, in their religious tenets; and if religious discussions were once permitted, there was no reason why —and it would be almost impossible to prevent that consequence — the House should not at length be engaged in religious controversy. Nobody could doubt the religious sincerity of the hon. Member who had brought forward the present Motion, at least he (Mr. O'Connell) could not, favoured as he had been by hearing his dissertation the other night; but if the same Motion had been brought forward by any other man not equally well known, would it not have sounded like, and would not the world have believed it to be, fanaticism? He must, in any case, protest against any hon. Member assuming to be the bearer of a special mission to dictate ordinances of a religious kind, and he denied the authority of any individual for such a purpose. If the House were to allow theological discussions, was there any knowing where it would end, and might not some person rise up, on some other occasion, and perhaps astound them with a dissertation in the unknown tongue? He was only one Member of the House, but his humble opinion was, that if they once allowed the barrier between political and theological discussion to be broken down, there could no stop be put to the results that must inevitably follow; and he was therefore of opinion, that if ever an occasion had occurred where a breach of privilege was allowable, the present was that case; for if it was permitted that other subjects should go forth through the newspapers, why should not the country be informed on this head? The hon. Gentleman who made the Motion was decidedly free from anything like a tincture of vindictiveness, nor was he suspected by any one of a motive of that kind in having brought forward his Motion. This was a great benefit; for a religious zeal and vindictive spirit were, unfortunately, too often allied. Let the hon. Gentleman then consider this, and not to give a handle to any one to accuse him of a vindictive spirit; and the best mode by which he could avoid that, was by withdrawing his Motion. Besides, if the object were good, the execution was the only thing complained of. The accuracy of the report, as far as it went, was fair. It certainly did not give all the hon. Gentleman had said during the hour and a half which the House had had the pleasure of hearing him. He trusted, however, the hon. Gentleman would withdraw his Motion, and if he did not, he (Mr. O'Connell) would move the previous question.

Lord *Milton* had heard with regret what had fallen from the hon. and learned member for Kerry with respect to the privileges of that House. He (Lord Milton) knew that the publication of the debates of the House were so ordinary a thing, and afforded such gratification to the curiosity of the people as to their proceedings, and the feelings of the people as to the conduct of their Representatives, that he should be sorry that it were taken away. However, the privilege of the House was not of that slight importance that the hon. member for Kerry would wish to represent it. It was essential, for instance, that the Representatives of the people should speak their sentiments free from fear or from influence, and he would ask, whether the object of freedom of debate was not attained more effectually while they retained within themselves the power of excluding strangers, than if that privilege were to be put an end to? He would ask, whether there might not be occasions when, not for the purposes of individuals, but to secure "*ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*," it would be as well that they should have the power of keeping their debates within themselves? He remembered, when a very young Member of the House, it having once been proposed that the sense of the House should be taken as to the order for the withdrawal of strangers; it had not succeeded, nor could he agree to any such principle, as he thought the mere notice of the presence of strangers should be enough to exclude them. But, whatever discussion might arise upon this point, he should say, with reference to what had fallen from the hon. member for Middlesex, that it was at least important while the order was in force, that there should not be any reporter within the walls of the House. They might have occasion to exclude strangers for the benefit of the people themselves. It might be desirable, upon particular occasions, that what was said in that House should not find its way into palaces, any more than into hamlets, and it was as much against the Crown as against the people, that he desired to retain the privilege, and to enforce it, if necessary, for the preservation of the liberties of the people. He could contemplate a case in which it might be necessary for the independence of Parliament, that none should betray to the executive what took place within those walls. He did not say this as applying to his noble friends who composed the Government at present, but he urged it as a general principle in favour of their maintaining the privilege, which he was ready to allow ought to sit loosely upon them. Above all they must not permit an individual among themselves to communicate to others what they desired should not be made known.

Mr. *O'Connell* begged to ask, whether, after what had occurred, it was necessary to take any further steps in order to have sufficient proof of the breach of privilege by the printer?

The *Speaker* said, there were no further steps necessary on this occasion, because the breach of privilege did not rest on the correctness or incorrectness of the report. The breach of privilege consisted in the publication of what had taken place in the House. The paper was in their hands, and being laid upon the Table, was a sufficient proof of the breach of the privilege of the House.

Mr. *Robinson* said, that the simple question was, whether the hon. member for Tiverton had made out a sufficient ground for the House, on that occasion, to exercise its privilege? If he did not misunderstand the hon. Gentleman, he did not so much complain of the publication of his speech, as that it was not a correct report of what he said. Now, he confessed that it seemed rather an extraordinary thing for the hon. Member to complain of the incorrectness of the report of his speech, when that incorrectness arose out of the course which he had taken to exclude the usual persons through whom the proceedings of the House were made known to the public. Under such circumstances, he should vote against the proposition which the hon. Member had submitted to the House. He did not think that sufficient ground had been made out to warrant it.

Mr. *Warburton* had not been present at the commencement of the debate, or he should before have declared, that he could not allow his hon. friend, the member for Middlesex, to bear the whole responsibility which belonged to him as a reporter. He had no hesitation in avowing that he also had taken notes of what had passed, and had endeavoured all in his power to give an accurate account of it. He had also given that account to a reporter. He was well aware that the giving any account of what had passed in that House was a breach of privilege, but he never was aware, and had still to learn, that notes taken by a Member was more exclusively a breach of privilege than those notes taken and published every day. As to what had fallen from the noble Lord (Lord Milton) relative to Members not placing themselves in opposition to the rules of the House, he should only observe, that no Member, as the orders now stood, had an opportunity of gainsaying any one amongst them who should take notice that there were strangers present. As to the discretion of Members, and whether they exercised that discretion with prudence, that must depend upon the peculiar circumstances of every individual case. His opinion was, that in what he and his hon. friend (Mr. Hume) had done in taking these notes, they had exercised a sound discretion; for he was convinced it was desirable that the people should know what occurred upon that as well as upon every other occasion in the House. However, it was yet to be decided, that, for a Member to take notes, and send them to a reporter, was a more particular breach of privilege than the ordinary communication of these debates that occurred every day.

Mr. *James E. Gordon* rose to give his opinion on a subject on which every one might form his judgment; but what had occurred in the House looked to him like a confederacy against those who would address themselves to it upon topics vitally interesting to the English people. The hon. member for Kerry had given it as his opinion, that religious topics should be excluded, as leading to controversy; but that, in his view, was only a reason for excluding from the House some Members whose opinions were likely to afford grounds for controversy. Yes, in spite of the latitudinarian spirit prevalent, he would say, that the Constitution of England stood upon the sole ground of the Protestant Bible [*a laugh*]. Gentlemen might laugh, but he had yet to learn that this opinion of his was contrary to the sound constitutional principle of the country. He should not advert to the influences of the unknown tongues, spoken of by the hon. member for Kerry, further than to caution that hon. and learned Member that language of this kind did not come well from persons of a persuasion which was remarkable for always speaking in unknown tongues. He would certainly support the Motion if the House went to a division on it.

Lord *John Russell* thought, that the Motion of the hon. member for Tiverton, to have the printer of the publication brought up to the Bar of the House, was rendered unnecessary by the avowals which had been made by the hon. members for Middlesex and Bridport. After what had been stated by those hon. Gentlemen, the hon. Member must feel that his Motion was totally unnecessary. Let the House then consider what the statement of the hon. members for Middlesex and Bridport amounted to. The hon. member for Middlesex had informed the House not only that he considered it no breach of privilege to furnish the publications of the day with reports of what passed in the House when strangers were excluded, but that he would persevere in that course if the hon. member for Tiverton should again move for their exclusion. The hon. member for Bridport added to that, that there was not, in his opinion, any greater irregularity in the course which he had adopted than in the usual manner in which the debates were published. He (Lord John Russell) confessed that there appeared to him to be a very great difference. The publication of their debates in the ordinary manner was, he thought, useful and advantageous to the public, and therefore, although a breach of the privileges of the House, was, on most occasions, very properly connived at; but, at the same time, he considered it advantageous that they should have the power of excluding strangers, and of being able to reserve the debates of the House for the ears of its Members only. The hon. member for Tiverton had thought proper to exercise that privilege, and in doing so, had stated his reasons properly and clearly. It was, therefore, of importance, so long as the privilege was preserved, and so long as the House allowed publication by connivance generally, that in particular cases, like that under discussion, this privilege should not be infringed upon; and he trusted that his hon. friend, the member for Middlesex, would see, that it was not proper for him again to pursue such a course as that he had followed on this occasion. Upon this understanding he trusted that the hon. Gentleman who brought forward this Motion would not feel it necessary to go any further, or call the printer and others to the Bar, who were no more than the instruments of some Members of the House.

Sir *Robert Peel* spoke under the disadvantage of not having heard the earlier part of the debate; but he believed that the motion, and the only motion, before the House was, that the printer of the publication alluded to should be called to the Bar. He felt great difficulty, and he was sure his hon. friend must also feel great difficulty, in assenting to that proposition, because, since the motion was made, two hon. Members had admitted, that they were the authors of the report. Under any circumstances, to visit the printer, who was only a subordinate agent in giving publicity to a report, with the censure of the House, was painful; but it would be infinitely more so after the principal agents had avowed themselves. Those agents were Members of the House, who, whether right or wrong, declared that they had acted under the impression that they were justified in what they did. That being the case, with what justice could the House proceed against the printer, who had been misled by two of the Members of the body whose privileges he had invaded? He trusted, then, that the hon. Member for Tiverton would withdraw his motion. The fact of the report being correct or not, or of the hon. Members having given it as perfect as in their power, had nothing to do with the breach of privilege, and he trusted that the hon. member for Middlesex would bow to the decision of the Chair. With respect to the hon. member for Bridport, who had said that he was not aware of his committing a breach of privilege—

Mr. *Warburton:* not any greater breach than was committed on ordinary occasions.

Sir *Robert Peel:* it was difficult to compare degrees of breaches of privilege, but it was impossible to deny, that this was a breach committed under aggravated circumstances, and having been committed by an hon. Member of the House, it was the more objectionable. Hon. Gentlemen could reserve to themselves the right of moving for an alteration of the law, but he doubted not but that they would yield obedience to the law as it stood.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* could not consent to call the printer of the newspaper to the Bar when two hon. Members had admitted that they were the authors of the breach of privilege complained of. The publication of any speech, when strangers were excluded, was a gross breach of privilege, but it became ten times worse when it was committed by Members of the House. The hon. Members were no doubt in error, and he trusted they would admit they were.

Mr. *Hunt* had no reason to complain of the alleged breach of privilege. He had never been better reported in his life. There was no misrepresentation of what he had said. Had the privilege of the House been put in force every night during the debates on the Reform question, he believed that the public would have been much better informed with respect to what had been said on that subject than they could possibly be by reading what was published by the reporters in the gallery. He agreed with those who thought that the hon. member for Tiverton ought to withdraw his Motion, after the open avowal of the hon. members for Middlesex and Bridport.

Mr. *Hume* had previously risen to avow himself the agent through whom the public had been informed of what had passed, for the purpose of leaving it to the hon. Gentleman whether it would be right to proceed against the printer, for whom he (Mr. Hume) was ready to be answerable. The Speaker having laid down the law on the subject, it would be his duty, on another occasion, to take the sense of the House as to how that law was to be limited; for, as it appeared to stand at present, a Member was prevented from giving a note of any single thing that passed in the House, and, therefore, it would be a very difficult thing to avoid a breach of privilege. If any one wished that the proceedings of the House should be secret, he was not the man; but, of course, he felt bound in common with every other Member, after the Speaker had stated what the rules of the House were, to accommodate himself to those rules. When he had violated (since it now seemed that it was a violation) the rules of the House, it had not by any means been intentional on his part, for he certainly at that time was not aware that to publish the notes of a speech made within those walls was more criminal in a Member of Parliament than in a reporter.

Mr. *Warburton:* after what has fallen from you, Sir, as to the law upon the subject, I shall not venture to deny, that this is a breach of privilege; but what I meant to say when I formerly addressed the House was, that I imagined that it was as much within the right of a Member of Parliament as of any other person, to put forth the debates that take place in this House. If, indeed, the Member who moved for the exclusion of strangers had taken the sense of the House upon that question, instead of having it granted to him as a matter of course, I should then say that it would be culpable in a Member to give publicity to what occurred, in defiance of the resolution of the House. But when it is in the power of any individual Member, on his own opinion, to take from the other party the opportunity of recording his sentiments before the face of the public, I do not think that, in principle, it is more culpable for a Member to give a report of the proceedings than for any other person. I beg further to say, that I should not have done it, had it not been told me in the lobby by a very old Member of the House, that one of the very best speeches he had ever heard, had been reported by a Member under similar circumstances; and indeed, I remember, that strangers being excluded when Earl Moira made his famous speech during Mr. Pitt's Administration, I read a report of that speech, notes of it no doubt having been furnished by some of the Members of this House. If, however, it is to be understood that to furnish notes under similar circumstances is to be considered as a breach of honour, I shall at once feel bound to subscribe to the rule.

Mr. *Perceval:* the hon. Member for Bridport has admitted, that if I had made a motion for clearing the gallery, and had succeeded in carrying that motion, it would then have been a breach of privilege to publish what took place. But I beg to remind the hon. Gentleman, that the House, at the commencement of every Session, makes a standing order for the exclusion of strangers in such terms that it is in the power of any individual Member to enforce it. Any violation, therefore, of the secrecy of debate, under such circumstances, is as much against the orders of the House, as if the question had been carried by a distinct motion on each particular occasion that the standing order is enforced. After the avowal that has this evening been made by the two hon. Gentlemen, I feel bound to consent not to press any motion for calling the printer to the Bar. I feel very grateful to the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, for the clearness with which they have laid down the value of this privilege of the House, as a security for the freedom of debate in this country, and the consequent necessity that there is, that that privilege should be preserved inviolate. With respect to what has fallen from the hon. and learned member for Kerry, who has expressed himself in his well-known tongue of sneer and irony, I shall not say a word. I, however, beg to say, that I claim no peculiar mission to speak to the House on any subject, but I do claim the common right of a Member of this House to speak on any subject that has reference to matters of common interest to the general well-being of this country. Another hon. Member has said, that the whole object of this motion was for the purpose of clearing my own character, inasmuch as it was attacked by the report that has appeared of my speech. If I know myself, I will not disavow that I feel gratified at having this opportunity of exposing the gross perversions of that report; but if it had not come within the defence of one of the most valuable privileges of this House, I would not have gone two feet out of my way for the sake of the whole report.

Under the circumstances which have come before the House since I made my Motion, I am willing to withdraw it. It might have been a question whether the conduct of the hon. member for Middlesex, and the hon. member for Bridport, ought not to have been noticed by the House; but, after the declaration of those hon. Gentlemen, that they are ready to bow to the decisions laid down by the Chair, and after the warning that this evening's discussion will afford to the printers and editors of newspapers, I feel that the object which I had in view will be as fully answered by letting the subject here drop, as by prosecuting it still further, especially as the hon. member for Middlesex has announced his intention of bringing the whole question before the House on a future occasion. I shall, however, feel it to be my duty, if a similar violation of the orders of this House should again take place, to call upon it to proceed against all parties who, after this notice, shall act in opposition to the feeling that has this evening been expressed.

Motion (by leave) withdrawn.

RIOTS AT NOTTINGHAM—SPECIAL COMMISSION.] Sir Francis Burdett presented a Petition from Nottingham, signed by 17,000 persons, praying the House of Commons to interfere to procure the respite of the men left for execution at Nottingham, under the Special Commission. He was, however, afraid that this petition had arrived too late to effect the purpose proposed.

Mr. *Hunt* feared that the fate of the unfortunate men was already decided; but if it were possible for the Ministers to relent, he would put it to them, whether blood enough had not already been spilt, and whether it was necessary that more lives should be forfeited? The poor deluded creatures mentioned in the petition had been worked to desperation by the atrocious instigation of the public Press; and he would ask, whether such unfortunate men as these ought to be made to expiate their crimes on the gallows, when those who egged them on were suffered to escape with impunity?

Mr. *EvelynDenison* said, the manner in which the petition had been presented to the House by the hon. Baronet, made it unnecessary for him to say much on the subject. The hon. Baronet had correctly stated that the petition had come too late before the House, but he might also have stated that the petition at any time would have assumed an inconvenient shape, for, strictly speaking, it had reference to a question in which that House could not properly interfere; and on this point he lamented that the opinion of the Attorney General, which, no doubt, would have had great weight with his constituents at Nottingham, had not been attended to at the time. It was adviseable that the different parties in the State should keep themselves within their own limits, and that there should be a distinct line drawn between the Crown, as the executive Government, and the legislative authority of the House of Commons. It was not on this point, however, that he wished to engage the time of the House; but as the petition was to be printed, and would, therefore, go forth to the country, he could not help expressing his regret that it contained allegations both untrue and incorrect, so that it was impossible for him (having been made acquainted with its contents through the courtesy of the hon. Baronet) to pass it over without a few observations. The petition alleged, that such short notice had been given of the Special Commission, that it had been impossible for the prisoners to prepare their defence, and that threats and privations had been resorted to by the Magistrates, to extort confessions. He would venture to state, from his knowledge of the Gentlemen who were thus referred to, that these statements were absolutely unfounded and incorrect. He might, however, have had some difficulty in making this assertion if the petition had not contained other allegations, to the effect, that in the court of justice, and in the very presence of the Judges, facilities had been refused to those who acted as intermediates between the prisoners and their legal advisers. The petition containing two such charges as these, he could not but regret that it had ever been presented; as its only effect could be to prevent that returning good will which, he trusted, would take place between the labouring classes and those who were set over them in authority in the country. He begged to state, that in what he had said, he was not merely pronouncing his own opinion; for the learned Gentleman (Mr. Hill) who had acted as counsel to most of the prisoners, had also been impressed with a feeling so different from that expressed in the petition, that at the close of the trials he had addressed the Court, and said, that in justice to the prisoners, who had been discharged, he begged to say how grateful he felt, on their part, for the leniency of those who had conducted the prosecution on the part of the Crown, and that he trusted that the example would not be lost on them, or on the population of the town of Nottingham, terms which he (Mr. Denison) thought were quite sufficient to contradict the allegations which were put forth in the petition.

Mr. *Lamb* merely rose on this melancholy occasion to state, what he did not doubt the House would be glad to hear, which was, that the Crown had thought proper to reprieve two of the unfortunate persons who had been ordered for execution at Nottingham—a fact which he trusted the House would receive in proof of the Government having given the fullest investigation to the whole bearings of the case.

Sir *Ronald Ferguson* felt himself called on to deny that any improper means had been resorted to by the Magistrates, or by those employed under them, either to extort confession, or to prevent the prisoners from preparing for trial. He had heard, however, that the Magistrates had been remiss in their duty, and that if proper steps had been taken, the mischief might have been avoided. He hoped that these occurrences would tend to attract the notice of the public to the severity of the criminal code, and the necessity of inflicting capital punishments on murderers alone.

Mr. *Denison* had not heard these charges before. At all events, if the gallant officer was inclined to attach credit to them, it was his duty to bring them forward, and prove them.

Sir *Ronald Ferguson* had heard the charges only as reports.

Mr. *Edmund Peel* said, he had no doubt that there were such reports abroad—a feeling of that kind, at all events, prevailed in the district.

THE GLOVE TRADE.] Mr. *Herries* presented a Petition from Ludlow against the importation of Foreign Gloves. He could not support the petition generally, as it prayed for the re-enactment of the prohibitory laws. But he was bound to assert, that the petitioners were most respectable persons, and he had no doubt they felt the distresses they complained of. Perhaps, however, it might be adviseable to afford the petitioners what they most ardently desired, and that was an opportunity of establishing their case before a Committee. If the Motion were for a Committee to inquire and report to the House, he should feel bound to oppose it, but if such Committee was limited to the receiving of evidence, and fully inquiring into the facts of the case, he should be inclined to give his assent to the proposition, because, under the present difficulties of trade, he thought it was of extreme importance that all the grievances complained of should be properly weighed, and that there should appear on the part of the House a disposition to attend to the case in that shape which the petitioners thought most advantageous to their own interests. With respect to the prohibitory laws themselves, if it could be shewn that there was room for any improvement by their being partially or wholly re-enacted, or that disadvantageous changes had taken place in the trade of the country since their repeal, he would be ready to join with those who thought they ought to retrace their steps. It was for these reasons that he was prepared to lend his assistance to the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry.

Lord *Althorp* would not say one word in reply to the right hon. Gentleman; he only rose to request the gallant officer (Colonel Davies) would postpone his Motion, in order that the House, with the least possible delay, might go into the Committee on the Reform Bill. He sincerely hoped that the friends of Reform would not press any motion that was not of the utmost urgency, otherwise the House could not go on with the Bill.

Colonel *Davies* regretted he could not comply with the request of the noble Lord. The question was one of great importance to a numerous population, who would be greatly dissatisfied if the House should refuse to spend a few hours in considering their distressed situation. He should endeavour, however, to be very short.

Mr. *Robinson* said, the noble Lord had only to agree to the Committee, and then there would be no cause for delaying the question of Reform.

Colonel *Davies* said, the best introduction which he could offer to the consideration of the House, on rising to state the unfortunate circumstances in which the glove trade was placed, and the means of altering them, was the petition which he held in his hand, which was signed by 2,000 of the clergy gentry and, other inhabitants of the first respectability of the city of Worcester, none of whom were in any way connected with the glove trade, a fact he could confidently assert, as the greatest care had been taken to exclude all those from signing it who might be supposed to have a personal interest or bias in the question. With respect to the glove trade itself, he could affirm that there was no branch of the manufactures of the country in a greater state of depression, and he was sure no branch had a stronger claim to the attention of Government. The gloves made in this country were no ephemeral production; these were connected with no speculative or delusive doctrines, and there was nothing in their manufacture of a temporary and transitory nature. In better days this manufacture had furnished employment to many thousand persons. He trusted the House would also bear in mind that in this manufacture there was nothing unwholesome, no confinement of children, to the destruction of their health, and the deterioration of their morals, no congregation of large numbers in extensive factories, by which they became liable to be influenced by the seductive arts of factious demagogues, whose trade was, to excite ignorant persons to outrage and sedition. So far from any of these evil effects being connected with the glove trade, the very contrary was the fact, and he would affirm, as a consequence, that the city of Worcester had for a series of years been one of the most orderly in the kingdom. From the peculiar manner in which the manufacturing of gloves was carried on, the wives and children of men employed in agriculture, or other out-of-door occupations, were allowed to take work home to their own cottages to complete, and when executed to return it to their employers. With all these favourable circumstances to recommend the trade to public consideration, it was now in such a wretched and depressed state that those who were accustomed to procure ample employment with moderate remuneration in the manufacture of gloves, were at the present moment nearly starving from want of work. But upon this point he would not have recourse to declamation, but put the House in possession of a series of facts which he apprehended would be found fully sufficient to fill up the picture, the melancholy outlines of which he had drawn. In order that the real state of the trade might be fully ascertained, a committee of individuals had been formed in Worcester, for the purpose of inquiring into the condition of the workmen employed in this manufacture: and the result of that investigation, on which every reliance might be placed, he had now the honour of introducing to the House. It appeared from the report of that Committee, that there were 120 masters in Worcester, each of whom formerly manufactured, on an average, about 100 dozen pair of gloves in the week; but at the present moment not more than one-third of that quantity was made; that, in consequence wages to the amount of 3000*l.* a-week had been taken out of circulation; that the Poor-rates, as compared with the Poor-rates in 1825, were as 4*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; that the weekly payments at the House of Industry, which in 1825 were 14*l.* are now upwards of 40*l.*; that in a tour of inspection through the town, undertaken by persons perfectly competent to the task, in which the condition of 1,000 workmen was taken indiscriminately, it was ascertained that 113 were in full employment, 465 employed partially (many of whom did not make half-a-crown a-week) and 422 altogether destitute of all employment whatever. He regretted to be obliged to add, that those persons had no less than 1748 children dependent on them for support. He need not inform the House, that as the glove-manufacturers had no machinery connected with their trade, they would at all times find it a matter of great difficulty to compete with the foreign article, even if the protecting duty which the law pretended to impose were fully enforced. The law said, that that duty should be thirty per cent.: and the late Mr. Huskisson, in his speech on the silk trade, stated, that the repeal of the prohibitory laws was proposed for the purpose of promoting a reciprocal feeling on the part of other governments, and with a view to put an end to smuggling. The result, promised by that right hon. Gentleman, he was sorry to say, had not been realized. When foreign gloves were altogether contraband and prohibited, they were liable to seizure wherever they were found; but now, if a smuggler was taken with a bale of them on his shoulder only a 100 yards from the beach they could not be seized; and, therefore, it was evident, that so long as smuggling existed at all, more gloves were admitted than the law tolerated or allowed. An instance, he was sorry say, had lately occurred with respect to smuggled silk, on which a penalty of 25,000*l.* was levied; and how then could it be said that other smuggling was not going on, of which Government had no knowledge? Who, likewise, had not read of the subterraneous passage discovered at Margate, which extended a considerable distance into the solid rock, and had been constructed for the purposes of smuggling? If those engaged in such undertakings could afford expenses like these, was it not clear that their profits must be in proportion? They had formerly heard described in glowing terms what France would do in imitation of the example England was setting. He fully remembered the effect which Mr. Huskisson's speech on that subject made in the House, and on no one did that speech make a greater impression than on himself; certainly he had hoped from its statements to see the nations of the Continent liberal in return for our liberality. But what was the fact? France actually prohibited some of our manufactures, and gloves were among the number. To shew the feeling which actuated the Government of that country, he would mention some facts: In 1825, our imports amounted to 1,835,000*l.*, and our exports to 279,000*l.*; in 1830, our imports were 2,328,000*l.*, and our exports (exclusive of colonial produce) 486,000*l.* So much for reciprocity on the part of France. But having shewn, that smuggling had not diminished, and that our exports had not increased, it might perhaps be alleged that, at all events, our revenue had improved under this system. But the very reverse was the case. Under the present system, the duty on foreign skins and on French gloves produced 20,000*l.*, while, under the former system, the duty on the foreign skins produced 63,000*l.*; so that it fully appeared that smuggling was carried on to a great extent; that there was no reciprocity, and a diminution of the revenue. But he might be told, that there could not be distress in the glove trade, because the number of foreign skins imported had increased. True, they had, but on what account? Because fashions had altered, and the thicker and coarser texture of the British skins were not now fashionable. The glovers, feeling this pressure upon them, naturally asked for a return to the former system. He, however, at present, limited his demand to merely inquiring what means could be devised for their relief; and he thought that if Government allowed a Committee to be appointed, means might be discovered to enforce that protection which the Legislature affected to give. The appointment of a Committee with this object in view, he had reason to know, would afford the glovers material satisfaction. But if it should be discovered by inquiry that nothing short of actual prohibition could save the trade from destruction, however opposed he was to the principle of restriction generally, yet he would infinitely prefer returning to the old system than be a party to consigning thousands to ruin. It was true, that free trade was admirable in theory, and it might even be so in practice, if we had not so long pursued the opposite system that it was next to impossible to extricate ourselves from it. When it was considered what individuals in this country had to pay in the shape of taxes and poor-rates, it was clear that, under any circumstances, it was almost impossible for us to compete with the manufacturers of the Continent. He should not press this matter so warmly on the attention of the House if the protection of this trade would occasion detriment to any other branch of the manufacturers of the country. But such was not the case; he defied any one to shew that there would be a single necessary article of life enhanced in value by affording due protection to the glove trade. The French glove was neither more nor less than a pure article of luxury, and the people of this country would be equally well clothed and fed if there was not such a thing as a French kid glove in existence. He was aware that it was laid down as a general maxim, that all men ought to buy where they can buy cheapest,—which might do very well in a primitive state of society; but he could shew to demonstration that the purchase of cheap French gloves was the dearest bargain England ever had. What with the loss to the revenue, and the increase of the poor-rates, which, taking all the glove districts, might be reckoned at 100*l.* a-week, the loss to the country amounted to 47,500*l.* a-year. From the returns, it appeared that the average importation during the last three years had amounted to 87,000 dozen pair of gloves, to which must be added the quantity smuggled, which, taken at half the number regularly imported would give a general total of 130,000 dozen pair. To compensate for the inferior cost of these gloves, there was 47,500*l.* for the additional amount of poor-rates and expenses consequent upon the new employment of the home producer. The real price of this cheap French article was to the country 7*s.* a dozen, in addition to the price paid by the purchaser. And what was the advantage for all this loss? Nothing more than that ladies and gentlemen of fashion might wear an article of delicate texture, while thousands of honest industrious people were starving. He was sure that if his fair countrywomen could see the scenes of distress which existed in these distressed districts, they would much rather administer relief than deck themselves in these articles of foreign luxury. But he might be told, that capital must be transferred from channels which were unproductive of profit. Human beings were not mere machines; they had wants and feelings; and a change of this sort was calculated to produce acute suffering, to a whole generation—they could not, if they would, become agriculturists or iron-workers in a moment; and even if they could, what branch of the manufacture of this country was in so flourishing a state as to receive and find them employment? All that he asked on the part of these distressed persons was, that the House would allow their case to be investigated; and supposing that the Government could not agree to what the Committee might recommend, what mischief would be done? It would, at least, be gratifying to those individuals to know, that the House had not turned a deaf ear to their complaints. This was not a question like the Currency or the Corn-laws, which would agitate the whole community; on the contrary, its object applied to very limited districts; and alteration, should any take place, would not, in any degree, be felt by the nation at large. In conclusion he begged leave to move, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the present distressed state of the glove trade."

Mr. *Robinson* seconded the motion.

Mr. *Poulett Thomson* said, it would be much more agreeable to the Ministers, if they could at once assent to the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member, than for him to be under the necessity of opposing it; but it was their duty to consider the subject in all its bearings, and ascertain whether the concession to the demand made, might not increase the very distress, the existence of which he did not dispute, and of which the petitioners complained, and thus defeat the object common to both the Government and the petitioner. So far as Government was concerned, he could assure his hon. and gallant friend that he entertained an earnest desire to relieve the distresses of the glove trade; and he would readily proceed in the course pointed out, were he not convinced that so proceeding could have no effect in remedying the evil. That must, he thought, be evident to all those who had heard his hon. and gallant friend's statement, for he had never heard such inconclusive premises as those on which he had built his argument. He did not think that his gallant friend had, in any way, succeeded in connecting the depression and distress of the glove manufacturers with the importation of French gloves. He would endeavour, as shortly as possible, to state the facts of the case to the House, as they really appeared; and he believed he should be able to produce such testimony as would satisfy hon. Members that the distress, which he deplored as deeply as his hon. and gallant friend, was not attributable to the importation of French gloves. He thought he could clearly show what was the cause of the distress. His hon. and gallant friend had maintained with him those principles of reciprocity which had been some time acted upon; but now his hon. and gallant friend thought he had made out a special case which called for a departure from those principles. As his hon. and gallant friend had mentioned the name of Mr. Huskisson in connection with the subject, he also begged leave to illustrate his view of the case by a remark taken from the speeches of that lamented gentleman, who had said, "that he had conversed with many persons connected with trade, for the purpose of gathering their opinions, and that he had universally found, that though they were in favour of free trade, they always made out a special case for excepting their own branch from its operation." His hon. friend was exactly in that situation, being willing to take advantage of the general benefit arising from free trade principles; but, at the same time, unwilling to make the sacrifice in his own case necessary to bring those principles into operation. His hon. and gallant friend had told the House, that if the duty which the law imposed, could be properly and fully levied, sufficient protection might, perhaps, be afforded to the glove trade of this country; and he had inferred, because there had been smuggling in silk by the house of Messrs. Leaf and Co., that there was also smuggling carried on in French gloves. That was a very illogical conclusion, and, he believed, it was contrary to the fact. He was convinced, that there had not been 100 dozen pair of gloves smuggled into the country. The duty on gloves was small, and the risk so great, that he did not apprehend smuggling was carried on in that article to the extent that his gallant friend imagined; valuable commodities of trifling bulk were the articles chiefly dealt in by smugglers; gloves did not partake of these characteristics, and they were liable to injuries from being secretly run. Another of his hon. and gallant friend's statements was, that, from these causes, employment had been diminished in this county, and distress increased; but if he could shew to the House, as he proposed to do, that there had been a large increase in the consumption of the raw material, and an additional number of persons employed in the manufacture, it would follow, that other circumstances than those mentioned by the hon. and gallant Member had created the distress which he must admit, did exist. In the calculations he should offer to the House to prove those positions, he should refer to papers on the Table, as well as to other information he had acquired. He had taken the importations of two periods of five years—viz., from the year 1820 to 1825 inclusive (the prohibition on French gloves having been removed, as the House would be pleased to bear in mind, in 1826), and from the year 1827 to 1831 inclusive. Now, the average number of foreign skins of each year imported in the former period, amounted to 2,632,000, and in the latter period, the number of skins imported amounted to 3,679,000, making an increase of 1,047,000. He thought he should be able to show that those skins were made almost exclusively into gloves, and unless there was some more expeditious mode of labour now different from what formerly existed—unless one man could now do as much work as two effected then, it was obvious there must be an increase of employment, and the distress complained of could not justly be traced to the source to which it was imputed. His hon. and gallant friend had alluded to a change of fashion, but that was not an argument which he could make use of with justice, in trying to shew the causes of the present distress; for the fact of beaver gloves having formerly been worn, and kid gloves being now worn (when it is well known that a gentleman wears out three pair of the latter for one pair of the former), only proved that the consumption, and consequently the employment, must have greatly increased. But in order to put the House in full possession of the whole bearings of the subject, he would state the general result of the actual number of gloves manufactured during the two distinct periods to which he had already adverted. It appeared, then, that the general comsumption of gloves, made from both English and foreign skins, had increased. This was clearly established by the returns on the Table. Between 1820 and 1825, there were, upon an average, 395,000 dozen pairs of gloves made from foreign, and 203,000 dozen pairs from English skins every year, making a total of 598,000 dozen pair. But by the average of the five years ending in 1831, it appeared that there had been manufactured from foreign skins 552,000 dozen pair, and from British skins 240,000 dozen pair, per year, the total average being 792,000 pairs. This gave an average of 194,000 pair more in the latter period than the former. From these statements it would appear that, so far from the distress being produced by the removal of the restrictions upon the importation of foreign gloves, there had been an actual increase of employment to the manufacturers of this country, equal to the increase exhibited during the latter five years, as compared with the former. He would not take Worcester as a fair illustration of the state of the glove trade, for other trades were carried on to a considerable extent in that city. Yeovil, however, was differently circumstanced, for it depended altogether upon the glove trade. He had caused inquiries to be made into the state of the manufactories in that place, and their present condition, compared with their former condition, supplied a complete answer to those who complained of the effect of removing prohibition. When the prohibition was first taken off, there were twenty-seven glove manufactories at Yeovil, and now there were no less than forty. The increase of the population in Yeovil had also been more than commensurate with the increase throughout the rest of the country. Since 1821 it had actually increased twenty-seven per cent., while the increase in Somersetshire generally was only thirteen per cent, and while the average increase of England was only sixteen per cent. The ratio of the increase of population was, therefore, clearly greater than the ratio of the increase of work which would of itself account for a great portion of the depressed state of that trade. Besides, if the evil were to be attributed to the removal of the prohibitory duties, how was it that the importation of foreign gloves had not increased within the period specified? It had scarcely increased at all. He found that in the year 1827, the quantity of gloves imported was 865,000 dozen pairs; in the year 1828, 1,189,000 dozen; in 1829, 837,000 dozen; in 1830, 1,066,000 dozen; and last year, 1,188,000 dozen, being about the same quantity as was imported in the year 1828. He was also of opinion, that the manufacturers of this country could not be undersold by those of France to any considerable extent. They both resorted to the same market for the raw material: the French went to Italy for silk, so did the English; the English bought their needles at Birmingham, so did the French; but, probably, in the making up of the finer sorts, the workmanship of the French was neater than ours; and, therefore, the importation of a limited quantity would continue until we could compete with our neighbours in the excellence of the manufacture. Indeed, he understood that the whole of the glove manufacturers agreed, that they could not make some fine work as well as the French; though in making strong gloves they were superior. He saw no reason in this admitted inferiority of our manufacturers as to one article, that they should be allowed to tax the whole community by prohibitory laws; on the contrary, he saw in it a strong reason why such laws ought not to exist; for he was convinced, that so long as the manufacturers had no competition to dread, they would make little or no improvement. Having shewn, he hoped, that the distress did not arise from a diminution of employment, or from an excessive increase in the importation of foreign gloves, he was bound, he thought, to state, according to his view, what was the cause of the distress. It arose, he believed, chiefly, as was well known to those who had attended to the matter, from the excessive importation of the raw material, and the consequent general depression of the price the article. He thought a great portion of the evil might be attributed to the excessive importation of skins which had taken place within the last year. In the year 1830 there had been imported 3,155,000 skins; but in the year 1831, there had been imported no less than 4,240,000, being an increase of one-fourth. The causes of this sudden increase, he would endeavour to explain. At the end of the year 1830, there was apparently a limited quantity of skins in the market, speculations were the consequence, and an immense importation was the ultimate result. Skins were brought from places from whence no skins ever came before—prices which were high in 1830, and even up to February, 1831, fell at once more than half. The article which was worth then 20*l.*, might be had now for 7*l.* 10*s.* The manufacturers who had taken large stocks, were obliged to work them up; they were compelled also to force a market, and prices fell; and they must either continue to manufacture at a loss, or cease to manufacture at all, until this superabundant stock could be got rid of. Having these heavy stocks, and being unable to dispose of them, they were obliged to limit their operations, and turn off many of their workmen. This was one cause of the existing distress; and for this, he feared, there was no remedy but time, until the superabundant stock in hand was reduced. There was another cause which ought not to be overlooked, as having a considerable share in producing this temporary depression in the glove trade—viz., the fashion which sprung up last year, and which still existed, of wearing what were called Berlin gloves. In one week, in Leicester, they had turned out as many as 50,000 pairs of those gloves, and there was no doubt that such a great consumption might, for the moment, have affected the sale of articles of a different description; but the necessity of equalizing the supply with the demand, afforded a sufficient reason for the existence of the distress of the glove trade. He wished to ask the hon. Member for Worcester, whether the trade of that place did not differ considerably at the beginning of the respective years 1830 and 1831? No doubt it did when the price of skins altered; and when the supply should become once more proportionate to the demand, he had no doubt that the distress would pass away; but till that was the case, employment must be deficient, and distress felt. He wished also to remark, that the export trade which this country had formerly possessed had decreased, because it was the fashion to patronise other gloves—because the Americans, who used to wear our beaver gloves now used kid gloves; and our export trade was not, in consequence, three-fourths of its former amount. All shewed, however, an increased consumption in this country, because, whatever was not exported had been consumed here. He had hitherto argued solely with reference to the distress complained of by the hon. and gallant Gentleman, and endeavoured to shew that it could not be fairly attributed to taking off the prohibition. But he was prepared to argue it on much wider grounds. Much as he should regret any diminution in the manufactures of this country, there must be some limit to prohibition; and having fixed that limit, the House would hardly be prepared to depart from it. The House would never say, "We will protect the manufactures of this country to just such an extent as will be likely to exclude any foreign commodity, and the moment a foreign commodity comes in, we will increase the protecting duty." Hon. Members should make up their minds whether they would or would not have a foreign trade. That such a country as this, which depends for its very existence almost on its foreign trade, should be alarmed at such a case as this, appeared to him quite unnecessary. Exporting in one year articles of the declared value of thirty-seven or thirty-eight millions, it was not for us to become alarmed when an article, the produce of other countries was brought here. Undoubtedly some protection ought to be afforded to our own manufactures, but ought not to extend beyond what is just and reasonable. A protection of thirty per cent was given to our gloves in the year 1826, and the importation then allowed had not, as he had already shewn, diminished our own manufacture. He believed that the present system operated beneficially; but even if it had not satisfied the expectations of its advocates, the House would depart from the principle it had already laid down, and would admit a most injurious system of policy, if—because a case was made out—which had not, however, been done in the present instance—that some manufactures suffered depression in consequence of the partial introduction of foreign manufactures, it were immediately to have recourse to prohibition. What could we ask from other countries—how could we expect any thing but a bad system from them, if we were constantly altering and changing our own mode of proceeding? Throughout Europe it had been said that we could not be in earnest—that we were only admitting articles in respect of which we did not fear the competition of other countries—that we knew our own superiority—and that we did not adopt the system because we were desirous of buying at as cheap a rate as we could, and wished other countries to do the same, but because we were conscious of our own superiority. If we were to give up our system, that would be to acknowledge that we had given up the doctrines of free trade, and we should destroy the well-founded hopes we may now entertain, that a better system will be adopted by other countries. There was in them a better spirit, and a better understanding with this country now than formerly. We did not ask them to take our goods, simply on the ground of their superiority; no, we were able to say, "look at your own restrictive system, and say whether it has not caused you much injury; and think, therefore, whether you had not better change it." That, he believed, they were now about doing. They were aware that they had acted absurdly towards themselves; but if we adopted a different system we must immediately give up all hopes of inducing them to adopt a system different from that of which hon. Gentlemen opposite so often complained. With regard to the Motion the hon. and gallant Gentleman justly admitted that the only result he could obtain by the appointment of a Committee would be, to reconsider the question. The inquiry which the Committee would have to make, would be, whether prohibition should be adopted, or whether the protecting duties should remain. Not conceiving it possible that the House would ever again consent to resort to prohibition, it would pursue a course most injurious in its effects to the persons the gallant Member represents, among others, if it were to consent to this inquiry, because it would induce those individuals to buoy themselves up with a delusive hope, which would prove most injurious to the trade in question. Assuring the hon. and gallant Gentleman, that he looked with much regret upon the distresses of the people, and no one could sympathize with them more strongly than he did, but at the same time considering that instead of good, injurious results would arise from the appointment of a Committee, he must, though with reluctance, give his vote against the motion.

Mr. *Robinson* contended, that it was impossible to ascertain in that House the correctness of the multifarious details set forth in such a mass of figures. The only means of arriving at the truth, or coming to a rational conclusion, was by means of a Select Committee. The fact of the distress prevailing in the glove trade had been admitted, and it was the duty of the House to grant inquiry, and endeavour to ascertain whether it was in the power of the Legislature to remedy the evil. The state of the country was miserable in every part, and was generally ascribed to our having a redundant population, compared with our means of employment, and yet the House was told, it was not a legitimate object to protect our own industry from foreign competition; unless the condition of the manufacturing population was improved, dreadful must be the results. The question of the glove trade was not important in itself only, it also involved the important question of the silk trade, and he might say, the principles of free trade itself; if this system of free trade was good, it was manifestly improper to establish it with respect to one article of manufacture and not to extend it to all—to corn, for example. But he doubted if even Ministers would attempt that—and if they did, they would assuredly be defeated by the landed interest, which had such weight in both Houses of Parliament. He denied that the distress was temporary—it had existed since 1826. As to the assertion that the native workman had not as yet received a sufficient stimulus to compete with the foreigner, he asked if it were not a sort of mockery to declare, that a man who was himself starving, and had a family in the same condition, had not received a sufficient sitmulus for exertion? Abstract principles onght not to be allowed to weigh against the distress of a large body of the people. Besides, the claim of the petitioners was not for prohibition, but for inquiry; and this, at least, the House of Commons ought not to deny them. The question to be decided was most important, because, although hon. Gentlemen might consider the glove trade itself of little consequence, yet if they refused inquiry into its state, the arguments which they themselves used in this question might be turned against them hereafter, and the decision of that night would be quoted as a precedent for refusing any applications that might afterwards be made. It might be true, that a change of fashion had partly caused the distress. The glove manufacturers of Worcester did not complain of the prosperity of those at Leicester, but they felt, that, burdened as they were, they ought to be protected against foreign competition. They were not prepared to hear that inquiry was to be refused, because it was possible false hopes might be excited which might end in disappointment; the condition of the country was gradually deteriorating; the poor-rates had increased 10*l.* per cent throughout the kingdom, and the revenue was falling off in the same proportion, and these effects could be distinctly traced to the free-trade system. But then, said the hon. Gentleman, we only want "time to bring things about, if we again resort to the prohibitory system, how can we expect the continental nations to abandon their restrictions?" He had no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman had preached such doctrines on the other side of the channel, but the French people were wedded to the old and rational system of protecting native industry. Every act of our cajolery had produced a contrary effect to that which was intended. He would never believe that there was any such change as that the right hon. Gentleman had boasted of, until he saw it displayed in some public act. America followed the example of France in protecting its own trade. All sorts of fictions had been brought forward to conceal the true state of the difficulties under which the whole population was suffering, to such an extent that it was painful to witness the general privation. This state had now continued for the last seven years, and was hourly increasing under the right hon. Gentleman's panacea of free trade; and yet all inquiry was refused. In addition to all other evils, a great stagnation had been consequent upon the agitation of the question of Reform, which had unsettled men's minds and habits, and the speedy arrangement of which was now looked to as calculated to improve the condition of the country. He trusted this would be the case, for he was an ardent friend to the measure; but a long course of vicious legislation would not be removed by one act, however beneficial. We had got into a wrong track, and the sooner we changed our course the better. The free trade, of which the right hon. Gentleman was enamoured, could only lead to the impoverishment of those who were already poor—the enriching of those who were already rich—and a positive separation between both classes. He must conclude by entreating the House to grant the inquiry prayed for.

Mr. *Attwood* protested against the right of a Minister of the Crown to come down to the House, and make use of documents which had not been previously placed in the hands of every Member. Those documents might be grossly incorrect, and no opportunity was afforded to the House to detect their errors. It was impossible that they could be detected at the moment, and in that assembly, and even to examine them required the calm consideration of the closet. The right hon. Gentleman admitted the existence of distress, but how did he account for it? The hon. and gallant member for Worcester stated, that only a small portion of the people of Worcester were employed; and what was the answer given by the right hon. Gentleman? The answer given by the right hon. Gentleman to the statement of the gallant Officer, was inconsistent with itself, and in no wise invalidated the arguments which had been urged for the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry. It only showed the determination which existed in the right hon. Gentleman's mind to support a particular theory, however absurd and pernicious that theory might be. The facts which had been stated by the gallant Officer were of such a nature, as in his opinion warranted, and indeed called upon, the House to agree to the Motion before it. They were met by statements that the manufacturers had mistaken their own business, and had supplied themselves with larger quantities of raw material than was necessary, and that they and their workpeople were suffering from the consequences of their own speculations. These remarks, however, allowing them their utmost force, were only assertions; and the true way, therefore, to ascertain their worth was, to subject them to the test of a Committee of Inquiry. The right hon. Gentleman had accused his hon. and gallant friend of illogical deductions, but surely nothing could be more illogical than the right hon. Gentleman's own conclusions, when he deduced from the fact of a larger importation of skins, that a greater number of gloves were made. Besides, common sense taught him to suppose that the great abundance of the raw material would only tend to the extension, not curtailment of employment. The argument then of the right hon. Gentleman was most illogical and extraordinary. The right hon. Gentleman declared against prohibition, and said, that the House had declared against prohibition, and that other countries would keep up their prohibitions, if we departed from our free trade system; but was there in all those statements any argument why the distress of the people should not be inquired into, and alleviated? The statement of the right hon. Gentleman was in direct contradiction to all those flourishing symptoms of prosperity he described. The country was not prosperous: and the right hon. Gentleman knew that trade was far from prosperous. If there were any one question which ought to be considered in preference to another—any one subject which ought to take precedence of the boasted Reform of the Constitution, in which Ministers were sedulously engaged—it was the dreadful state of distress in which the people were plunged. That had been rapidly increasing under the present system; and he certainly had entertained a ray of hope that the advocates of that system would have come forward, and fairly and candidly avowed that their experiments had not been successful, but had been productive of much distress. He had, he said, hoped for a moment that they would have come forward with the acknowledgment that their system had only added to the calamities which before existed; that even if their principles were correct, they adopted them at an inauspicious moment; and that, therefore, instead of proceeding step by step further into the existing gulf of wretchedness and ruin, they would give up their erroneous opinions, and would protect British trade, and encourage the employment of British capital. In these expectations, however, he had been disappointed: they still clung to their own opinions, they adhered to the experiment, for making which they had no justification; they still persevered in a system which had no precedent, and no imitators; and which had been rejected as mischievous by every commercial country, in Europe and America. In times like these, such was not a proper course. It should not be supposed that one measure would prove a panacea for every evil. At the hour of peril, when we saw ourselves surrounded on all sides by distress of the most dreadful and heart-rending description—when the stock of the farmer was destroyed in all parts of the country by midnight conflagrations — when the labourers and their wretched families were starving — when insurrection was walking by day, and incendiarism stealing forth by night—his Majesty's Ministers would deceive the House and themselves, if they succeeded in persuading both, that such a state of things would be remedied by the measure of Reform, which they spoke of as a panacea, and suffered to usurp the whole legislative functions of the Parliament. He called the attention of the advocates of the free-trade system to the statements which were made on its first introduction. It was then proposed as an experiment—nothing more; the House was told—"All we ask, all we desire is, that you will give the system a trial, and wait the result of the experiment." The experiment had been made — the trial had taken place — years had elapsed since — and all men were now competent to judge whether it had been followed by success or failure. When Mr. Huskisson introduced this system, he expressly stated that it was an experiment, and that its success was uncertain; and he was justified in saying that its introduction was accompanied by an implied pledge that it should be altered if it did not succeed. It was known that distress was now universal. The right hon. Gentleman said, that this branch of trade was not more distressed than other branches of trade. When the system of free trade was introduced it was said, that there would be a great increase in the revenue—that it would be in the power of Government to reduce taxation — that money would flow abundantly into the Treasury—and that foreign Powers, seeing its great success, would adopt a similar system. But America had taken another course, and look at the difference between her situation and the state of England. America adopted a different system, and let those who told the House with triumph to wait till next Session, look how that country had prospered—let them, too, compare the state of England under the government of our prohibiting ancestors with its situation under an enlightened Aministration. The American President stated, in his speech to the Congress, that in the one year after the adoption of the restrictive system, the revenue of the country amounted to double its expenditure; and he speaks of the flourishing state of the manufactures, the large amount of capital invested in them, and the prosperous condition of the country. Let any man compare this statement with the condition of this country, and say, if he could, that the system of free trade, accompanied, as it was by deep distress, should continue after the trial which it had had. The House was told, when it wished to impose a prohibition—"Your prohibition will be met by prohibition. Foreign governments will not be content with your protecting your own manufactures. If you persevere in this system, you will be excluded from all the ports of Europe." America had not been afraid to protect every branch of her own trade; the United States were not in a worse condition on that account; on the contrary, they were in as favourable a condition as any country on the face of the earth, and had as free access to the ports of other nations. He implored those who advocated these theories to look round on the condition of the country—to observe the great distress among all the productive classes—to see the stagnation in every branch of our trade, and to look with some alarm at the feelings of dissatisfaction now so prevalent among all classes. He would implore hon. Gentlemen to remember, that ruin and distress had been contemporaneous with the adoption of these theories of foreign trade. It was the bounden duty of his Majesty's Ministers to go into the consideration of the particular trade now under discussion, as a part of that system which, unhappily for the interests of this country, had been so popular; and he was convinced that, on investigation, it would appear that its decline, as well as the decline of many other branches of manufacture, had been owing to the adoption of free trade. He would challenge any man to point out any other reason why this country should not be in a state of prosperity. All the national distress was owing to the adoption of a number of absurd schemes and theories—following the advice of certain quacks, who promised to raise the country to the height of prosperity, instead of which, they had occasioned universal ruin and dismay. He would ask his Majesty's Ministers, whether they were ignorant that capital was diminishing in the hands of the manufacturer—that profits were decreasing—that the wages of labour were declining—and that, if effectual measures were not adopted to stop the progress of the evil, the whole character of the people of this country would be changed? Were the productive classes less industrious or less steady than formerly? Were capitalists less speculative, or was there less science and knowledge in the land? No one would be hardy enough to affirm such a proposition. Whence, then, the prevalence of distress in all parts of the country, and among all classes of the community? The House was bound to retrace its steps with respect to our commercial policy. By doing so, it might regain the confidence of the nation, which it had lost by pursuing a course which had been so detrimental. The manufacturing classes were looking with great anxiety to the result of to-night's debate, and he felt satisfied that unless the Motion of the gallant member for Worcester was agreed to, the labouring classes would feel that they had nothing to expect from the House or the Government. It was of the last consequence to secure the confidence and attachment of the people; and that could only be done by ensuring the industrious man an adequate reward for his labour. It was of the utmost consequence that an inquiry into the present state of trade should be gone into without delay, with a view to the adoption of some effectual plan for the relief of general distress. He was in hopes that some hon. Gentleman would have brought the whole question forward, and would have urged the House to devote itself to the investigation of the whole of the circumstances connected with the finances, — the currency — with agriculture, and with commerce, and manufactures, restoring, if possible, the country to the state in which it was before these pernicious theories were adopted. He was in hopes that some hon. Gentleman possessing weight and influence in the House, would have brought the whole question under consideration; but whatever reception the Motion might meet with, he should discharge his duty to the country, and endeavour to show that the new system had been detrimental to all classes. The question before the House, was a part only, and a very small part of the subject, but it was of the greatest importance to the general trade of the country that it should be inquired into; and he should not be acting justly towards the sufferers, or be doing his duty to his country, if he did not support the Motion of the hon. and gallant member for Worcester.

Colonel *Torrens* said, it was quite true, as had been stated by the hon. Member who had just sat down, that the profits of capital were low, and the wages of labour still lower; but he denied that the result was to be ascribed to the adoption of the principles of free trade. The hon. Member (Mr. Attwood), seemed to think that the manufactures of America were flourishing, because that country had adopted a restrictive system. In that proposition he could not concur. He believed that the restrictive system was more complete in England than in America [*no, no*]. At all events the different condition of the two countries was attributable to causes perfectly obvious, and which had no connection with the existence of a restrictive system in America. There were no Corn-laws in America, and the duties which the American government imposed on foreign manufactures were not so high as those imposed by the Government of this country. The chief cause of the vast difference between the two countries, however, was, that in America taxation was light, and land cheap. The causes of distress in this country were, in his opinion, heavy taxes and the Corn-laws, both of which operated in diminishing the profits of industry, and leaving labour without an adequate reward. Free trade had nothing whatever to do with producing distress, except, indeed, to alleviate that produced by the other causes he had assigned, and it was because the country had not free trade that distress was so generally felt. The absence of a free trade in corn raised the price of bread and all provisions. The Legislature of this country had commenced at the wrong end; and, in his opinion, much that had been done must be undone, before these kingdoms could arrive at a prosperous state. If the present system was persisted in, he was satisfied that the effect would be to drive the manufacturing capital out of the country, and greatly to diminish the rentals which the Corn-laws were intended to sustain.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* said, there was a time when the abstract arguments of philosophers, delivered in a few consecutive sentences, like those which had fallen from the hon. and gallant member for Ashburton (Colonel Torrens), had much more weight than they had at present. The time, however, was past when such arguments could be listened to by any practical man. He believed he could satisfy the House that the hon. and gallant Member's statements were founded on most erroneous views; but it would really be a waste of time to attempt to refute his arguments. The people of England knew that there was not a free trade, and in that he and the hon. and gallant Member agreed; but the people of England also knew that what was called free trade had been tried, and that it had completely failed. The hon. and gallant Member seemed to think that this country was less prosperous than America, because provisions were dear in consequence of the Corn-laws. It was a notorious fact, however, of which he begged to remind the hon. and gallant Member, that provisions were cheap now in this country compared with their price before the conclusion of the war—though they were dear now, as compared with the price in America. It was an undoubted fact, however, that, previous to 1815, provisions were dearer than at present, and that the country then paid nearly 30,000,000*l.* more in taxes than it now paid; and yet, though corn was dearer, and taxes higher, the country was then in a state of comparative prosperity. The financial operations relating to the currency he had no doubt had produced some effect; but still there was the question—which he wished the lovers of abstract economy to answer,—how it happened that when corn was much dearer, and taxes higher, the country was comparatively prosperous? As to the question more particularly under consideration—the state of the glove-trade—he confessed he had heard with great surprise that it was not the intention of Government to grant a Committee. The Government had removed the prohibition on the importation of foreign gloves, and imposed a fixed duty. The glove-trade was admitted to have fallen subsequent to that alteration into a state of unparalleled depression and distress. In the petitions presented to the House on this subject, it was alleged that, since the removal of the prohibition, enormous quantities of foreign gloves had been smuggled into the country, and had come into competition, paying none of that duty which was assigned for the protection of the home manufacturer, with him to his ruin. Under such circumstances, was it not fair to give the petitioners an opportunity to prove their case? This House of Commons, it was said, was to remedy the defects of all previous Houses—it was assembled to form a new Constitution for the country—it was an incorrupt and incorruptible House of Commons—and now that it was put on its trial before the country, on a question involving the deepest interest of the working classes, ought it not to prove itself the House of Commons it assumed to be, and was it not its duty to take the petitions of the people into consideration, and not to reject them unheard? To prove itself worthy of the great task it had undertaken, of forming a new Constitution, and remedying the defects of all former Houses of Commons, he contended that they were bound to enter into the inquiry now proposed; and, at all events, it was clearly their duty not to decide against the glove-makers without hearing their evidence. The people, he could assure them, were getting weary of mere promises and protestations. They wanted deeds; not mere words! They looked for a commencement of some of those benefits which had been so long promised them. Examine, therefore, he would say, before you decide; hear, before you determine.

Lord *Althorp* thought, that as the hon. member for Worcester (Mr. Robinson), had given notice that it was his intention to bring the question of free trade under discussion by a regular motion, at some future period in the Session, it would be more convenient to discuss it on such a motion, when all the details might be examined into, than upon an isolated question like that of the glove-trade. Taking this view of the subject, he should not think it necessary to follow the arguments of the hon. member for Boroughbridge (Mr. Attwood). It was very true that the manufactures of America were described as being in a very flourishing state in the speech of the President, but he had the authority of a Committee of Congress for saying, that the prosperity of the manufactures of America was independent of causes growing out of the restrictive system which had been adopted in that country. With respect to the question immediately under consideration, it was important to look fairly at the circumstances attending it, in order to decide whether it was at all probable that from the appointment of a Committee any legislative enactments would emanate which might be expected to remedy the evils complained of, and improve the condition of those engaged in this particular trade. If it was not probable that the appointment of a Committee would lead to such results, he believed he was only acting in accordance with the usual practice of the House when he refused to sanction the appointment of such a Committee. The House could not properly appoint a Committee from whose labours it had not been shewn that any advantage or good could be derived, but the mere appointment of which would tend to encourage delusive expectations. As to the statements relative to the quantity of smuggled gloves brought into this country, he believed they were greatly exaggerated. It was well known that a regular rate of insurance was fixed upon silks and other articles smuggled from foreign countries; but no such insurance was effected upon gloves, which proved that smuggling could not be carried on in that trade to any considerable extent. He admitted that the accounts from the Custom-house were not to be taken as conclusive on the quantity of foreign gloves imported, but he was perfectly satisfied that smuggling was not carried on in this trade to such an extent as could seriously injure the home trade. There was nothing therefore in the Revenue-laws to be altered from which any material benefit could be derived by the glove-trade. It was then to be examined whether the depressed state of that trade was owing to the removal of the prohibition, and the consequent importation of foreign gloves. Now he thought there could be little difficulty in coming to a decision on this question when it was remembered that since the change of the law, and the removal of the prohibition, there had been a great increase in the quantity of the raw material imported, which showed that the trade had not failed in consequence of removing the prohibition on the importation of foreign gloves. Without entering further into the arguments, he might be allowed to say, that he agreed entirely with his right hon. friend (Mr. Poulett Thomson) when he stated, in one word, that the distress in the glove-trade was to be ascribed to over-trading. The hon. member for Boroughbridge (Mr. Attwood) argued that it was absurd to say, that the importation of too large a quantity of raw material, by the merchant or manufacturer, had produced distress amongst the workmen. It was not to the importation of the raw material that his right hon. friend ascribed the distress. It was to the fact that the large quantity of raw material imported had been worked up, which in his (the Chancellor of the Exchequer's) mind sufficiently accounted for the former prosperity and present stagnation, and consequent distress of those engaged in the trade. Upon these grounds he considered that no case had been made out for a Committee; and such being the opinion of his Majesty's Government, in accordance with the custom of the House, they could not consent to appoint one. The distress in the glove-trade was not proved to have arisen from any legislative enactment. Since the removal of the prohibition there had been an importation of foreign gloves, he admitted, but not in that degree, which could be looked upon as ruinous to the home-trade. His view was, he thought, amply confirmed by the fact, that the importation of foreign gloves was accompanied by an increased importation of the raw material. That great distress existed amongst those engaged in the trade, he was sorry to be obliged to admit; but he did so explicitly, and it was the more necessary he should do so, because it had been charged against him, that on a former occasion he had stated that the glove-trade was in a state of prosperity. At the beginning of last year, when he made that statement, he understood that those engaged in the trade were at full work; and he did not think that his statement then was inconsistent with the admission which he now felt bound to make. He was of opinion, however, that when the large stock in hand was disposed of, the glove manufacture would flourish; and, at all events, he was satisfied that the distress depended on circumstances which no Committee of that House had any power over, and for that reason he should oppose its appointment.

Mr. *Baring* entirely concurred with the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in thinking that it was a mischievous delusion to appoint a Committee to inquire into distress, the causes of which were not under the control of the Legislature. When he (Mr. Baring) came down to the House, he was entirely disposed to concur with his Majesty's Government, that the distress of the glove trade was not a case calling for inquiry before a Committee; but he confessed that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Poulett Thomson) had awakened doubts in his mind on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman's speech suggested that there really was something to inquire into, which he (Mr. Baring) had not expected. His own views on this subject were very decided. He thought that, in the case of mere luxuries, made use of chiefly by the wealthy, we might properly pay something more, in order that the labour of our country should be consumed, rather than that of foreigners. This was the opinion he had always entertained as to the article of gloves, and other manufactures, such as ribands—which were merely luxuries. In the manufacture of this article forty per cent., perhaps, was expended on the raw material, and sixty per cent. on the labour, and it was far better, as he thought, that the consumer should pay four or five per cent more for the encouragement of the home producer. If the persons previously employed in this trade were not able to procure further employment, they would necessarily be thrown on the parish for support, and, therefore, on the strictest principles of political economy, it was better to pay four or five per cent. more to the home manufacturer, and keep him employed. This was the light in which he viewed this question, but it was a view always lost sight of by Gentlemen who came down to that House with scraps taken out of books of political economy, with which they endeavoured to smother the question. It was stated, that not only the interest of the labourer, but that of the consumer, must be attended to; and to that, as a general proposition, no one could dissent; but the question was, whether it was not consistent with sound policy, and even with the interest of the consumer, that he should pay something more for the article of luxury, in order to keep a large number of the working population in employment, and prevent the necessity of their coming on the parish for subsistence? The only difficulty which arose as to carrying this view of the question into effect, and the only modification which it admitted of was, that if the protection was too large, it brought the smuggler into operation. This was the late Mr. Huskisson's view of the question, who uniformly contended, that if the duty was above thirty per cent it would encourage smuggling, injuring the manufacturer and injuring the revenue. Upon that principle he should have objected to an increase of duty, but when the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Poulett Thomson) told the House that at the present day there was no smuggling in this article, why, then he considered it was worth while to see whether nine or ten per cent more might not be imposed, which perhaps, would be sufficient to protect the home manufacturer from foreign competition, at the same time that it would not operate as an encouragement to the smuggler to engage in extensive speculations. He did not say that an inquiry would lead to this result, but, after what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, it seemed worth considering. Some allusion had been made to America, particularly by the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Torrens), who was a great authority on all the abstract doctrines of political economy. The hon. and gallant Gentleman's observations on this occasion, seemed to him to be a sort of preparation for some motion which the hon. and gallant Member was about to submit hereafter, on the state of the Corn Laws. The hon. and gallant Member seemed desirous to take this opportunity of feeling his way on the Corn Law question by the observations which had fallen from him as to the relative prices of food and bread. No doubt the question of the Corn Laws was one of grave consideration, and one which, whether it was brought forward by the noble Lord, the member for Northamptonshire, or by the hon. and gallant Member, should have his best attention. The hon. and gallant Gentleman, however, seemed to think that one of the chief causes of depression in this country was the high price of labour, consequent upon the dearness of food and the amount of taxation. It was a singular circumstance, however—and one of which he was sorry to find it necessary to remind the hon. and gallant Member who was so great a theorist, that of all the civilized countries in the world America was the country in which the highest price was paid for labour. In the price of labour it was the highest; and as to bread, it was second amongst the civilized nations of the world. On the average, bread was dearer in America than in France, or any other civilized country, except England; and labour was thirty or forty per cent higher in America than in England. Every one knew that it was not the price of corn alone that influenced the price of labour, but that many other things contributed. He was also sorry to be under the necessity of differing from the hon. and gallant Member on another point—he meant the extent of the protection afforded by America to its manufactures. Within a very short period certain manufactures in America had advanced most rapidly, and were now, he believed, in a very flourishing state. He was satisfied, however, that not one shilling of capital would have been invested in the establishment of those manufactures, if it had not been for the system of protection which had been extended to them. It was felt, therefore, that protection was absolutely necessary for an infant manufacture, though it might be possible that in its maturity it could go on without protection. The manufactures of America had ample protection, though that country needed protective laws less, perhaps, than any other country in the world. There was ample room in that country for every body. The people of America might go back to the cultivation of land, even if they took all their manufactures from other countries, and by that pursuit alone they might enjoy abundance and prosperity. In no country in the world, therefore, was the system of protection less applicable; but yet in America it was deemed expedient to abandon the free system, and the result had proved the wisdom of the course adopted. As he was upon this subject, he would inform the noble Lord, that if Government did not look to the tax on raw cotton, there was great danger that America might beat Manchester in some branches of that trade. The tax on raw cotton amounted to fifteen per cent, and it operated as such an encouragement to the American manufacturer, that if it was continued, the principal trade of Lancashire might be endangered. He had been told that the Americans expected very soon to be able to send the coarser articles of cotton manufacture to Manchester, and to undersell the home manufacturer. If the House should come suddenly and precipitately to the adoption of any sweeping measures of change which would affect the price of agricultural produce, those measures would be the means of creating extensive and general mischief, for a time at least, whatever might be their ultimate result. The home markets would be injured to a degree of which hon. Members had no conception, by a sudden transition from one extreme to another. He admitted that if a Committee, after a thorough examination of the subject, should come to the conclusion that the distress which now prevailed was temporary in its nature, and should make a sensible report to that effect, it would be so far beneficial. He understood the feeling of manufacturers, not only in the glove trade, but also in the riband trade, to be, that a duty of forty or fifty per cent was no protection to them—that nothing short of an absolute prohibition could be of service to them. He thought that there could be no such thing as a total prohibition, for the smuggler would prevent it. If he thought that an additional ten per cent would be productive of satisfaction and advantage, he would support such a proposition.

Lord *Milton* said, he was obliged to his hon. friend opposite (Mr. Baring) for having overset the gloomy expectations and apprehensions which were entertained by some hon. Members; but in the few words, he proposed to address to the House, he should confine himself to what had been said by the hon. Baronet the member for Okehampton, who contrasted the distress now prevailing with that prosperity which had been felt in the latter years of the war. He thought the hon. Baronet had given too favourable an account of the state of the country at the time of the war. Did the hon. Baronet remember the distresses of 1808, consequent upon the order of Council, when a Committee of the House had set many weeks to inquire into the general state of manufacture. Again a singular inquiry took place in 1812, when the distress, accompanied by outrages, was very extensive. He would also appeal to another test to shew the fallacy of the hon. Baronet's remarks. There were more bankruptcies about the close of the war than there had been at any period since, except during the panic of 1825. The present state of the country was not at all to be compared to its condition at the period of the war, for although, as his hon. friend said, some branches of manufacture were in depressed circumstances, yet there was no ground for saying that the mercantile or manufacturing interests were generally distressed. He might refer to the woollen and cotton trades, in proof of the comparative prosperity which now prevailed in particular branches of trade. He was also obliged to his hon. friend for exposing the impolicy of imposing restrictions upon the importation of raw materials; and when these subjects came forward for more enlarged discussion, he hoped his hon. friend would recollect the opinions he had to-night expressed.

Mr. *Whitmore* said, that the appointment of a Committee would, in his judgment, tend to excite expectations which could not be realised. The present distress which unfortunately existed in the glove trade arose from temporary circumstances, and it was perhaps at this moment diminishing. He was certainly opposed to the principle of prohibition, which would prevent the growth and improvement of manufacture, and would produce great inconvenience and distress, both to the manufacturing and the agricultural classes. In all branches of industry there must, from the nature of things, be, from time to time, action and reaction. But whenever a season of distress arose in any pursuit, whether it was occasioned by changes of fashion, by some accidental stagnation, or by whatever other cause, there were always persons ready to attribute it to the operation of the free trade principle. There was one view of the case however, that had not been noticed; he alluded to the improvement all manufactures underwent from competition. The silk trade was one great proof of this, and he had little doubt but that the stimulus required to keep pace with our neighbours would induce the glove-makers so to improve their manufacture as to prevent them in a short period from fearing foreign rivalry.

Mr. *Morrison* said, he did not mean, at that late hour, to go into all the details upon which some hon. Gentlemen had entered. He merely wished to call the attention of the House to the question brought before it by his hon. and gallant friend below him. He could himself bear testimony to the distress which prevailed. Of that distress, unfortunately, there could be no question. But that was not now the subject for the consideration of the House. The mere question was, whether or not the distress was occasioned by the importation of French gloves? Upon this point he differed from the petitioners, and also from some of the opinions of his hon. and gallant friend, for he thought that the distress, not being caused by the admission of French gloves, could not be remedied by any change which the Legislature might make in the law on that subject. He had stated, on a former occasion, that the French and the English manufacturer purchased their raw materials at the same market, and for the same price. In France the price of labour, in that branch, instead of being less, was, he believed, somewhat more than in this country. Therefore, in this respect, the manufacturers of the two countries were placed in nearly equal circumstances, and it was impossible for the French manufacturer to undersell the English maker, after paying the duty of 4*s.* per dozen pair, which was the lowest scale, on the importation of that article. It appeared from the documents which had been referred to, that the importation of skins, since the alteration took place, had increased from 2,600,000 to 3,600,000—an increase of 40 per cent. There was only one branch of the glove trade in which the French manufacturer entered into competition with us, and it appeared that our proportion of the quantity produced was on the increase. It would be difficult to say that the cheapness of labour was the cause of the distress. On the contrary, he thought that the importation of articles of a superior description from France—and it was only such that were imported—rendered the use of what were called kid gloves more general, and at the same time improved the manufacture. If, then, the manufacture was increased, it could not have reduced the price of labour, or turned the workmen out of employment. But he was bound to explain what he conceived to be the cause of the distress. The manufacture of Worcester was formerly confined principally to what were called beaver gloves. People now very generally wore kid gloves, and thus diminished the consumption of the Worcester article. The consequence was, that the Worcester manufacturers had entered into competition with Yeovil in kid gloves. This, therefore, was not a competition between

France and England, but a competition between different parts of this country. And not only had the use of kid gloves increased, but the exportation of beaver gloves to America was very much diminished. If exact returns could be procured, he believed, they would show that the diminution of the exportation to America was equal to the importation of kid gloves from France. There was another cause to which he would allude—namely, the practice, which had become very general, of wearing gloves like those which he now had on—of white cotton. Perhaps he ought to apologize to his hon. friend for exhibiting those, but he should be equally bound to apologize to the hon. members for Nottingham and Leicester if he discontinued the use of them. It was well known that the discontinuing any ornament of the person would throw hundreds out of employment at the time. These cotton gloves had come very much into use, and must interfere materially with the manufacture of kid and beaver gloves. He knew it would be impossible to procure a satisfactory comparative return of the quantity of cotton gloves made formerly, and now, but he believed, if he stated the increase at 300,000 or 400,000 dozen pair, he should much underrate the quantity. Another reason to which he would advert was the high price of the raw material last year, which had checked speculation. There was still another circumstance which it was necessary to mention. There was a tendency to bad trade in many branches of industry. He did not wish to introduce any subject not connected with the question before the House, but he felt bound to state, that when the Reform Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords, the warehouses in London and the manufactories in the country were deserted. The division of last month had, however, caused an improvement. When he was in the city he had occasion to see many Gentlemen engaged in trade, and they said to him "Depend upon it, we shall have a good trade" always, assuming that the Reform Bill was sure to pass.

Mr. *Sadler* said, that while hon. Gentlemen were congratulating each other on the prosperity of the country, the prospects opened to the industrious classes of the community were very different; for while the House was cheering, the people were cheerless; In the present case, there were many conflicting statements submitted to the House, and the only mode, therefore, of arriving at the truth was to appoint a Committee to investigate the subject in detail. He should like to know where was the proof of the prosperity or the revival of trade which was so much boasted of, or that Leicester or Nottingham had received any benefit from the depression of the glove trade at Worcester? He had seen some persons from Nottingham within these few hours, who represented trade there as being in a most distressed and disastrous condition. It was easy to account for distress in the time of war—but now, at a time of profound peace, when a large amount of taxes had been remitted, in a country unrivalled for its resources and for the industry, skill, and ingenuity of its population, what was the occasion of the deplorable distress which pervaded both the manufacturing and the agricultural districts? To that distress was to be attributed the lamentable increase of crime which we had latterly witnessed. He feared that coming events would undeceive gentlemen as to the fancied prosperity of the country. He wished he might be a false prophet in this instance, but he had lately been very much amongst the industrious classes, and he had never before seen so much despondency and suffering as he had then witnessed. If something were not speedily done to ameliorate the condition of the working classes, he feared we were on the verge of a commotion, which would put an end at once and for ever to the wealth of England. It was not only the agricultural and the manufacturing classes that were affected; the monied interests were equally depressed; and he would undertake to say, that on the Royal Exchange there was not now one half the wealth that there was at the close of the war. He knew that many of the assertions in contradiction to the prayer of the petitioners were errors, and if a Committee was appointed he would undertake to shew that the smuggling of gloves had been carried on to a great extent, and he regretted to observe, that Government was ignorant of the transaction. By the course of policy we had pursued, our own labourers were supplanted in our own markets, and unless we retraced our steps, we should completely destroy our manufacturing prosperity. He could not hear all these assertions of the prosperity of the country without giving them the contradiction which his experience enabled him; and he implored the House to take the subject into its most serious consideration.

Mr. *Hume* rose to protest against the adoption of one or two fallacies which had been put forth by hon. Members who had preceded him in the expression of their sentiments upon this subject. The hon. member for Boroughbridge had contended, that a prohibitory system ought again to be enforced, and that it was entirely owing to the importation of foreign goods that the distress in the various branches of manufacture was to be attributed. If such doctrines were to be acted upon, in what condition would this country speedily find herself, when her power of production exceeded, in many branches of manufacture, her capability for consumption, no less than four fold? If restrictive measures were resorted to, other countries would retaliate. With regard to the United States, he was confident that country would soon abandon her extravagant tariff, and return to her former policy. The high wages of labour in that country, would continue so long as there was more work than the labourers could get through; but they were not raised, as had been advanced by the hon. Member for Thetford (Mr. Baring), by the protection afforded to native labour against foreign importation. The thriving condition of America was imputed to her having so much elbow-room wherein to spread her labour. One chief source of her prosperity might be found in the fact, that the whole expense of carrying on her government amounted to thirteen millions and a half of dollars, whilst that of England, exclusive of pensions, half-pay, and civil lists, was seventy-eight millions of dollars. With respect to the assertion that the glove trade was injured by the quantities of foreign gloves which were smuggled into this country, he was not disposed to pay the slightest attention to them; for he believed, and his belief was founded on an investigation of the fact, that there was not one single dozen pair of gloves smuggled into England in the way of trade. The expense and the risk attending that course were far from being repaid by the saving of the duty in the price of the gloves when sold here. The petitioners in this trade ascribed all their distress to the free importation of foreign gloves; and he was firmly of opinion that they were totally mistaken in their views; for that reason, as well as for many others, he thought the House ought to consent that a Committee be appointed, in order that its inquiries might dissipate the unfounded ideas relative to the French trade in gloves; for the manufacturers in France themselves allowed that they were totally unable to compete with the English glove-manufacturers in their own market. British gloves, too, were prohibited in France. To the prohibitory system, by whomsoever practised, he was decidedly opposed. He wished to see the ports of France open to our manufacturers, and ours open to her, for the benefit of all. Not a word had been mentioned during the whole of the debate of one party who was at least materially interested, he alluded to the consumer; and yet it was the imperative duty of the Legislature to watch over his interests, and enable him to purchase such commodities as he required upon the best and cheapest terms. Whenever a large class of persons applied to that House, he considered it right to attend to their request. Under all circumstances, therefore, he should feel it to be his duty to vote for the appointment of the Committee; and he felt exceedingly sorry to see that the members of Government did not consider it to be their duty to accede to the proposal; for, in his opinion, it was a better way to try to remove the complaints of the suffering people by investigating their sources, and by letting them see that the House was alive to their complaints, than by rejecting all inquiry, which only gave them reason to complain of an uncourteous refusal of their requests.

Mr. *Courtenay* was as sensible as any Gentleman could be of the impropriety of addressing the House at any length at such a late hour; and he would not detain the House many minutes. But conversant as he had been with the subject now before the House, he could not refrain from stating the grounds upon which he should oppose the Motion. He opposed the Motion upon the ground stated by the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for that was the ground of his opposition to a similar motion, when he had the honour of being connected with the Board of Trade. From that ground (viz. that there really existed no "competition" against which the protection demanded could be given) he could not depart. He could not agree to the appointment of a Committee without seeing his way out of the effect of such appointment; and without being convinced that some beneficial and practical result would be produced by it to the parties interested. Being satisfied, on the present occasion, that no good could result from this Committee, and that no proposition on this subject could now be acceded to by the House which would not tend to place the parties in a worse situation than that in which they stood, he could not vote for the Motion. That no good would result from such a Committee to this trade in particular, must be allowed even by the hon. member for Boroughbridge (Mr. Sadler) who admitted that all the particular details and arguments brought forward by the hon. and gallant member for Worcester had been demolished by the statement which the right hon. Gentleman, the Vice President of the Board of Trade, had made to the House. He thought that the speech of the hon. member for Ipswich (Mr. Morrison) shewed that the present distress of the leather-glove trade did not arise from foreign, but from home competition. Many powerful speeches had been made in favour of the proposition for a Committee, but they were chiefly devoted to discussions upon the question of free trade; and that was not the immediate question before the House; though he was glad to find that there was to be a full discussion on the merits of that system, upon the intended Motion of the hon. member for Worcester (Mr. Robinson). Nothing, however, had been said by any of the hon. Gentlemen who had enlarged on that topic tending to shew that any beneficial result would follow from the adoption of the present Motion. One word with respect to what had fallen from the hon. member for Thetford. The hon. Member thought it might be possible to give some increased protection to the glove trade by an additional duty. The argument against that plan was short. In point of fact, there was no competition against which the additional duty would operate as a protection. But the hon. Gentleman, in justifying that increased protection, would carry us further into the quesber of free trade than even the hon. memtion for Boroughbridge. He would give a greater amount of protecting duty to articles of luxury than to necessaries. Hitherto the system of free trade had been considered as a good system, provided its scope could be made to extend to every commodity and every branch of our foreign commerce.

Mr. *Hunt* said, that several petitions from Somersetshire had been presented that evening from the distressed glovers by an hon. Member, whom he was much surprised had not spoken on the Motion before the House. He had been requested to support the prayer of those petitions which demanded the prohibition of foreign gloves; but he could not make up his mind to support the petitions to that extent, not then having heard the arguments on the subject to which he had since so attentively listened, although he must confess that he did not see why the luxuries of life should be allowed to be freely imported, whilst one of the chief necessaries, corn, was prohibited by law. He had, as he said before, attentively listened to the arguments which had been used for and against the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the cause of, and to provide, if possible, a remedy for, the distress in the glove trade; and he must say that he had not heard a single reason on the part of the Members of Government why that Committee should not be granted. To some of the opinions which had been put forth in the course of the debate he was directly opposed. It had been said, that the cotton and woollen trades were comparatively well off. He was astonished at that assertion; there never was a period when the hand-loom weavers were in so depressed a state as at present. At all events he was decidedly of opinion, that the House had better grant the Committee, if it were only for the purpose of showing the manufacturers how much they were mistaken, than, by refusing to inquire into their distresses, to drive them altogether to desperation.

Mr. *Sanford* said, that he had given his opinions on this question on a previous occasion, and had nothing now to induce him to trespass upon the House, but he had been so pointedly alluded to, that he could not refrain from stating his reasons for having remained silent during the discussion on the Motion of the hon. member for Worcester. That Motion had been fully discussed by the gallant Member, and by the right hon. Gentleman, the Vice President of the Board of Trade; and the question then diverged so widely from the original subject into an enlarged view of the general principles of free trade, that, as a young and inexperienced Member of that House, he had deemed it more becoming in him to remain a listener than to offer his sentiments to them; and he, in consequence, had made up his mind to give a silent vote upon the Motion, a determination which, but for the marked manner in which he had been alluded to, he should have kept.

Colonel *Davies* said, he would address but very few words to the House in reply to the arguments which had been urged against his Motion. The persons who were suffering such severe distress from want of employment in the glove trade, attributed it to one sole cause, and had, through him, laid their case before the House, on which their only hope rested. It appeared that Ministers had determined to deprive the petitioners of this resource. He would not reply generally to the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman, the Vice-president of the Board of Trade, because they had been fully answered by several hon. Members who had addressed the House, but he must beg leave to address one or two remarks to him, and to the hon. member for Ipswich. Although it might appear like presumption for him to enter the lists with so great an authority as the latter, yet nevertheless, as the hon. Member had stated that the French could not make gloves cheaper than the people of this country, he felt bound to say that his information was directly contrary. He had been assured by persons who had carried on trade with them in these articles that they could completely undersell the English manufacturer. The wages of the French workmen were lower, from the superior cheapness of food, and they procured the raw material at an easier rate. With respect to the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, who had dealt so largely in figures, he must say to them he could not reply, as he had not time to assure himself of their being correct, but he must observe, that the right hon. Gentleman appeared to have obtained his information more from the factors than the manufacturers, to the former of whom it was a matter of comparative indifference whether the English or the French maker was in the most prosperous circumstances. On one point, however, the right hon. Gentleman was mistaken. He had said there were forty glove manufacturers in Yeovil, when the fact was, there were but thirty. Another argument he must notice; it was said the distress was temporary, but it had been in existence in 1826, and had continued getting worse ever since. In that year he had waited on the present Lord Goderich then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to represent the depressed state of the trade; his answer was, "The free-trade system is just established; let us see how the system will work." In 1832, this answer was repeated by the right hon. Gentleman. In conclusion, he must say, that he looked with great anxiety to the result of the decision on the Motion, for the distress of the glove-manufacturers was altogether unparalleled, and he should be sorry to see the hopes which they had formed, of obtaining some relief by the appointment of a Committee—disappointed. He should, therefore, persist in his original intention of pressing the House to a division.

The House divided,

Ayes 168; Noes 223.—Majority against the Motion, 55.

REFORM.] Lord *Althorp* observed, that he had not anticipated the debate on the glove trade would have lasted till so late an hour. He was, in consequence of the consumption of the whole of this evening on this discussion, obliged to announce that he should bring on the Reform Bill in Committee to-morrow. He moved that the Committee on the Reform of Parliament (England) Bill, be appointed for to-morrow.

Lord *Stormont* said, he must remonstrate upon the lateness of the hour at which the noble Lord had given this notice of his intention to depart from the understanding prevailing in the House as to the mode of proceeding on Wednesday. It would be very inconvenient to many who, at so short a notice, could not arrange to be in their places to-morrow evening.

Lord *Althorp* observed, this was the first opportunity he had had, in consequence of the continuance of the debate on the Motion of the hon. and gallant member for Worcester, of acquainting the House with his change of intention.

Mr. *Croker* said, he had taken it for granted, with all those who heard the arrangement announced by the noble Lord, that Wednesday was to be an open day, and now he regretted to find that the noble Lord was resolved to devote it to the Reform Bill. It was not his intention to offer any opposition of a factious or dilatory nature to the Bill, so as to impede its progress, though he should not compromise the hostility he felt to many of the provisions of the Bill. He hoped the noble Lord would not persevere in this infraction of the understood arrangement, but would be content to leave to-morrow an open day.

Lord *Milton* said, unless they devoted to-morrow to the Reform Bill, as Thursday would be taken up, no doubt, in a great degree, by the Motion of the hon. Baronet on Belgium, there would be only one other day of this week in which they could expect to make any progress with the Reform Bill in Committee.

Mr. *Hunt* said, the delay of to-night had been occasioned at any rate by a Reformer. The people must observe that the Bill was making but little progress.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* observed, his motion had been postponed to meet the convenience of the noble Lord the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Sir *Francis Burdett* rose to express a hope that the noble Lord would persevere in fixing Wednesday for the Committee on the Reform Bill. All unnecessary delay was to be avoided in a case of such urgency as this—a case in which the anxieties, the fears, and hopes, of so large a portion of the community were embarked. Already the most perplexing consequences to trade, manufactures, business, and, indeed, to commercial confidence generally throughout the country, had flowed from the procrastination of this question so unnecessarily. For himself he confessed that, although many important improvements had been suggested by the opposers of the Bill, yet he was persuaded it would, as respected the peace and quiet of society, and the revival of confidence, have been much better if the Reform Bill of last Session had been pressed through Parliament, with all its imperfections on its head, than have suffered it to drag on so heavily as it had of late. He strongly recommended his noble friend, therefore, not to suffer the measure to be postponed on any frivolous excuse or pretext. If he were firm, he would find that the House would support him in this desirable object.

The Order of the Day for going into Committee on the Reform Bill, was accordingly fixed for the next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, February 1, 1832.

MINUTES.] New Member sworn. The HON. DOUGLAS GORDON HALLYBURTON, for the County of Forfar.

New Writ moved for. For the City of Westminster, in the room of Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE, who had accepted the office of Secretary at War.

Bills. Committed; Limitation of Actions; Fines and Recoveries; Courtesy of England and Dower.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. RUTHVEN, of the Fees received by the Commissioners; the Emoluments and Sums received by the Secretary and the Clerk of Insolvents; and of all Sums paid for sealing Commissions in the Court of Bankruptcy, Dublin, during the last three years; of the number of Bankrupts and Insolvents, and of the Officers employed in the Insolvent Court for the same period:—On the Motion of Mr. KENNEDY, for Returns of the Revenue of Scotland during the last year with the Expenses of Collection.

Petitions presented. By Mr. BLAMIRE, from the Bankers, Freeholders, and others of Penrith, Cumberland, against the General Registration Bill; from the Landed Proprietors of the Neighbourhood of Penrith, and of the Hundreds of Louth, Esk, and Ladborough, Lincoln, with the same prayer:—By Mr. MACKINNON, from the Directors and Proprietors of the General Steam Navigation Company, and from the Directors and Proprietors of the Old Margate Steam Packet Company, against the Thames Steam Navigation Bill.

LABOUR OF CHILDREN IN FACTORIES.] Mr. *Sadler* said, he had the proud satisfaction of presenting a petition from ten thousand operatives of Leeds, chiefly employed in the factories, praying the House to adopt some means for limiting the duration of the labour of children employed in factories. The petitioners had practical experience of the evils which they sought to avert from the growing youth of this country, and the allegations contained in their petition were, therefore, entitled to considerable attention, upon the grounds of morality, humanity, and the general policy of the country. The petitioners appealed to the justice and mercy of that House, and he felt confident their prayer would not be disregarded, coming as it did from persons who witnessed the sufferings and cruelties practised upon the unhappy and miserable children, who were subjected to the most cursed system that ever disgraced humanity. The petitioners stated, that children were occupied in factories for twelve, fifteen, twenty and sometimes even thirty hours successively, in an overheated and moist atmosphere, and without any relaxation, but a scanty allowance of time for their meals. This was a vicious system in the extreme, and if the victims to it ever survived, it could only be with diminished health, and the utter absence of mental improvement. It was nothing that a few individuals might benefit by this system; for even though the nation benefited by it, that benefit should neither be sought nor continued against the paramount duties of religion and humanity.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* supported the prayer of the petitioners. It was, in his mind, altogether imperative on the

Legislature, in a moral point of view, to put an end to this system, which, as it now existed, destroyed, not only the bodies, but even the minds, of those children who were subjected to this extorted labour in manufactories. He tendered his best thanks to his hon. friend, for his intention to bring the matter before the House. He was sure it could not be in more able hands, than those of a man, who, like his hon. friend, was actuated by the purest motives of philanthropy, and, had a practical knowledge of the evils which he proposed to remedy.

Lord *Morpeth* said, he had been requested by his constituents to support the prayer of the petitioners, which he was happy in having an opportunity of doing. Great anxiety, he would assure the House, existed on the subject before them throughout the population of the great manufacturing districts, and he, therefore, trusted the question would be speedily taken up, and satisfactorily adjusted by the Legislature. To the performance of this great and humane duty they were called, not only by the petitioners, but by their duties as men and Christians.

Mr. *Hunt* said, it was unnecessary to make any request to him to support the prayer of this petition, for he had always lamented the practice, the horrible practice, which had so long prevailed in exacting undue and severe labour from the children in the manufacturing districts of this country. He thanked the hon. Member (Mr. Sadler) for having taken up the subject. He knew that in the town of Leeds, the people were devoted to him for his humane efforts in behalf of these poor friendless working children. He should always be most forward to give his best support to measures, which, like that contemplated by the petitioners, promoted the cause of humanity.

Mr. *Strickland* said, the Legislature was peremptorily bound to interfere for the protection of the unhappy objects whose case was now before them, and that speedily. The feeling and excitement prevailing against the injustice and cruelty of the present system, were so very general in the manufacturing districts, that, he trusted, Ministers would support the measure about to be introduced by the hon. member for Aldborough, to abate the evils complained of. The business transacted by children in those factories, was not in itself unwholesome, it was the extraordinary length of time they were employed in this sort of labour that proved so highly injurious to their constitutions. If this were abridged, the improvement, both in the health and morals of the children, would be very considerable; and all considerations of the impolicy of interfering between masters and servants, must give way to the necessity of protecting these helpless objects, who had no other protectors than the Legislature.

Sir *Edward Sugden*, felt it was highly necessary that the hours of labour should be limited. He was convinced that nothing would more essentially operate towards the improvement of a good understanding between the labouring classes in these factories and their employers than this manifestation, on the part of the upper class in these districts, of good feeling and kindness towards the lower or labouring order of people. They, as legislators, were certainly bound to provide for the preservation of the health and the prosperity of infants engaged in laborious occupations. They ought to take care that neither the minds nor the bodies of children were too much oppressed.

Mr. *Morison* observed, that the cotton manufacturers generally paid the utmost attention to the interests and welfare of the young persons employed by them in the manufactories throughout that part of the United Kingdom with which he was particularly connected. There were, he firmly believed, no children under the age of ten years, employed in these manufactories; and their education and morals were regularly attended to, and the hours of labour abridged. In some large factories, schoolmasters were retained to instruct them. And here he could not help hazarding a conjecture, that was confirmed by daily experience, that most of the evils experienced in this and other instances, in the manufacturing districts, were indebted for their origin to the effects of the poor-laws of this country. By their operation, a young man frequently bettered his condition by marriage, being then entitled to more relief from the parish. An increase of pauper population was the necessary result, and, to relieve the poor-rates, the young children were dispatched to factories as apprentices, where they were worked like slaves, without compunction or remorse on the part of some of the employers.

Sir *Robert Peel* was happy to hear, from so good an authority, that the cotton spinners in Scotland paid so strict an attention to the welfare and health of those confided to their charge, and engaged in their factories. He begged the friends of humanity, in this instance, to beware lest, in their anxiety to accomplish too much for the young persons engaged in this species of manufacture, they should fail altogether, and render the interference of the Legislature altogether ineffective; or, in the alternative, if effective, injuring the poorer classes, by causing them to be thrown out of employment altogether. The hours of labour, as now fixed by law, were eleven hours and a half out of the twenty-four. Whatever might be done by his hon. friend, as to lessening the number of hours, he should be very careful to avoid offering a bonus to such speculators as should perceive it was worth their while to transfer their establishments just over the border, so as to avail themselves of the comparative laxity of the law in one place, while [they escaped its provisions in another. He believed that there was no doubt, but that, in proportion as the factories were small, they were the more liable to abuse and unkind severity towards the children employed.

Mr. *Croker* hoped the benevolent views of the hon. Member would be extended to Ireland. It was true, she had at present no such large factories as those which claimed the protection of the Legislature in the present case. The day, however, would probably arrive when Ireland might compete in manufactures with the other parts of the empire. It was one of the first duties of good government, to take care of those peaceable and industrious classes who were too severely occupied in earning their daily bread to have leisure to take care of themselves.

Sir *Robert Bateson* said, he should support the objects of his hon. friend, and hoped that he would proceed with his measure of relief.

Mr. *O'Connell* observed, that the case of these individuals reminded him strongly of that of minors in law, who were the first class of persons confided to that high officer of law and state, the Lord Chancellor. The present was an opportunity wherein sound policy and humanity were legitimately connected, in legislating on behalf of those poor children; and he added his thanks to those already offered to the hon. Member, for having directed attention to such a humane object.

Mr. *Sadler*, in moving that the petition be printed, said, that he had petitions from the operatives of Scotland to present to the House, complaining of the system as it existed in that part of the United Kingdom, of employing children in factories. One of the most powerful statements he had seen came from the operatives of Dundee, complaining of the hours of labour imposed on children, particularly in spinning cotton for shirting. The fact was, that Scotland, in that respect, quite as much as any other part of the United Kingdom, required the interposition of the Legislature on behalf of over-tasked and abused infancy. In the Bill which he intended again to bring forward on this subject, he meant to limit the time of labour to ten hours on every day in the week, except Saturday, on which day he would limit it to eight hours. That appeared to him by no means too stringent a limitation; and he had, indeed, been informed by high medical authorities, whom he had consulted on the point, that even such an amount of labour was rather too much for children of the age contemplated by that bill. The hon. Member for Banffshire was of opinion, that the evil was generated by the operation of the Poor-laws, to which he would only at present reply, if there was a superabundant supply of labour in the market, the employment should be equally divided among the entire mass, and not be thrown in an accumulated proportion upon those least able to bear it.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* admitted that great cause of complaint existed on this head in Scotland, and that it would be absolutely necessary to extend the provisions of the law relating to manufactories in Scotland, to prevent the cupidity of persons taking advantage of the exemption.

Colonel *Torrens* was ready to bestow the deserved tribute of praise on the benevolence of the hon. Member for Aldborough; but he feared that it was not sufficiently enlightened by knowledge to effect much good. The causes of distress lay deeper than that hon. Gentleman seemed to suppose; and he must go to the bottom of them, and take measures to remove the pressure which weighed down the labouring poor, before he could do any thing towards their effectual and permanent relief. The poor were distressed, because the tax-gatherer took from them a large proportion of their produce, and because they existed in a country where, on account of the Corn Laws, a great quantity of labour was necessary to get a small quantity of food.

Mr. *Sadler* said, that this question involved the interests of suffering humanity, and it was not necessary to recur to the dogmas of political economy to find a just solution of it.

Sir *James Macintosh* was anxious to avow himself a political economist; but, at the same time, he differed so far from the hon. Member behind him (Colonel Torrens), that he would not allow even the principles of political economy to be accessary to the infliction of torture, or to set aside the rights of humanity. He was ready to support the proposition of the hon. Member, or the proposition of any other hon. Member who had that object in view.

Colonel *Torrens* observed, that he had not said, that he would oppose the measure, which it was the intention of the hon. Member for Aldborough to bring forward on this subject; on the contrary, he should certainly give any such measure his cordial assent. All he had said was, that he thought that the hon. Member did not go to the bottom of the evil, and that unless ulterior measures should be adopted, the distress complained of would not be removed.

Petition to be printed.

MUNICIPAL POLICE.] Sir *Robert Peel* wished to put a question to the noble Lord opposite as to a measure which had been announced in his Majesty's Speech at the commencement of the Session. He wished to know whether the Government were prepared with any measures for the improvement of the Municipal Police in the cities and large towns of the kingdom, which at present were not properly provided for in that respect, and when such measures would be brought forward.

Lord *Althorp* said, that measures of that nature had been under the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers, but that he could not, at present, say that they were in such a state of maturity that Government was prepared to bring them forward.

FINANCE AND POOR LAWS.] Sir *Robert Peel* remarked, that such being the case, they should not have departed from that good old principle of not announcing any measure in the King's Speech, which the Government was not, at the time, prepared to bring forward. He had another question to put to the noble Lord, as to when the estimates for the present year would be ready to be laid before the House. According to a resolution of the House, which had originated some years ago on that (the opposition) side of the House, if Parliament met before Chrismas, the estimates for the ensuing year were to be presented on or before the 15th of January. This was the first year that that resolution had not been observed. He wished to know whether any distinct and specific grounds could be laid for such a departure from it.

Mr. *Weyland* was also anxious to take this opportunity to put a question to the noble Lord. He wished to know whether it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to propose any measure for the amelioration of the Poor-laws, or of the condition of the labouring classes of this kingdom; or, if such was not the intention of Government, whether it was the intention of the noble and learned Lord upon the woolsack, who stood pledged to the matter, to bring forward any such measure on the subject?

Lord *Althorp*, in reply to the question of the right hon. Baronet, as to whether specific grounds existed for not having the estimates of the year already on the Table of the House, had to state, that although Parliament had met in this instance before Christmas, and although, under such circumstances, according to a resolution of the House, the estimates should have been presented before the 15th of January, yet, that as Parliament usually did not meet until February, the estimates were not in such a forward state as to admit of their being presented at that time. He would, however, pledge himself that they should be placed on the Table of the House at the earliest possible period. With respect to the other question that had been put by the hon. Member opposite, it related to a subject of the deepest and gravest importance. That hon. Member had asked, whether his Majesty's Ministers were prepared to bring forward, on their own responsibility, any measure for the purpose of effecting an alteration or amelioration in the Poor-laws of this country. In reply to that question, he had to state, that the subject had been under the serious consideration of his Majesty's Government. They had looked into all the reports of the different Committees, and had examined the mass of evidence that had been laid before the House on the subject, with a view to see whether, from that evidence, and from the reports of the Committees, any thing could be collected so definite and clear as to point out the proper mode of proceeding on this subject, or to lay a distinct foundation for any measure with regard to it. He must be allowed to say, that the general question of the Poor-laws was a subject of such great magnitude, and involved such a variety of important considerations, that any Member of the Government, or of that House, would not be justified in bringing forward a measure that would apply generally to the whole collective system of the Poor-laws of this country. The proper and the better course would be, to bring forward some measure that should apply to the amendment of such parts of the Poor-laws as clearly required amendment and alteration. He must observe, that all the evidence which had been taken before the different Committees on this subject had been derived from gentlemen who came before those Committees with preconceived opinions on the subject, and who seemed to want a knowledge of the working of the different systems that prevailed in different parts of the country. Such a knowledge as that was absolutely necessary before they would be justified in bringing forward any measure for the amendment of any portion of the law which might clearly require consideration, but with regard to which any mistake might be productive of much evil. Under such circumstances, his Majesty's Government was of opinion, that the best course to pursue was, by means of investigation and inquiry on the spot, to find out the effects of the different systems as they existed in different parishes throughout the country; and accordingly commissioners were to be appointed for the purpose of ascertaining how the different systems worked in different parishes throughout the kingdom. That was the state in which the question at present stood. It did not appear that this comparative inquiry as to those different systems would take up much time, and when the result of it was before Ministers, they would then be able to determine whether they could propose any measure on the subject.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* was of opinion that the reason assigned by the noble Lord for the non-production of the estimates up to the present time was any thing but a satisfactory one. He apprehended the cause of the delay was, that Ministers were fully engaged with their Reform Bill; but the finances of the country in their present deranged state, when there was an actual deficiency of revenue ought surely to have engaged their attention.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM BILL FOR ENGLAND—COMMITTEE—FIFTH DAY.] Lord John Russell moved the Order of the Day for the House resolving itself into Committee on the Reform of Parliament (England) Bill.

Mr. *Davies Gilbert* would take that opportunity to say, that he was not by any means opposed to all Reform, though he certainly could not approve of the extent to which the present Bill went. He would recommend, however, to the opponents of the Bill no longer to oppose the principle of it, but to seek to amend its details. It appeared to him that the great object of the Bill should be to extend the franchise, as far as possible, to all persons of intelligence and property, so as to combine them against the friends of anarchy and confusion. He thought that the 10*l.* householders' clause, as it now stood, would give the franchise to persons of no property, and who were not entitled to it. In London, and in other large towns, he understood that houses of that description were in the possession of a very low and poor description of persons, who made their livelihood by letting them out in lodgings. He would, therefore, when they came to that clause, propose, as an amendment, that in London and other large towns, they should deduct from the value of houses rated at 10*l.* whatever the propr etors of them derived from occupancy, so as to exclude the tenants of mere low lodging-houses from the elective franchise.

Lord *John Russell* said, that any suggestion coming from the hon. Gentleman should meet with every attention from him in the Committee, though he was ready to admit that at present he could not see how this amendment could be applied to the clause in question, or if it were so applied, what good it would effect. He had himself two alterations to propose in Committee, which were—1st, that as the occupier of a warehouse in Leeds, though resident in London, might vote for that town as the Bill at present stood, it was deemed right to put such occupiers on the footing of freemen, and therefore he should propose that, to entitle them to vote, they must reside within seven-miles from the town, in respect to occupancy, in which they were to vote. The other amendment was, that as freeholders for life were not to be allowed to vote in right of any such freehold when of less value than 10*l.* a-year, and as the counties of cities had been assimilated to other counties in certain respects, he should move the insertion of words to give equal rights to the voters of all counties of cities.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that as the noble Lord had now stated it to be the intention of Ministers to limit the right of the proprietors of warehouses to vote for any particular place to such only as were resident within seven miles of the spot, he begged to suggest to the noble Lord the propriety of limiting, in the like manner, the right of another class of voters. He alluded to the fictitious annuitant freeholders, who were created for electioneering purposes in many counties of cities and towns. It was highly expedient, he thought, that none of this class of voters should be allowed to exercise the elective franchise, except such as were resident within seven miles. He knew of one place in which twenty freeholders had been created out of a freehold of seven acres.

Lord *John Russell:* it is the intention of Ministers to require that the class of voters to whom the right hon. Baronet has alluded should be resident within seven miles.

The House in Committee.

The *Chairman* then read the first part of the 16th clause as follows, viz :—" And be it enacted that the Isle of Wight in the county of Southampton, shall, for the purposes of this Act, be a county of itself, separate and apart from the county of Southampton and shall return Knights of the Shire in every future Parliament." It was proposed that the blank should be filled up with the word " one," by which it is proposed that the Isle of Wight should be considered for the purposes of this Bill, as a separate county, and should have the right of returning one Member.

Mr. *Croker* said, that, in the Committee on the former Bill, he had strongly objected to the addition of this Member to the Isle of Wight, upon the ground that, by other provisions of the Bill, the county of Hants, to which the island belonged, and which in the whole contained only 270,000 inhabitants, would have the right of returning five Members to Parliament. He confessed that he still felt many of the objections which he had urged when the clause was last under their consideration, but at the present moment he was willing to waive them because, the Isle of Wight was to lose four of its borough Representatives, and it was not unreasonable to let it have one county Member in return. The question, however, would require to be more fully considered hereafter, because he could not make up his mind to the inconsistency of giving five Members to such a county as Hampshire, and a less number to other counties of infinitely greater size and importance.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, as the Isle of Wight was still an integral part of the county of Hants, he thought the clause ought to be postponed until the whole case of the county came before them.

Lord *Althorp* saw no necessity to postpone the clause, as there appeared no objection to the Isle of Wight having a Member.

Sir *Thomas Baring* trusted hon. Gentlemen would recollect that the Isle of Wight lost four borough Members by the operation of the Bill, he, therefore, thought it but reasonable that it should have one county Member in return.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* said, the hon. Baronet seemed to think that, because Hampshire was to lose borough Members, it was but fair to give that county an accession, of Knights of the Shire in their place. If that principle was fair with regard to the county of Hants, he hoped that there would be no objection to apply it to other places.

Lord *John Russell* said, it was natural for hon. Members connected with the county to put forward the loss of borough Members as a reason for an increase of county Members, but the hon. Member knew that the Ministers did not assign that as a reason for proposing to give the Isle of Wight a separate Member. The case had been most fully discussed last Session, and there was no necessity now to repeat all the arguments in its favour.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, he had not yet discovered why the Isle of Wight was to have a Member, except that it was said to be an island; he, therefore, hoped it would be allowed to float in the opon sea of the Bill until they had heard, as they possibly might when the county clause came under discussion, some reason why Hampshire ought to have five Members.

Clause agreed to.

Clause seventeen postponed.

The first part of the 18th Clause having been read,

Lord John Russell proposed to insert as an amendment the words "or in any election for any city or town, being a county of itself."

Lord *Milton* said, if the House agreed to the clause as it stood the smaller proprietors would look upon the House as not considering their rights so much as those of wealthier persons. If a man with 10,000*l.* a-year, which he had only for life, had a vote, he saw no reason why smaller proprietors should be excluded. The clause did not meet the case made out last Session by the hon. member for Bodmin (Mr. Davies Gilbert). He complained, and justly, that it was a frequent practice for large proprietors to make grants of freeholds to particular individuals without making them freeholds of inheritance. However desirous a person might be to possess influence in county elections in order to obtain it, he would never go so far as to grant freeholds in fee without a valuable consideration. The fictitious freeholds were usually granted to aged individuals, and soon returned to the grantor. But if such votes were objectionable, and no doubt they were, there were no more desireable voters than small proprietors. This clause operated against such persons, as would appear by stating the following case: Suppose a person acquired by industry a cottage with a small portion of land worth perhaps, 6*l.* or 7*l.* a-year, and at his decease he willed it to a son for life, with the remainder to a grandson. In such a case the son would be excluded from voting, and by such an operation one of the inducements to industry was closed up, and many persons might be deprived of the pleasure of founding a family. He saw no reason why the humbler classes of society should be prevented from doing that which they themselves were most desirous to do. He trusted, therefore, that his noble friend would make such an alteration of the clause as would permit persons in the situation he had described from being confounded with the fictitious voters which it was the object of the hon. member for Bodmin's amendment to exclude from voting.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* said, it was a frequent practice in some parts of the West of England to grant landed property for three lives. This conferred a vote under the existing law and he thought the practice should be continued, but with respect to the principles involved in the amendment which went to exclude fictitious voters introduced to overwhelm the real constituency of counties, it had his most cordial approbation.

Lord *Althorp* admitted the hardship of the case described by his noble friend, but he apprehended if any exception was made to meet his noble friend's view, the door would be open to fraud, though the number of freeholders to which the exception would apply was but few. If the words "or unless such estate for life be created by devise or settlement," were introduced he would make no objection to them. He was aware, however, that the clause then before them was one of the most difficult in the whole Bill to draw up satisfactorily, and he felt apprehensive that words suddenly suggested might if adopted interfere with other parts of the Bill.

Mr. *O'Connell* doubted if the words suggested by the noble Lord would answer the purpose of excluding fictitious freeholders only, but he thought that object might be attained if the clause was drawn up so as to give a vote to the tenant for life, where the remainder was in the first or other sons. What was wanted was, to prevent occasional votes manufactured for a purpose, and the clause in the Irish Bill having that object in view, might be judiciously introduced into the Bill before them.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* observed, that in his opinion the working of the clause might be improved; he was, therefore, obliged to the noble Lord for his suggestion, and thought it would add to the advantage of the measure if it was adopted according to the clause as it now stood. Life interest was not to confer a vote unless it was equal to 10*l.* value, and it was the object of the noble Lord (Milton) to give a vote to the holder of a property under that value, if he held under a settlement, a devise or in any other way which prevented him from being a fabricated freeholder. He agreed with the noble Lord in thinking that *bonâ fide* small freeholders for life ought by no means to be excluded, for certainly such persons were on a par, in point of respectability with the 10*l.* householders on whom it was the main object of the Bill to confer the franchise. He must allow, however, that there would be considerable difficulty in meeting the case so as to exclude improper voters, and he doubted whether the words suggested by the noble Lord would remedy the evil. They had not heard from the noble Lord, however, the exact extent of property which he proposed should confer a vote, but if the 40*s.* possessor of the *corpus* of land was to vote, he saw no reason why the 40*s.* holder of the value of the land was to be deprived of that right. But then it was said, a devise might be fraudulently made; no doubt it might, and there would be great difficulty in distinguishing the fraudulent from the real transaction. If, however, by postponement the clause could be amended to meet the case, he should be happy to assist in attaining the object.

Mr. *Davies Gilbert* was of opinion that the cases of hardship cited by the noble Lord would be very few, and the alteration he proposed would lead to great complication and fraud. In illustration of the manner in which it might operate, he would state a case that had occurred:—In Weymouth, where a devise constituted a vote, half a house was given to an old woman; of this half house she again made a devise, dividing it between 300 persons, every one of whom had thereby a vote. In Bristol also such practices were common. The hon. and learned Gentleman who spoke last had observed that he had heard no reason why the exact sum of 10*l.* should be fixed upon, but the reason was that this sum was to confer the right of voting upon copyholders, and he thought freeholders for life ought to be placed in a similar situation.

Colonel *Wood* said, the clause was not so worded as to exclude fictitious freeholders only, as was the case in the Bill of last Session. In that there were some words which allowed fee-simple 40*s.* freeholders to vote, and he apprehended the effect of the present clause would be to exclude all such persons hereafter.

Lord *Althorp* assured the hon. and gallant Member that the words of the clause did not in any way whatever apply to the real 40*s.* freeholder.

Mr. *Jones* said, the operation of the clause might deprive some clergymen of their votes. He believed there were some cases of livings in Wales under the value of 10*l.*, the principal part of the incumbent's income being derived from Queen Anne's bounty.

Mr. *James L. Knight* had no doubt there were many cases such as had been described by the hon. Member, but a very few words would meet the difficulty, he would, therefore, propose, that the words "except in the right of any benefice," be added to the clause.

Lord *John Russell* observed, that he would freely consent to the adoption of these words.

The words ordered to stand part of the clause.

Lord *Milton* begged leave to move a further amendment. He saw no reason why parish clerks were not to have votes. His objection to the clause was, that it was one of disfranchisement, for no good purposes; he wished the words "or office" to be added after the word "benefice."

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, the word 'office,' comprehended many other persons besides parish clerks, and with regard to these, any person who recollected the famous Middlesex election, knew what use was then made of the holders of such offices, humble as they were; but as such offices could not be acquired by fraud, he saw no reason why either parish clerks, sextons, or bell-ringers were to be excluded; if, therefore, the noble Lord would include the words "of office, place, or employment," he would vote with him, if he pressed the amendment to a division.

Lord *John Russell* objected to the amendment, for the reasons assigned by the hon. and learned Gentleman—that it would admit many more persons than the noble Lord intended; such hurried amendments were by no means desirable.

Lord *Milton* saw no reason why some selection of offices might not be made; he, however, would not press his amendment.

Two of the blanks were then filled up with the words "ten pounds," and "forty shillings," after the word "statutes or uses," were inserted.

On the question that the words "election" be omitted, and that in lieu thereof, the words "respective elections" be inserted,

Colonel *Wood* said, he had already suggested that the registry clauses should be separated from the other parts of the measure, and brought forward by themselves when the debate could be taken upon them without interfering with the other parts of the Bill.

Lord *Althorp* had wished to adopt the proposal made by the hon. Member when he had first proposed it, but he was unable to find any satisfactory manner in which it could be carried into execution, and therefore he was compelled to give up his intention.

Colonel *Wood* said, it would probably be necessary to take the opinion of the Committee on the propriety of establishing a registry at all.

The insertion of the words "respective elections," was then agreed to.

On the question that the clause as amended, stand part of the Bill,

Mr. *Gisborne* wished to know exactly how the measure would operate with regard to the clergy. He thought the word "ecclesiastical" ought to be put before "benefice."

Mr. *James L. Knight* said, the single word "benefice" was frequently used in Acts of Parliament, and it was understood fully to express "ecclesiastical benefices." There was, therefore, no occasion for the adoption of any other than the single word "benefice."

Clause as amended agreed to.

The 19th Clause, extending the right of voting in counties to 10*l.* copyholders, was read.

Lord *Althorp* said, the words of the clause as they stood at present had been objected to. The words "customary tenure" were thought to include what were called "superior tenants," who were, in point of fact, freeholders. There were two classes of tenants of ancient demesne—common tenants, and superior tenants. It was intended that this clause should embrace the former only, and not the latter, who was considered in point of law, as belonging to the class of freeholders. He, therefore, begged leave to move, that the words "any other tenure whatever, except freehold," be inserted.

Agreed to.

On its being proposed to fill up the blank with the words "ten pounds,"

Colonel *Wood* thought, that the right of voting ought to be extended to 40*s.* copyholders as well as to the 10*l.* copyholders. He saw no difference between copyholders and freeholders, but as his opinion had been overruled last Session, he would not again press it, although he desired to have this opportunity to say, that his sentiments remained unchanged.

The Clause was agreed to.

The 20th Clause, extending the right of voting in counties to 10*l.* leaseholders for a term of sixty years, to 50*l.* leaseholders for a term of twenty years, and to 50*l.* tenants-at-will, was next read.

Mr. *Freshfield* objected to this clause, because it gave parties the power of creating three votes for one property. The freeholder of course would have his vote. The leaseholder, if he holds to a certain amount, and for a certain length of time, would have a second vote, and by a proviso at the end of the clause, the subleaseholder was also to have a third vote, if he was in actual possession of the property. There was no limitation as to the term of the lease remaining, which was to confer this third right, and the holder of it might not have the lease for all the term that the first lessee held it. The Poor-rates, which formed so prominent a criterion in the last Bill, had been given up, because they involved the question of value, and on that account would prove a most fertile source of litigation, and yet in the present case, the question of value was again raised. In the first instance, the Overseer must determine what was the value of the leasehold; it must then be referred to the Barrister. Besides this, there were other objections. By the provisions of the clause a sixty years' lease (whether determinable or not on a life or lives) of property of the annual value of 10*l.* gave the right of voting; there was nothing, therefore, to prevent persons from manufacturing votes, by giving sixty years leases on very old lives, which would consequently determine in a short time after. This was a provision which he considered operated against the landed interest, because he did not think the landed proprietors would be the persons to manufacture votes in that way.

Lord *John Russell* thought, that the objection of the hon. Gentleman would be completely met by a provision that was to be introduced into the Bill, viz., that the sub-lessee should be the holder of the original lease, and that he should not have a vote unless he was in actual possession of the premises. He did not see that it would be more difficult to ascertain the value of this leasehold property than of a 40*s.* freehold, and he thought that very few persons would be inclined to make use of leaseholds of the value of 10*l.*

a-year for a long term merely for the purpose of manufacturing votes.

Lord *Althorp* said, he wished to propose as an amendment, that the words "copyhold or customary" be left out, and that the words "or of any other tenure whatever," be inserted.

Mr. *James L. Knight* said, the alteration was right in the former clause, but he saw no reason for the amendment in the present one, there were no other tenures that he was aware of than freehold, copyhold, or customary.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* was afraid there was confusion as to the intention of this clause.

The *Solicitor General* observed, that the object of the clause was to create a new right of voting, and then to divide that right into two classes, the first having reference to the orginal leaseholder, and the second to the sub-leaseholder, provided the latter was in actual possession.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* feared the arrangement would create the difficulty of calling in the Barrister to decide on the validity of leases: this was a very great objection.

Lord *Althorp* said, that if the title was disputed the leases would not confer a vote either on the original lessee or his sub-lessee.

Mr. *James L. Knight* observed, that the word "hold" which was introduced into this clause in the last Bill, indicated an actual or virtual possession, and it would be well, therefore, to retain that word in the present clause.

Lord *Althorp* believed, that an opinion prevailed that an original leaseholder would have the power of creating smaller voters by way of sub-lease, but that could not be done under this clause. As to whether particular leases were good or not, that of course might be open to dispute in the same manner as freehold or any other property.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* said, that the original leaseholder would be able to divide his lease. Suppose he held one for 30*l.* a-year for sixty years, might he not divide it among three sub-leaseholders of 10*l.* each, and create three votes out of one property. There would be great difficulty under any circumstances of detecting fictitious leaseholders. Unless their votes were objected to when a registry took place, there was no subsequent opportunity of appealing against their votes but by petition to that House, which would involve a most serious expense, and by that means do away with the benefit that was expected to result from the Bill in diminishing the expense of elections. It would be bad policy for any Gentleman to interfere and object to the registry of votes, for he could not know how they would be given, whether for or against his own interest. For these reasons he thought it would be much more simple, and be attended with better effects, to give but one vote to leaseholds, and to confine that to the person in actual possession of the premises leased.

Lord *Althorp* said, the first objection of his right hon. friend was obviated by conferring the franchise on the original leaseholders, and on the person actually in possession. He was ready to admit, that it would be the particular business of no person to object to doubtful votes being placed on the registry, but as the registration would be conducted in ordinary times, and without the excitement consequent upon an immediate election, the chances were, that there would be small inducement for unqualified persons desiring to have their names placed on the List.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* wished to be tolerably certain of the operation of the clause; and he, therefore, desired to know if a person had a valuable lease for sixty years, and underlet fifty portions at 10*l.* a-year each, did he not create as many votes?

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* thought, as he read the clause, that a person might possess the right of voting by being the holder of an original lèase of the annual value of 100*l.*, although he was not in actual possession of the property, and three other persons might be qualified by him to vote under the same lease as his under-tenants, on being in possession of parts of the property amounting to 10*l.* a-year each. This splitting of estates was, in his opinion, giving too great a latitude to creating votes..

Mr. *C. W. Wynn:* suppose a man having possession of a lease of competent value, assigned it to a company of 100 shareholders, and that those persons divided the property among them into 10*l.* shares or upwards, would not each of those persons have a vote, and if so, might not a multiplicity of votes be created particularly in mining districts?

Mr. *James L. Knight* said, no doubt could exist, as the clause stood at present, but that if a lease of property of 120*l.* a year was granted to a man, and he assigned to twelve persons, each having a share equal to 10*l.* annual value, that they would also each obtain a vote.

Lord *Althorp* said, the clause was intended to operate in the manner mentioned by the hon. and learned Gentleman. If a person entered into possession of freehold property worth 100*l.* per annum, the effect would be the same if he divided it by sale into smaller parcels.

Mr. *Warburton* could not understand the difficulty which had been raised. As he read the clause, the party holding the original lease was to have the right of voting, but if he assigned it for only a part of his original term (which was common as assigning the whole term, carried with it all the liability of the original lessee), he created no vote, but if he assigned the whole term, and his sub-lessee was in actual possession, then that person would have the right of voting.

Lord Althorp's amendment was agreed to.

The next part of the clause, "or who shall occupy as tenant any lands or tenements for which he shall be *bonâ fide* liable to a yearly rent of not less than , shall be entitled to vote."

Lord Althorp moved that the blank be filled up with the words "fifty pounds."

Sir *Robert Heron* had hitherto refrained from addressing the House, from a desire to avoid delaying the progress of the Bill, but a strong sense of duty induced him on the present occasion to depart from the line of conduct which he had prescribed to himself. If he differed from Ministers, it was some consolation to him to know that he had not deserted the fundamental principles of the Bill. His object was, to have the clause before them reconsidered, and he hoped hon. Members would vote according to their real opinion of the bearing of the clause, and not act on the principle of carrying the Bill with this defect, rather than endanger other parts of it. The noble Marquis who had introduced the clause which conferred upon tenants-at-will the right of voting in counties, had acted like an able General. He had inflicted a serious wound on the Bill, which could not be hereafter healed, if not corrected by a vote that night, except by the Ballot. He therefore hoped that all hon. Members who were opposed to the Ballot would support the Motion with which he meant to conclude. It appeared to him to be impossible that tenants-at-will generally could give independent votes. The chief object of the Bill was to get rid of nomination influence; but the effect of the clause under consideration, would be to convert small counties, or the division of counties, into a species of nomination boroughs. The number of votes created by the clause would be immense. He had good reason to believe also, that tenants-at-will throughout the country were by no means desirous of having the franchise conferred upon them. They knew that it would expose them to the tyranny of their landlords. For these reasons he would move the omission of all the words which proposed to confer the franchise on tenants-at-will, as follows:—"Or who shall occupy as tenants any lands or tenements for which he shall be *bonâ fide* liable to a yearly rent of not less than 50*l.*"

Colonel *Sibthorp* was very much surprised by the amendment proposed by the hon. Baronet. He certainly, to say the least of it, was very inconsistent in his opinions; for he recollected perfectly that the hon. Baronet had addressed himself to those very individuals whom he now supposed incapable of giving an independent vote. No longer ago than the 18th of November last, the hon. Baronet had cried out, "Ho for Lincoln and Reform!" To whom was that cry addressed, but to the farmers of Lincoln? *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.* The hon. Baronet said, that these tenants would not be independent, but would be subject to the influence of their landlords. This was hardly fair of him, for he had courted the support of those very persons when he had looked forward to represent the county of Lincoln, and he now stigmatized them as being dependent. Why, the hon. Baronet was so ready to enfranchise certain other classes of dependent persons—he alluded to the 10*l.* householders, who certainly bore no comparison in point of respectability to the 50*l.* tenants-at-will—he left the hon. Baronet to tell the House. But the hon. Baronet ought to know that they must be independent; for in the present times landlords were too wise to turn away good tenants because they differed in politics. He would assert that there was not a more respectable body of people than the class now proposed to be made voters, and he saw no reason for refusing the franchise to them. When the new Bill was to have that influx of people from the small boroughs, those multifarious classes of voters out of the Cholera Morbus places — when they were to have such people, why was the right of voting to be refused to the healthy country farmers?

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* said, that he did not think the class of tenants-at-will in the country could form an independent class of voters. The amount of capital they had expended on their farms would make them fear to incur the risk of being turned out of possession at a short notice. It was not so with the voters in large towns, who, if compelled to quit one street, might remove into the adjoining street with comparatively little trouble, and with no injury to their interests. He thought that the clause was against the wishes and the interests of the farmers themselves, and he was convinced, that if the House really desired that the yearly tenants should be independent, they must afford those persons the protection of the Ballot. He had not himself made up his mind in favour of that measure, but he should at once declare, that if, from experiment, it should be found that any large body of men were not capable of voting independently, the Ballot must be accorded them for protection. With respect to the unwillingness of landlords to turn out good tenants, he should only observe, that in election matters, passion and party views would often overpower feelings of interest.

Mr. *Trevor* opposed the amendment. He could not admit that the person paying 10*l.* rent in a town was more independent than a farmer who rented 100, or, perhaps, 500 acres of land. That, however, was the conclusion which the hon. Baronet desired the House to arrive at, and his amendment went to declare, that the great majority of the yeomanry of England were servile and dependent, and not fit to be trusted with the elective franchise. But, independent of this reason, there was another which had much weight with him. He considered the agricultural interests were neglected by the Bill, and this provision in some degree protected them. He fully believed there would be found but few instances of a landlord attempting to eject a good tenant from his land, who had given no other cause of offence than voting against his wishes.

Mr. *Benett* thought, that the hon. member for Kircudbright was mistaken in supposing that the landlords of houses in towns could not influence their tenants as much as landlords in the country, when it was well known that many houses in boroughs were let under their value upon those very conditions; and that number would be increased by the operation of the present Bill, which conferred the right of voting upon all houses of a certain value. He did not know what was the state of the landed interest in Scotland; but he knew that in this country an obligation was conferred on the landlord by a good tenant taking his land, and that a landlord would be most anxious to retain such a tenant. He did not think the clause would give to the landed interest the great influence that was supposed; but he was sure that it would give the farmers throughout the country the greatest satisfaction if it were adopted.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* had never meant to assert, that a landlord who possessed many houses and let them under their value, would not possess more influence over his tenants than a landed proprietor would over his farmers, although they were tenants-at-will. But he objected to voters of both these descriptions, and wished to confine the franchise to independent leaseholders, particularly as respected leases on land. A tenant of that description calculated upon his capital being returned to him during his occupancy of the land, and was, therefore, independent of his landlord; but the case was very different with regard to the tenant who was liable to be ousted at a very short notice.

Lord *Althorp* said, that the clause in question had not been introduced into the original Bill; but, as he now had proposed it in the present Bill in consequence of the decision of the large majority of that House, to which he bowed, he thought it was his duty to support it. He did not feel that he should be acting as an honest man, if, after having thus introduced it, he was not to vote for it. He believed that the number of votes that would be added by the operation of this clause was not very considerable, for most of those persons who held land as tenants-at-will for 50*l.*, had other qualifications to entitle them to a vote; and he agreed with the hon. Member who had just spoken, that it would give great satisfaction to the farmers throughout the country. He should, therefore, vote against the amendment.

Mr. *Abel Smith* said, he was convinced

the yearly tenantry of the class proposed by this clause to receive the right of voting would be found to be an independent body of men. They were, in fact, as independent of their landlords as any other class of men; for it was usual now, and one condition of their holdings was, that if they were suddenly ejected by their landlord, he must pay them a rateable proportion of the capital they had expended on the land. He knew that the persons forming this class of tenantry were most anxious to enjoy the right of voting, and knew that many of them had purchased a 40*s.* freehold to entitle them to that right. Surely persons who were competent to do that were better entitled to the franchise than 10*l.* householders, many of whom were not worth a farthing in the world.

The Marquis of *Chandos* thanked the noble Lord opposite (Lord Althorp) for the frank and manly manner in which he had adopted the clause in question. He was sure it would give great satisfaction to the farmers, and he begged leave to tell the hon. Baronet, who would exclude them from the right of voting, that they were an independent body of men. The hon. Baronet had unjustly traduced the whole tenantry of the country, and he was sure that he would not stand upon the hustings of Lincoln, and tell the occupiers of land in that county, that they were servile persons, and incapable of giving an honest and independent vote. If the hon. Baronet did not know the fact he could point out to him many cases where the tenantry had voted against the wishes of their landlords. Further, he was quite sure that they wished in general to have the elective franchise extended to them. They would receive it with gratitude, and exercise it for the benefit and advantage of the community.

Lord *Milton* viewed the clause with much apprehension. He conceived that its principle was opposed to that of the Bill, which was said to be intended to increase the numbers of the independent and uncontrolled electors of England. He would not embark in angry discussion, neither had he any desire to incur the ill-will of the persons whose pretentions to vote he felt it his duty to oppose. Without any personal views, but acting solely from what he considered the best interests of the community, he must declare, that when they were selecting new trustees for the people of England, when one of the complaints was, that the elective franchise was, in effect, in the power of a few individuals, this clause would go to increase that power, by the authority it would vest in landlords. After much consideration, he had arrived at the conclusion that the clause was calculated to mar the general beneficial tendencies of the measure, of which it was at present a part, inasmuch as the class of electors it went to create must, in the nature of things, be more or less dependent on their landlords, and so far incapacitated from exercising an untrammelled voice in the election of their Representative. With respect to an opinion that had been given in the course of the debate by an hon. Member (Mr. Smith), that the tenants-at-will had generally an agreement with their landlords, by which, if they were hastily ejected, they had a right to claim a compensation for the capital laid out upon the land, he was convinced such a regulation was local. He had never before heard of it, and he suspected its real consequence was, to increase the dependence of the weaker party. The effect of the clause would be, as it appeared to him, to place the election of at least half the Members of the counties, indeed, of all the counties exclusively agricultural, not in the hands of individuals, but of an oligarchy chiefly composed of the members of the Bench of Quarter Sessions. No person, he believed, however large might be his property — not even the noble Lord, who, it was said by those who, by a strange inconsistency, advocated this clause, could not influence the election of Members for one portion of the county of Lincoln, would be able to return the Member by himself. The oligarchy would effect their purpose of confining the county Representation to themselves by making the general tenure of these lands, a tenant-at-will tenure. Their freehold and leasehold leases, as they fell in, would be converted into tenures-at-will, so as to give the landlord a control over the tenantry. By multiplying their votes they would effectually overpower the voices of the smaller freeholders. In doing this, they would only be acting in obedience to the ordinary principles of human action, which lead men to promote what they conceived their own interests and aggrandizement. They had an instance of the mischievous workings of these principles in Ireland, where landlords, in order to secure an undue influence at elections, created a horde of 40*s.* freeholders on their estates, who, till lately, were as shackled in the exercise of their franchise rights as the veriest lover of the nomination system could desire. What the Irish landlords did in Ireland with respect to the 40*s.* freeholders, he feared the English landlords would, under the Bill, do with respect to the tenure-at-will franchise. How far this would operate against the improvement of the cultivation of the country, was a question he did not stop to inquire into at the present moment, but his view of the case brought him to the question, whether it was desirable there should be any powerful interest enjoyed by the landlord in reference to the qualification of his tenant to vote at elections, which was not concurrent with the interest he had as owner of the estate. He thought there should be no such conflicting interests, and therefore, he had objected to granting the franchise to the leaseholder; but, of course, his objections were much stronger when applied to the tenants-at-will. He should, therefore, vote for the amendment proposed by the hon. Baronet, because the clause would create a class of voters who, most undoubtedly, would depend on another. He held it to be quite impossible that any half dozen of the Members of that House could meet in a private manner and not admit that the tenants-at-will were a dependent set of men; if that was the case, the effects produced by this clause would be to convert a large majority of the counties of England into mere oligarchies, so far as Representation was concerned.

Sir *Robert Peel* was confirmed, by the noble Lord's statement, in his opinion of the excellence of the present clause; for, he was sure that if any valid objections to it could be adduced, they would have been urged by the noble Lord. In his opinion, however, the noble Lord had utterly failed to make out a case for the amendment. The noble Lord said, that the effect of the clause would be, to convert the present usual leasehold tenures of land into tenures held by the will of the landlord; and, by such means, invest him with an undue influence in the election of county Representatives. The noble Lord had cited, as a case in point, the breaking up of farms in Ireland into nominal 40*s.* freeholds, the owners of which were debarred of all freedom of voice at the hustings. In reply to this argument, he would beg to ask the noble Lord, whether it was to be credited that a gentleman possessing an estate, say, of 600*l.* a-year, let out to six solvent tenants, would divide that estate among twelve 50*l.* tenants-at-will, in order to have an influence over six additional voters? To enable him to have which, he must build six new farm houses, with all the outbuildings necessary. As to the Irish 40*s.* freeholds, all he could say was, abuses of equal magnitude might and would exist under every form of tenure, so long as landlords violated the best feelings of humanity for their own sordid purposes. The noble Lord said that the principle of the clause was opposed to that of the Bill. He denied the statement; and would, on the contrary, maintain, that not to adopt it would be acting in opposition, not only to the principle of the Bill, but to the dictates of common sense and consistency. The Bill would create a numerous class of electors in towns, by the 10*l.* household clause; and surely it could not be said that the 10*l.* voters would be more respectable and independent, and better entitled to a voice in the election of their Representatives, than the 50*l.* tenant-at-will farmers. Independent of this consideration, however, he was surprised that the noble Lord had overlooked the fact, that many of this class of persons would, by the Bill of last Session, have had votes in the boroughs which were to have certain districts attached to them, in order to make up 300 10*l.* householders. Any tenant-at-will occupying a 10*l.* house in such district, would, of course, have been entitled to a vote. He would not argue the clause upon consistency, but whether the principles contained in it were consonant to common sense and reason. He wished he had the power to compare the amount of fiscal burthens borne by the landed occupier to those borne by the 10*l.* householder. Such a return would most assuredly set the question at rest as to which of them had the best right of voting, if property, contributions to the State, and intelligence, constituted the foundations on which the franchise was to rest. For these reasons he had given his consent to the proposition of his noble friend (the Marquis of Chandos) and he begged to thank the noble Lord opposite (Lord Althorp) for the handsome manner in which he had acceded to the wishes of the House.

Mr. *Adeane* supported the clause—not

because he considered tenants-at-will were not liable to influence, but because he considered that persons of that class were not more likely to be influenced than others to whom the qualification was extended under this Bill. He denied that the 50*l.* tenants-at-will were so dependent as had been said. Such persons, it must be understood, required six months' notice to remove them at least, and such a precarious tenure would prevent any considerable outlay of capital by the tenant. Every landlord, therefore, who desired to have his land well managed, would be cautious of giving such notices, for a few capricious warnings of that kind would effectually prevent any respectable tenant from hiring his land, greatly to his loss, if his land was run out by needy occupiers in succession. For these reasons such persons, particularly at the present day, were not more liable to be influenced than the 10*l.* householders, or the 40*s.* freeholders; and upon that ground, he should oppose their exclusion, and vote against the amendment.

Mr. *Hunt* thought the hon. Gentleman who spoke last had put the question fairly before the House. It would be stretching credulity somewhat too far to say, that 50*l.* tenants-at-will were not under the influence of their landlords; but they were not more under the control of their landlords than the leaseholders for seven years, and other classes, who would be called upon to exercise the franchise under this Bill. All tenants were more or less under the influence of their landlords; and he understood this had been proved pretty distinctly at some recent elections. Every one knew that there was recently a very severe election for the county of Dorset, and he wished to ask any Gentleman connected with that county, whether he knew of a single instance in which the tenant of a Whig landlord in that county had voted for the Tory candidate, or the tenant of a Tory landlord for the Whig candidate? He understood that no such instance had occurred during the whole election; and what stronger proof could there be of the influence possessed and exercised by the landlords? It was true, the landlords did not go with a whip, and drive their tenants to vote for their favourite candidate; but the tenants knew that if they voted against their landlords they were liable to be turned out of their farms.

Sir *Robert Peel* reminded the hon. Member that tenants-at-will had not voted at the Dorset election.

Mr. *Hunt:* It was very true that tenants-at-will had no right to vote hitherto as tenants-at-will; but every one knew that throughout the country persons exercised the right of voting as small freeholders, who, at the same time, held large farms as tenants-at-will. It was only by Universal Suffrage and Vote by Ballot that the influence of landlords could be controlled; and if those measures were adopted, he contended that property and principle would have their legitimate influence, and that the same Members would be returned as at present. That elections should be free, they must resort to the Ballot. Every man who paid taxes, in his opinion, ought to be entitled to vote; and it was upon this principle he had given several votes last Session, for he could not make up his mind to disfranchise any electors, however corrupt; but what he wanted was, to put it out of the power of opulent Peers to influence the electors, by introducing the Vote by Ballot.

Mr. *Hodges* could not undertake to say how it was in Dorset, but he knew many instances in which farmers had voted independent of the influence of their landlords in the county he represented. He gave his hearty support to this clause, because he was favourable to the extension of the franchise amongst the various classes which made up the landed interest—an interest which bore so large a portion of the burthens of the country.

Mr. *Berkley* stated, that he had a brother residing in Dorsetshire, who had always been a thorough Whig; and, though his brother expressed a wish that his tenants should vote for Mr. Ponsonby at the last election, many of those tenants had voted for Lord Ashley; and he might, add that the tenants who had thus voted were still in the enjoyment of their farms. So much for the correctness of the hon. Member for Preston's information as to the influence exercised in Dorsetshire.

Mr. *Curteis* supported the clause, which he knew had increased the popularity of the Bill among the Yeomanry of the country. He therefore, returned his best thanks to the noble Marquis (Chandos) for having suggested it.

Sir *Robert Heron* hoped to be allowed to trespass on the Committee for a moment before the division. He complained that the observations of the noble Marquis

(Chandos), in reference to him, were uncalled for, and unfounded. He must deny, in the most distinct terms, that he had calumniated the farmers of Lincolnshire, or of any part of England, as had been insinuated. Nothing was further from his intention; and he defied any Gentleman to produce a landlord who lived on better terms with his tenants than he did. There was one observation made by the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) which he felt it necessary to notice. That right hon. Gentleman had said, no landlord would subdivide his estate to make votes; but there might be such a practice as letting a farm nominally to a whole family for this purpose, while one member of it only was the responsible tenant. As to the motives attributed to him, they were such as he was not ashamed of, and he was sure that the House would not consider that his conduct required any defence.

The Committee divided on the amendment.

Ayes 32; Noes 272—Majority 240.

List of the MINORITY.

Atherley, A.
Buller, J. W.
Blackney, W.
Blamire, W.
Cradock, Colonel
Dundas, Hon. T.
Dundas, Hon. J. C.
Duncombe, T. S.
Dixon, J.
Ellis, W.
Evans, W.
Evans, W. B.
Ewart, W.
Fazakerley, J. N.
Fergusson, R. C.
Foley, Hon. T. H.
Grattan, H.
Howard, P. H.
Hawkins, J. H.
Heywood, B.
Marshall, W.
Milton, Viscount
Paget, T.
Pepys, C.
Ramsden, J. C.
Sheil, R. L.
Strutt, E.
Thicknesse, R.
Williamson, Sir H.
Williams, W. A.
Wyse, T.
Whitmore, W. W.

TELLER.

Heron, Sir R.

On the question that the clause as amended stand part of the Bill,

Mr. *Baring* hoped that as this clause related to the qualification for county electors, he might be allowed to take this opportunity of stating his views on the county constituency established by this Bill. A more complicated and absurd system, in his opinion, had never been devised by the wit of man. The best mode of legislation was that which attained its end by simple and direct means, and which could dispense with complicated machinery, and unnecessary expense. The measure now proposed was not calculated to effect those objects; but, on the contrary, it would evidently, in his mind, tend to aggravate the difficulties which already existed. With respect to the expense and vexation attending county elections, if they should be increased, ought not they to consider whether some other and more efficacious means might not be devised? As to that principle upon which a large proportion of the country had set their hearts—namely, the destruction of borough nomination—surely it would be practicable to satisfy them on that point without forming, at the same time, such a complicated and anomalous system of county Representation as would increase, instead of diminishing, the present evils. Let the House consider that they could not be every year recasting and remodelling the Representation, and, therefore, this was the time to ascertain whether the system of county Representation to be established by this Bill was such as gave the best hope of its attaining so desirable an object as that of lessening the expenses of elections. If it could be shewn that the plan would not work well, there could be no doubt that the country would support the House in making such fundamental alterations as would be necessary to adapt a better system to be applied to the improvement of the constituent body. What was the present right of county Representation? First, there were the old 40*s.* freeholders. Every man who had any knowledge of county elections would say, that the 40*s.* franchise was as complicated, as full of intricacies and legal difficulties, as any that it was possible to devise. What was the case of the late election in the county of Dorset, which had been so often referred to? After the county was entirely polled out, the election having lasted the whole fifteen days, the Assessor, a gentleman of high legal character, and of unquestioned impartiality; a man, too, who was intimately conversant with all the details affecting the right of voting in that county, was obliged to leave 400 votes undecided. Such was the intricacy of the freehold right of voting already existing, and that right was to remain the same under this Bill, with the exception of some unimportant modifications. To that intricate right of voting were now to be added copyholders, leaseholders of different amounts, and for different tenures; and then came tenants at will, with different other rights, which would add immensely to the complication and intricacy of the elective rights. He said that, when the House had the power of establishing a county Representation upon whatever basis it pleased, it was almost impossible for him to conceive that a reasoning assembly of gentlemen should adopt the anomalous mass of incongruities which appeared before them, than which, he would defy human ingenuity to contrive a more absurd and complicated collection of clashing privileges and rights. If a Committee had been appointed expressly to discover the most puzzling system of Representation, they would in vain endeavour to surpass the present Bill in that particular. Amongst its other provisions, an Assistant-Barrister was to be sent down to ascertain the qualifications of voters. Now he took upon him to say, that in some counties that practice would be entirely neglected, or would be a mere farce; while in counties like Dorsetshire, which were likely to be frequently contested, it would be necessary in order to have justice done, that a scrutiny should take place every year. The Assistant-Barrister must remain for a considerable time, and the parties who should happen to be placed in the situation of Lord Ashley, and Mr. Ponsonby at the late election, would be under the necessity of having their agents and witnesses in attendance for the purpose of protesting, or defending, or rebutting objections; so that we should be in this predicament—either the duty of the Assistant-Barrister would be neglected, or there would be a sort of county election every year accompanied by all its heart burnings. Even if the actual expenses at the county election were diminished, yet the annual expenses to prepare for it would be greatly increased. Could not some gentleman devise a more simple plan of voting in counties, which would be divested of all these difficulties, and would not leave the county at the mercy of every attorney—a plan which should be well understood, and calculated to give counties the means of choosing men of character and substance. He would beg leave to suggest, whether the system of voting by rating, would not be much simpler and better than by the present plan, and by that they would get rid of all the lumber of tenure with which the Bill was now encumbered. It would take in every class, and would at once also get rid of the encumbrance and expense of Barristers; for no Barristers would be necessary. If the present absurd, complicated, expensive, and extravagant plan were adopted, he was sure it would not answer the noble Lord's object—namely, that of diminishing expense, and enabling counties to choose men of intelligence, and possessing a stake in the country, to represent them. There was another suggestion which he would beg to offer, which appeared to him infinitely better than the present plan, and even preferable to fixing a rate as the qualification of voting; it was to take a proportion of the population who paid the highest rates; for instance, Dorsetshire had polled at the late election 4,000 voters—say 5,000. Let the 5,000 persons who where highest rated be entitled to the elective franchise. There was a difficulty in fixing any money scale of voting to embrace a certain proportion of the inhabitants which was this: that it would in some counties, include those rated at 10*l.* and in others those rated at 50*l.* Moreover money itself was subject to fluctuation. A Bank restriction Act, a severe pressure, or a sudden panic, would affect the value of money, and render any standard fixed on as conferring the right of voting uncertain and precarious. An alteration in the corn laws, too, affecting the value of agricultural property, might have a similar effect. On the whole, however, he preferred fixing a right of voting, say any certain number or given proportion of those persons paying county rates. If for example, the number fixed on for Dorset were, 5000, that would give at once an intelligent and respectable constituency, embracing all classes. Either of the plans he had hinted at would simplify the matter very much, and would be likely to give more permanent satisfaction than the system proposed by the Bill. He should not detain the Committee longer, but he could not suffer the clause to pass without offering these observations.

Lord *John Russell* said, it was quite right that, when hon. Members went into Committee upon the Reform Bill, they should be ready to agree to some reform; but the hon. Gentleman opposite, in adopting that spirit, had gone further than was necessary, and had proposed a more radical Reform than he should deem advisable. He certainly had not expected to hear, from an hon. Member who was so much an enemy to disfranchisement of any kind, a plan for doing away with all the freeholders of England, under the rather cavalier title of getting rid of the lumber of tenure. He must say, that throwing overboard the 40*s.* freeholders of England was the boldest and most radical proposition of reform that had ever been made in that House by any Member; and when he considered that it came from one who was so strongly opposed to every species of disfranchisement, it certainly produced in his mind no small degree of astonishment. The hon. Gentleman in proposing his changes, objected, as he well might, to the expense of county elections. But he imagined the plan of the hon. Gentleman would be found to be attended with the same evils as that which he wished to remedy. The proposition of taking the 5,000 highest-rated inhabitants, in Dorsetshire, for instance, would prove as complicated, as difficult of execution, and as hard to be brought to bear with any degree of accuracy, as any system of franchise, no matter how complicated. The framers of the Reform Bill set out on the principle not of wholly reconstructing the constituency upon any theory of their own, but of taking such parts of the present system as they conceived likely to furnish an independent Representation, and they considered the 40*s.* freeholders a body most useful to be intrusted with the franchise, as being capable of exercising it with honesty and independence, and being attached to the right, on which account they merited to be the more regarded in any change which was made. They had added to them possessors of copyhold tenures, making them, however, of higher value, as also leasehold tenants, and by the vote of to-night 50*l.* tenants at will. These were undoubtedly classes connected with tenure; but they were also directly connected with the property of the country, and there was not one class amongst them, to whom, in his judgment, a reasonable objection could be made. As to the objections which the hon. Gentleman had made on the ground of the intricacy of the machinery, they related more particularly to the system of registry, and the discussion ought to be reserved until that part of the Bill came on. He would only say, at present, that he was not prepared to go so far as the hon. Gentleman opposite, and to destroy at once the whole body of the freeholders of England.

Sir *Edward Sugden* said, that the noble Lord, by his own Bill, destroyed the rights of the 40*s.* freeholders, which he now professed himself so anxious to protect. Many of them who had life interests would be disfranchised, and the remainder would be overwhelmed by the multitude of new voters introduced. The registry proposed would cause a perpetual contest; each party would be desirous of knowing the number on both sides, and the right of being registered would be openly disputed, so that there would be a small annual election from one end of the kingdom to the other, and he feared it would engender bitter feelings, for the contests would be local, and the parties arraigning each other's rights would be generally neighbours. By this means political feuds would be carried into every hamlet and every house in the country.

Clause to stand part of the Bill.

The 21st Clause agreed to.

The Chairman put the question on the 22nd Clause, which provides that county voters need not be assessed to the Land Tax.

Colonel *Wood* suggested that the certificate of qualification, which each voter would become entitled to, had much better be granted on production of the receipt for the payment of the Poor-rate, on an estate of the value of 40*s.* than by the 10*l.* certificate of the register; for one was an easy and simple process, whereas the mode proposed to be adopted by the clause, as it now stood, was altogether complicated.

Clause agreed to.

The 23rd clause read, viz., "And be it enacted, that no person shall be allowed to have any vote in the election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire for or by reason of any trust estate, or mortgage, unless such trustee or mortgagee be in actual possession or receipt of the rents and profits of the same estate; but that the mortgager or the cestuique trust in possession shall and may vote for the same estate, notwithstanding such mortgage or trust."

Sir *Edward Sugden* observed, that the clause as it now stood, gave a right of voting to individuals whom his Majesty's Ministers, he supposed, could not have contemplated. He conceived that a trustee in possession for another, and having no beneficial interest himself in the estate, ought not to acquire a right of voting, but he apprehended this clause conferred that right upon such a person.

The *Solicitor General* was of opinion, that a trustee in the receipt of rents of a property, ought to possess the right of voting, as he must be considered the holder in the place of the beneficial proprietor.

Sir *Edward Sugden* observed, if a trustee had a beneficial interest in a property, he would be entitled to vote independent of the clause.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* believed, according to the existing law, trustees could not legally vote, whether in possession or not. The clause, however, ought not to pass without the bearings of it being fully considered.

Sir *Edward Sugden* knew many cases in which trustees executed their powers in the manner described by the clause, but who had no beneficial interest in the property, and it would be absurd to give such persons the right of voting.

Lord *Althorp* said, he knew the general practice was in perfect conformity to the Clause. If, however, alterations were deemed necessary, it would be better to introduce them at a subsequent stage.

Sir *Edward Sugden* begged to ask the noble Lord, whether an actual trustee, receiving rents and profits, but having no beneficial interest, was to be allowed to vote?

Lord *Althorp* understood, that in a variety of cases the Courts of Law had allowed that individuals, thus situated had a right to vote.

Sir *Edward Sugden* said, that if the clause was so interpreted, the trustee was invested with the power of voting contrary to the feeling of the individual on whose behalf he held the trust, which was a complete anomaly, and he, therefore, called upon his hon. and learned friend to strike out the part of the clause which related to trustees.

Lord *John Russell* said, the words had been copied from an Act of William 3rd and the principle which they involved had long been recognized as law. He certainly had no intention to alter the clause in any respect.

Clause agreed to.

The 24th Clause read:—" And be it enacted, that notwithstanding any thing hereinbefore contained, no person shall be entitled to vote in the election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament in respect of his estate or interest as a freeholder in any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop, occupied by himself, or in any land occupied by himself, together with any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop, if, by reason of the occupation thereof respectively, he might acquire a right to vote in the election of a Member or Members for any city or borough, whether he shall or shall not have actually acquired the right to vote for such city or borough in respect thereof."

Mr. *Praed* rose to offer an objection to entering on the discussion of the clause at so late an hour. He had given notice of his intention to move an amendment on this part of the Bill; and as that amendment had, during the progress of the last Bill, been debated no less than three times, he really did not consider it possible to give it that full attention, at that late hour, to which its importance entitled it. Feeling, also, that he was not able to urge his arguments with all the force to which he thought they might be applied in favour of this amendment, he had felt it to be his duty to request the aid of the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge; and he had received a note in reply from that hon. Member on Tuesday morning, saying, that he was quite willing to bring forward the amendment, but that, as the Belgian question, and the discussion of the glove trade would probably occupy the whole of the evening, he should not be in his place. The unexpected manner in which the Reform Bill had been brought before the House after other business, prevented the hon. Member from being in attendance that evening; and he trusted that, combining the circumstances of the late hour at which this clause was now brought forward, with the unexpected progress of the Bill on that day, and also the importance of the discussion, the noble Lord opposite would consent to its postponement until the right hon. member for the University of Cambridge could attend to give the amendment his support.

Lord *Althorp* saw no reason whatever in the statement of the hon. Member, for postponing the immediate consideration of the clause.

Mr. *Praed* then said, that he must demand credit for his assertion when he assured the House he was not actuated by any factious motives in pressing forward his amendment, but that he was impelled solely by the desire which he felt to ameliorate, as far as possible, the condition of that class of persons whose interests would be affected by this clause. He could not refrain from expressing his deep regret that the amendment which had been suggested during the progress of the Bill in the last Session had not been made a part of the present Bill, for it was so perfectly consistent, as well with the old Constitution as with the new Constitution about to be established by the Bill, and was also in such strict conformity to the principles of truth, reason, and justice, that he could in no wise account to himself for the reasons by which the House had been guided in its rejection, not being able to find them in the arguments which had been urged on its discussion during the last Session. He was disposed to press the adoption of the amendment with which he should have the honour to conclude upon the attention of the Committee, because he was of opinion that the agricultural interest, to which it was meant to give additional strength, had been unfairly treated by the Ministers in framing this Bill; and, in proof of this assertion, he must beg to recall to the recollection of the House the fact that the Bill proposed, in schedule A, to disfranchise fifty-six boroughs, and in schedule B, thirty, taking away from those places 142 Members, which it was impossible for the supporters of the Bill to deny, chiefly represented the agricultural interests. On the other hand, in schedule C, it was proposed to establish twenty-two new boroughs, and in schedule D, nineteen, giving in all sixty-three new Representatives to the commercial and manufacturing interests—a change which, it was also impossible to deny, would greatly affect the agricultural interests. By the combined operation of these causes they would find themselves placed under the new Constitution, in a much weaker position than that they now held. He would not go into very lengthened details to prove this, but he must refer to one or two counties from the returns on the Table to illustrate his meaning. In the county of York, the population, exclusive of the boroughs, amounted to 850,000, the amount of assessed taxes was 127,000*l.*, and the number of Representatives six; the boroughs of that county, however, contained only 322,000 inhabitants, the taxation was 90,000, and yet they were to return thirty Representatives. In Lancashire, the county population, exclusive of the boroughs was 570,000, and that of the boroughs, 482,000; the taxation of the county was 80,000*l.*, and that of the boroughs 140,000*l.*, the number of county Representatives was to be five, but the boroughs were to return eighteen. Again, in the county of Stafford, the county population was 217,000, and that of the boroughs 124,000, the taxation for the former was 43,000*l.*, and that of the latter 17,000*l.*, but the county was to return only four Members while the boroughs were to return eleven. If the Committee would take the trouble to compare the whole of the counties in the same manner it would become manifest that the agriculturists were to have a much smaller proportion of Members by the new Constitution than they had by the existing one in relation to their numbers and the amount of taxes paid by them. Indeed this Bill was, in some respects, worse than the former, and he thought by a very simple statement he should make that position evident to the House. There was to be an increase of Members in two classes of manufacturing, and commercial boroughs, while those in schedule B, which were likely to return agricultural Members, were to be reduced; the natural consequence would be, that one interest was exalted, and the other depressed. He implored the attention of hon. Members connected with agriculture to this statement, as they well knew that the agricultural interests did not return more Members at present than were necessary to their own adequate protection. If the present clause, however, was carried, a new class of voters would be introduced, whose inclinations would lead them to use every exertion to prevent the return of Members for the counties connected with the agriculture; and thus a greater preponderance would be given to that interest which he had already shewn was extending its influence. He professed himself contented with the present Constitution, but if they were to have a new one, he desired to have it as similar to the existing one as he could obtain it. With that feeling, he was of opinion, that every man ought to vote for that place in which his property was situated. The Knights of the Shire were those who were supposed to represent the agriculturists, and therefore their return ought not to be influenced by those who had no direct connection with that interest; on the other hand, the cities and towns ought to return individuals to represent the manufacturing and commercial interests. This doctrine was clearly recognized by Blackstone. That distinguished author said, "The Knights of the Shire are the Representatives of the landholders, or landed interest of the kingdom; their electors must, therefore, have estates in lands or tenements within the country represented." Again, "As for the election of citizens and burgesses, these are supposed to be the mercantile part or trading interest of this kingdom." Again, Whitelocke, in his Memorials, says, "The gentlemen who are Knights of the Shire, are more especially the Representatives of the country interests, and the Yeomanry; while the merchants and traders chiefly elect the Representatives for the cities and boroughs; and thus it is, that all the various interests are represented in the Parliament of England." Each class—the agricultural interest and the commercial interest—had its proper Representatives; the former elected by the landholders, for the counties; the latter by the citizens and burgesses, for cities; and it was just and right that it should be so. It was to preserve this fair balance that he meant to propose his amendment. It appeared to him that in the course of these discussions he had heard his Majesty's Ministers give their sanction to the same principle. He had heard the noble Lord who introduced the Bill say, that he desired the towns to have their proper share of Representation, but he did not wish them to interfere with the county Representation; and, on the 17th of last August, he was present when the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared, that one of the objects of Government was to diminish the influence of towns on county elections. But he had a still higher authority on this subject, namely, that of a noble and learned Lord in another place; who had said, in reference to his having been formerly elected Knight of the Shire for the county of York —"I can assure your Lordships, when I was put in nomination as a candidate to represent the county of York, I did not canvas the country gentlemen and the squires of the county; for, although I was personally acquainted with a large portion of them, yet I knew that they were opposed to me; but I went to the manufacturers, and to the merchants of Sheffield, and Leeds, and Huddersfield, for I knew that it was upon them that the result of the election would mainly depend." If, therefore, under the old Constitution, such a result was to be expected, was there anything in the new one to prevent the same class of persons obtaining equal influence in the counties? It appeared that formerly the freeholders of Leeds and Sheffield, and the other large towns, were able to influence the return of at least one of the Representatives of the county of York, and what was there in the present Bill to prevent the exercise of a similar influence? Indeed, was it not probable that the freeholders of these large towns would be able to exercise almost a complete control in the West Riding of Yorkshire? This was formerly one of the great causes of complaint under the present system, and the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, in bringing forward his Motion to give Representatives to Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham, particularly dwelt upon it. The noble Lord then said, that it was, rendering the county Members rather the Representatives of the great towns, than of the landed interest; and went on to suppose that a collision of interests might arise between the manufacturing interest of the county and the agricultural interest; and very pointedly asked, in that case, how it could be expected that the Representative, whatever course he might pursue could give satisfaction to his constituents? Under such circumstances, he would call upon the noble Lord to avoid a state of things which he himself so much deprecated. It was formerly admitted by all Reformers, that the class of town freeholders prevented the county Representation being what it was originally intended to be, namely, the Representative of the landed interest. He said, then, if they were a bad class of voters for the counties, the objections formerly urged against them could be obviated, by letting them have votes in the towns with which they were connected, and with which they had common interests, instead of sending them into the county to vote, from which they had separate and distinct interests. He was confident the course the noble Lord recommended would lead to a result all were most anxious to avoid. He was perfectly well aware, that, on all great points, the interests of all classes were identical, and that that which tended to the injury of one class would also injure all other classes. But, at the same time, questions arose in which the interests of the agriculturists and the manufacturers were in some degree opposed to each other; and he was satisfied that throwing large bodies of town voters into the counties would tend to generate feelings of animosity. Hon. Members would recollect that, in the old Statutes respecting elections, there was nothing to compel residence, and this was to continue to be the case with regard to the votes for counties; and by this means a class of non-resident town freeholders would be created. The non-resident freeman might have some interest in the corporation of which he was a Member, but the interest of the 40*s*. town freeholder in the county where his freehold was situated could not be very great. It was urged such a person ought not to vote for the town, because his interest in it was not great, and yet he was to be allowed to vote for the Representation of the county, with which he had no common interest whatever. It appeared to him that Ministers had been guilty of a great anomaly, when they permitted the occupier of a 10*l*. house, from which he might be turned out at a short notice, to have a vote for the house because he had an interest in the town, and at the same time they refused a vote in the town to the 40*s*. town freeholder, who must at any rate be equally zealous for its prosperity. It was said, that this regulation had been introduced as a counterbalance to the 50*l*. a-year tenants-at-will, but he was persuaded that class of persons were fully as intelligent and independent as the 10*l*. householder, or the 40*s*. freeholder, in the towns. By adopting the present course, an invidious distinction was made, which ought never to exist, and which it was the duty of the House to exert itself to prevent. He was satisfied that the feeling of dissatisfaction at the adoption of this principle, was daily gaining ground; and if the Bill should pass into a law, and an election should follow, the complaints it would cause would compel an alteration, which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to carry into effect, as the town interest would have a preponderating influence in that House. He contended, moreover, that this principle was entirely new to the Constitution, and at total variance with the spirit of our representative system. At present there were several thousand freeholders in the town of Leeds, who had a common interest with the town, but were to have no votes for it, and they would be enabled, from their number, to influence the return of Members for that riding of the county in which they resided. He was anxious to promote the interests of the manufacturing and commercial classes, but he should be sorry to do that at the expense of the landed interests; at any rate, he desired to prevent anything like a feeling of jealousy growing up between them. He was confident that the clause now under consideration would lead to nothing but confusion. A fair balance ought to be struck between the agricultural and the commercial interests, and whatever number of Representatives was given to the agricultural interest, should be given to that alone. He did not submit this proposition in any spirit of hostility to the Bill, but as a means of improving it, and he had drawn it up after a similar clause in the Scotch Bill. He trusted that he should on that account have the support of the learned Lord Advocate and his friends, for, if the principle be good in one case, it must be also good in the other. He should conclude by moving, that, in the 24th clause, all the words be omitted after the words "to serve in any future Parliament," for the purpose of inserting words to the effect, "that no title to vote for the election of a Knight of the Shire should be conferred by any property situate within the limits of a borough, which should, by the provision of this Bill, or otherwise, return a Member or Members to serve in Parliament; and that every man seized of freehold lands and tenements of the clear yearly value to him of 40*s*. above all rents and charges, situate within the limits of a borough, returning a Member or Members to Parliament, should have the right to vote in the election of Members for such borough."

Lord *John Russell:* while he rose to oppose this amendment, admitted, that it was one which might be fairly proposed in the spirit of making a change in the Representation of the country, and that it was a fair point for discussion when they were considering that subject. The hon. and learned Member, in proposing this amendment, seemed to proceed on the notion, which had the sanction indeed of such authorities as Blackstone, Whitelocke, and other writers on our Representative system, but which was not borne out by the practical constitution of that House, that the boroughs represented the trade and commerce, and the counties the agricultural interests of the country. If they were to proceed on that notion, they should confine the Members of which that House would be constituted to those large cities and towns only which were the seats of trade and commerce and to the counties. But they pursued a different course, and it was probable that they might attain the same end by different means. While the agricultural interest would be represented by the Members for the agricultural counties, it would also have the Members for all the boroughs situate in those counties whose population had been made up by the addition of the surrounding districts, and which boroughs would be likely to send no Members to that House but such as were friendly to the agricultural interest. He thought, therefore, that the hon. Member might very fairly be said to reason in a false assumption, when he took the county Members as the sole Representatives of the agricultural interest, and the borough Members as alone representing the manufacturing and commercial interests. For instance, if they looked at a town near them, Guildford, which was surrounded by an agricultural district, and which did not contain any manufactories, they might very reasonably assume that the landed interest would have great weight there. He thought, therefore, that, as the Bill stood at present, the agricultural interest had no cause for complaint. The proposition of the hon. and learned Member would have the effect of deteriorating and injuring the borough constituencies. It would also tend to create a division and a feeling of jealousy between the agricultural and manufacturing interests, the union and combination of which alone should be the object of the Legislature. In the end also, the effect of it would be to produce too great a preponderance of the landed interests in that House. Again, in a city or borough where the constituency was not very large, it would introduce a system of splitting land into small freeholds for the purpose of promoting particular interests. It was not probable that a man who had property in a county, would divide it for the purpose of making votes, as the number of votes would be so great as to prevent any number he could create from having any material effect on an election. The very reverse, however, would be the case in towns, and the smaller they were, the greater effect it would, of course, have. These were some of the evils he apprehended if the hon. and learned Member's Motion was carried; and, besides, he feared that the further effect of it would be ultimately to divide the agricultural from the manufacturing interests, which the hon. and learned Gentleman himself was so anxious to avoid. The hon. and learned Member had alluded to an opinion which he (Lord John Russell) had formerly given. He was now, however, ready to admit, that he thought Members for a county were totally inadequate to represent the complicated interests of both town and country; but, as it was proposed that the large towns were to have Members of their own, and there was to be a class of small boroughs in which both interests might be blended, he was anxious that the county Representation should not be exclusively confined to an agricultural constituency. He apprehended that this union of interests was one of the most desirable objects to be obtained, so that Members in that House should not consider themselves as attached wholly to one particular class of constituents. If it was determined that the county Members were to represent a rural constituency alone, and that they were to be opposed to the Members for the manufacturing and commercial classes, it was impossible that a legislative assembly, so constituted, could act with harmony, or pursue a consistent and straight forward course, calculated to advance the permanent interests of the country. The adoption of the amendment, so far from increasing the influence of the landed interest, would, he verily believed, lead to quite a contrary result, for the endeavour to make its Representatives prominent held them up to the jealousy of all other classes, who would consider it as their joint interest to reduce this comparative importance. On these grounds, he felt it his duty to resist the amendment proposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman.

Colonel *Davies* supported the amendment. He had already given his opinions for pursuing that course, and would not repeat them. It was very true that the agricultural and manufacturing interests should not be placed in a state of warfare; but if this amendment was agreed to, he did not apprehend it would produce any such effect. He had heard with considerable surprise one of the arguments made use of by the noble Lord. The noble Lord said, that if the votes of freeholders of the towns were confined to such places, it would give much influence to particular individuals, by dividing property for the purpose of creating votes; but this imaginary danger could not take place if he understood the 18th clause, for by it any life interest to be created must be of the amount of 10*l*. The noble Lord further said, he wished that the county Members should not exclusively represent the agricultural community, although he inferred that the town Members were exclusively to represent the manufacturing and commercial interests. But did the noble Lord forget, that all the smaller freeholders of the towns were to vote for the counties; and would not the same danger arise from creating freeholders in the town for that purpose, as for voting in the towns themselves? would not that increase the influence of towns, in an undue degree, over the return of county Members? This evil, too, be it remembered, would be increased by the division of counties. It had been affirmed in the House, that the Members for one of the divisions of Warwick, and one also of Chester would be returned by the town interest almost exclusively. For these reasons, and for those he had before given, he should support the amendment.

Mr. *Hume* said, the object of the amendment would go to disfranchise all the town voters in England, so far as regarded their votes for the counties. If such a proposition was carried either in that House, or in another place, the Bill had better be wholly given up. It was bad enough as it stood with respect to the 10*l.* franchise, and he entreated the Ministers not to listen to this proposition. He hoped they would not suffer themselves to be entrapped, for if this amendment was adopted it would still further tend to narrow the franchise. He was not surprised at this proposition, coming, as it did, from the hon. and learned Gentleman, but he was perfectly astonished to hear a Reformer like his hon. and gallant friend the member for Worcester support it. He would do all he could to resist the proposed amendment.

Sir *Edward Sugden* said, that the amendment now proposed was not one of disfranchisement towards any class of voters, as it had been so mistakenly described by the hon. member for Middlesex, whose general observations displayed a total want of knowledge of the original clause, or of the amendment which had this evening been proposed by his hon. and learned friend. The amendment involved no insidious proposition; it was one taken out of the noble Lord's (Lord John Russell's) own book in a former edition of the Reform Bill; but it now appeared as if the hon. member for Middlesex considered that every thing which at any time fell from that noble Lord ought to have his support, while a similar proposition from that side of the House would meet with the marked and warm disapprobation of the hon. Member. The hon. Member cried out with a loud voice for the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill; and yet when the noble authors of the Bill thought proper to change it, the hon. Member was equally loud in applauding that change. The whole of the grounds taken by the noble Lord (Lord John Russell) in answer to the observations of the learned Gentleman who proposed the amendment, were erroneous. His hon. and learned friend (Mr. Praed) only contended that town freeholders should be permitted to vote for the towns or boroughs in which they lived, and not for the counties in which these towns might be situated, inasmuch as such permission would tend to deluge the agricultural interests with voters in the manufacturing interest. It would, in fact, give the Representation of the counties in some instances into the hands of the town population. But one of the chief answers of the noble Lord to that plain proposition was, that to accede to the amendment would be to produce a separation between the agricultural and commercial voters. By his own Bill the noble Lord was taking rural populations of some miles in extent to make up the requisite number of voters in boroughs or towns now to have a new constituency. The severance of the agricultural from the manufacturing interest in the manner proposed by his hon. and learned friend was objected to by the noble Lord for the most extraordinary of all reasons, namely, because it was now too late for investigation. Because it was too late, was that House to give a very inadequate consideration to such an important subject? It was, however, driven on to it, because it was the will and pleasure of the Government, and their supporters in that House, that on they must go at all hazards. Why not give to the agricultural interest its fair share in the Representation of the country, and why deluge it with voters from the towns? The noble Lords at the other side said at one time, that, with a view not to separate the manufacturing from the agricultural interest, we must give to town voters a right of voting for the counties in which such towns might be situated; but if that principle were good for anything why not apply it generally? Why separate and divide counties to the exclusion of towns, and, by the very same Bill, mix up the Representation of both together? It was said by the noble Lord (Lord John Russell), that if the manufacturing voters in boroughs or towns were divided from the agricultural voters there would be a splitting, and collision of interests; but why did the noble Lord take away the right of the 40s. freeholders, and thus preclude the right of occasional freeholds? Why should existing rights be cut down by a legislation which was inapt for its purpose, and which could in no degree effect the object of the noble Lord? The noble Lord the Paymaster of the Forces, and the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had used opposite arguments as to the right to be conferred upon towns to vote in the county Representation; the former contending that it would avoid a severance of interests in the large manufacturing and agricultural towns, and the latter that the exclusion of town voters from a franchise in counties would be a great boon to the agricultural interest. These opinions were now, however, inverted in a certain degree, no doubt, with a view to answer a very different purpose. The object evidently was, to do something at the expense of the agricultural interest, for it was quite clear that the two noble Lords, who knew so much of the public meetings, could not receive graces and compliments, and write letters to the chairmen of such meetings, if they were not aware of what they said, which could only mean, in his opinion, the abandonment of the agricultural for the manufacturing interest. If justice were intended to be done, why give an undue preponderance to the towns and boroughs over the county constituency, or act *e contra*? He (Sir E. Sugden) would never consent to cut down any one 40*s*. freehold right, unless, indeed, the so doing would confer an aggregate benefit upon the people at large. But it was said by the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, in justification of his views, only look at the many commercial towns not sending nor to send Members to Parliament under this Bill, and would you exclude them from a share in the county Representation? Why, that very argument would completely cut the ground from under the noble Lord, and prove the necessity of adopting the proposed amendment. If commercial towns were to have Representatives, let the constituency be limited to the towns; but why should they be permitted to interfere with the counties? The inhabitants being freeholders of commercial towns not having separate Representatives had a right to vote for counties; but, in the name of common sense, let that not be made an argument for deluging the county with the town Representation. Take Brighton, a town with which most hon. Members were acquainted, as an example. While Brighton had no distinct Representatives he never objected to the great body of its freeholders having votes for the county. But now that Brighton was to have its own Representatives, why should the voters have a double privilege for the town and county. It really appeared, however, as if whatever changes were proposed by his Majesty's Government in the various editions of their Bill must be right, while every suggestion which came from their opponents was to be received with distrust and disapprobation. In the Reform Bill first proposed by the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, the amendment now under consideration formed a part of it and was stated by the noble Lord to have been intended as a great boon to the agricultural interest. Why then the sudden and unaccountable alteration? The noble Lords had another purpose to answer, as he had already stated, and no change could they propose which which would not meet with the approbation and obtain the vote of the hon. member for Middlesex. If the Government wished to cut down the 40*s*. freeholders, let them at least bring in a proper clause to effect their object, but as the whole Bill now stood, it must work the most decided injury to the counties. Under such circumstances, he would not at that late hour detain the House longer than by declaring his entire concurrence in the amendment of his hon. and learned friend.

Lord *Althorp* said, that this question had been fully debated on previous occasions, and was fully decided upon by large majorities. The object of the clause as it now stood was not to deluge counties with town constituencies, for the law as it existed at present gave the right of voting to freeholders in towns for the counties in which they were situated. In fact, taking part of these rights away, they diminished the influence of towns in the return of county Members in proportion to the number of freeholders, who by right of occupancy would vote for the town, and not for the county. The Ministers did not intend proposing any clause, neither had they ever done so, which would deprive a man possessed of property of the right of voting in virtue of that property wherever it might be situated; the very contrary was their decided object. He had frequently said, and he said so now, that the object of this clause in the Bill was *pro tanto* to give an advantage to the agricultural interest, but not an undue advantage as against any other in the state. He contended that the very clause they were now discussing would increase the agricultural voters; but that could be no reason why Gentlemen opposite should complain of the increased number of voters in towns. If in every case the towns were to be excluded from voting (in right of freehold property) for counties, then he felt convinced that considerable injury would be inflicted upon them. Upon these grounds he supported the clause as it stood. He hoped the House would not now change their opinions on the subject, and, therefore, he trusted, they would reject the amendment.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, he would support the amendment if it were only because it simplified the right of voting, and would prevent boroughs from interfering in and influencing the returns for counties. He wished that whoever had a right of voting for property situated in a town or borough should exercise his franchise in such town or borough, and let a similar right be exercised by county voters for the counties only. The hon. member for Middlesex expressed a great alarm that the amendment was wholly to exclude town voters from voting in the county, and it appeared as if that very alarm had taken away his power of reasoning upon this subject. If the hon. Member had read the clauses which regulated the right of voting he would have found that they took away all the right of voting for counties, for all freeholds situated in towns except those under 10*l.* value, and the non-resident freeholders. Oh, but the hon. Member, though a county Representative never deigned to ask the yeomen, the country gentlemen, or squires, for their votes; no, no, he depended upon the town voters, and was exactly "the great sublime" he drew of a county Representative. On the other hand, however, those Gentlemen who sat on the Opposition side of the House considered the hon. Member to be rather a mockery of a county Representative; and therefore they objected to deluging the counties with town constituencies. The simple argument used by the noble Lord (Lord John Russell), in justification of the clause as it now stood, was, it would prevent the severance of the agricultural and, manufacturing interests, and that by blending them both together they would be consulting the interest of all. But that was a proposition to which he could not accede, for it was directly opposed to the common sense and justice of the case, as well as to the view of it which had been so often stated by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He must say, in illustration of his view upon this point, as well as in support of the amendment of his hon. and learned friend (Mr. Praed), give to the man of property in Leeds a right of voting for Leeds, but do not by way of a most extraordinary amalgamation, give him also a right of voting for the county of York. The neat and clear speech just now made by his hon. and learned friend (Sir E. Sugden) left him indeed nothing to add, and he would not weaken its force by any further observations.

Mr. *Ramsden* opposed the amendment, because in his view, it would tend to sever the agricultural from the manufacturing interest, to which he would never be a party.

Mr. *Praed* said, the hon. member for Middlesex was altogether mistaken in either thinking or stating that the object of his amendment was to disfranchise any portion of the people. On the contrary, he was willing to extend enfranchisement where it might be just and necessary to do so, and if towns of consequence were not represented, he would gladly assist them in obtaining Representatives; and he apprehended his amendment would facilitate that object, by laying it down as a principle that towns were to have Representatives exclusively to themselves. He perfectly understood the appeal which had been made to the sense of the country; and he could assure the hon. Member (Mr. Hume) that he had taken considerable pains to make himself acquainted with the state of public feeling, and he had found it to be exactly as he had represented it.

Lord *Milton* contended that the amendment would tend to the disfranchisement of certain voters which he should wish to find increased rather than diminished. He said disfranchisement, because it was often considered that a vote for the county was more valuable than a vote for the town or borough. Besides that, all the freeholders in the old boroughs had a right to vote for the counties, by virtue of their freeholds, independent of their rights as burgesses or citizens. These votes such persons would entirely lose under certain circumstances of residence and value. If, indeed, the amendment were confined to the new boroughs, he did not think it would be so objectionable as it appeared to him in its present form.

Sir *George Clerk* could not bring himself to believe that any injury would be done to any party by acceding to the amendment of his hon. and learned friend. There was evidently a total discrepancy, a total variation of principle, between the English and Scotch Bills as to the borough Representation; for while it was sought in England to throw the town constituency into the counties, it was to be limited in Scotland to the voters in the towns, who were to have nothing to do with the county Representation. The learned Lord Advocate had expressly stated that when he introduced the Scotch Reform Bill, and therefore,would to-night claim the honour of the learned Lord's vote for the amendment, in order to maintain the consistency of the learned Lord.

The *Lord Advocate* denied that he should be guilty of any inconsistency in voting for this clause of the English Bill, and voting for confining the town voters in Scotland to the towns, because at present the borough voters in Scotland had no right to vote for county Members, but the freeholders in the English boroughs always possessed that right. There was therefore, no analogy between the right of voting either for towns or counties in England and Scotland, besides in England no right of voting by " a superiority" existed as it did in the county Representation of Scotland.

Sir *George Clerk* said, that the learned Lord's right of voting for him for the county of Edinburgh was entirely owing to " a superiority" which he had in a street of Edinburgh.

The *Lord Advocate* denied that his right of voting was owing to any such " superiority," and on a future occasion he hoped he should be able to prove it to the satisfaction of the hon. Baronet.

Sir *Robert Peel* was led to believe, from the observations which he had just heard, that there was a sort of compromise in this affair, and that the learned Lord Advocate was only shadowing out the image of what the new Representation in Scotland would be when the new Reform Bill should become the law of the land.

The House divided on the Amendment, Ayes 90; Noes 181—Majority 91.

HOUSE OF LORDS,
Thursday, February 2, 1832.

MINUTES.] Bills. Committed; Arbitration. Read a second time; Embezzlements Prevention.

Petitions presented. By Lord CLONCURRY, from Knocksmark and Colmelling, in the County of Meath, against the Tithe System.

POOR LAWS.] Lord *Teynham* begged leave to ask the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack; if he had any intention of proposing, on behalf of his Majesty's Government, in the course of the present Session to appoint a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the present state of the agricultural population, with a view to some improvement or amelioration of the Poor-laws, and for the purpose of providing employment for agricultural labourers.

The *Lord Chancellor* replied, that he had it in his power to say, that it was the intention of his Majesty's Government, before they brought in any measure of relief or improvement, to issue a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the practical operation of the Poor-laws, and the different modes in which they were acted on in the several parishes throughout the country. Whether that Commission would embrace all the objects recommended by the noble Baron, he was not prepared to say; but he thought it would afford such information as would, in a great degree, facilitate the task of legislation on the Poor-laws. As he was on his legs, he would state, that, when first he heard of the proposition of his Majesty's Government issuing this Commission, he had doubts and difficulties on his mind as to its practicability and efficiency; but, on consideration, these objections were removed, and he now was of opinion that the best results might be expected from it.

Lord *Ellenborough* regretted that this important question was put while so few noble Lords were in the House, as he thought the subject ought to receive the fullest and and most general consideration. He could not forbear expressing his apprehension that the issuing of a Commission would have the effect of retarding instead of hastening, such remedies as were so much required in the operation of the Poor-laws—remedies which the country so anxiously looked for; and he could but feel, if such a delay took place, that the expectations of the people which had been excited by the declarations of his Majesty's Ministers last Session, would be most grievously disappointed. It was said, in the month of June last, that the Session should not close without some measure being submitted to Parliament, but that it was impossible anything effective could be done until the surplus population was removed. He had heard of no steps to effect that object, and now it seemed that no specific measure was prepared, and the country had to look to the uncertain proceedings and dilatory results of a Commission.

The *Lord Chancellor* had certainly made the remark relating to the surplus rural population alluded to by the noble Lord, but, whatever anxiety he might have personally felt to have seen the question of the Poor-laws brought by his Majesty's Government before Parliament, or to have been the organ of submitting a measure for their improvement, it was utterly impossible that he could have devoted his mind to the subject, as, since the close of the Session, he had been occupied with his other duties without any intermission. During the long vacation he had not more than nine days respite, and during the Christmas holydays he had not such a portion of time to spare as was sufficient for its due consideration. He believed that the noble Baron would find himself mistaken in supposing that the issuing of the Commission would retard the Bill of Relief beyond the present Session. In his opinion it would not; and though he did not wish to pledge himself on the point, he thought he could assure the House that a bill for the better regulation of the Poor-laws would certainly be laid on their Lordships' Table before their separation.

Lord *Ellenborough* said, if a Commission was to be appointed, he had no desire to urge it to a hurried decision. He was quite sure that all the discussions would receive very powerful assistance from the noble and learned Lord, who had applied his mind to the subject for many years.

The Marquis of *Salisbury* would promise if the Government would give a distinct pledge to appoint a Commission, and legislate upon its report, to abstain from calling the attention of their Lordships to the subject. But as it was one of paramount importance, and to the settlement of which all classes of the people were anxiously looking, if the pledge was not given he should feel himself called upon to submit a Motion on the subject. He hoped, however, that the Ministers were serious in their intentions, and he should prefer that the measure of relief should originate with them.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, that not only was his Majesty's Government disposed to issue the Commission, but it had taken some steps, in the course of the last fortnight, towards preparing it, and the only difficulty in the way at present was to find efficient persons who would act gratuitously.

Lord *Ellenborough* hoped that no imprudent notions of economy would deprive the country of an efficient Commission. He thought that it would be folly to employ less able men without payment, if more able men could be had for money. The Government ought to have only one object in view, the nomination of an able and effective Commission, and the collection of a body of the best information which could possibly be obtained.

Lord *Teynham* expressed his gratification at the information his question had elicited from the noble and learned Lord. If Parliament and the country acted together, and competent persons were appointed, he had no doubt important and most beneficial improvements would be the consequence.

EMIGRATION.] Lord *Ellenborough* begged leave to inquire from the noble Viscount, if any paper could be laid before the House which would afford a view of the progress of emigration for the last two years.

Viscount *Goderich* said, he would make inquiries, and if such documents were in his office, he did not anticipate any objection to the producing of them.

The Earl of *Carnavon* wished to know if his Majesty's Government had it in view to propose any legislative measures for the facilitating of emigration. He wished to know if a plan which was mentioned some time since was still to be pursued, by which it was contemplated to allow parishes to mortgage the Poor-rates for the purpose of raising a fund to defray the expense of removing to the colonies the superabundant population.

Viscount *Goderich* said, that it was not the intention of his Majesty's Government to propose to Parliament this Session the same bill which was submitted last year. Many practical objections were taken to it at the time, which, on consideration, appeared to him to be just and reasonable. He had, therefore, declined renewing the bill; nor was it either his intention to propose any measure similar to that mentioned by the Noble Earl. Indeed, he did not think that a necessity would arise for the Government going out of its way to afford pecuniary assistance to those persons disposed to emigrate, as the number of voluntary emigrants to the Canadas had considerably increased within the last year, and he was happy to say, that their settlement had been attended with the most beneficial effects, both as regarded themselves, and the places where they were located. The voluntary emigration last year from England and Ireland was nearly double that of any former year; and he repeated that it was with much satisfaction he had it in his power to say, that the people who had gone out had benefited themselves and the country which they had adopted. Notwithstanding the immense influx, the price of labour had not fallen in the Canadas, and there was still plenty of good land and profitable occupation for those industrious persons who sought it.

The Marquis of *Lansdown* thought, that the good example set in some parishes in the west of England had induced other parishes to afford the same encouragement to emigration. The expense of transport was now materially reduced, and, therefore, no measure similar to the bill of last Session was called for.

The Earl of *Carnarvon* begged to ask, further, whether a rate made for the purpose of facilitating emigration from any parish was not illegal, and if the Law Courts would not order it to be quashed on application to them.

The Marquis of *Lansdown* replied, there was no doubt that if the whole of the rate-payers agreed to discharge the rate they could do so, but as the law at present stood, if any one of the rate-payers objected, it was illegal.

PROMOTION OF ANATOMICAL SCIENCE.] The Duke of *Sussex:* My Lords —I have the honour to present to your Lordships the humble Petition of the President and the Commonalty of the Faculty of Physic in London, praying your Lordships' serious and immediate attention, to enacting some legislative measure for the promotion of the study of anatomy, and which they humbly submit, may be materially aided by the repeal of the act for the dissection and anatomy of murderers, and by allowing the opening of the body of any individual, provided he should not have expressed any wish to the contrary previous to his death, or that his relations should not evince any objection on the subject. The petitioners assure your Lordships, that in applying to your right hon. House, they are not prompted by any motives of interest, either in their individual or corporate capacity, but solely by their wish to promote the objects of humanity and the welfare of society. From the great anxiety that has been expressed by the public on this most interesting subject, I do not conceive that a petition of greater importance could come before your Lordships, nor one in which society in general is more particularly interested. Your petitioners state, and they state it rightly, that towards the improvement of physic and surgery no study can contribute so much as that of anatomy; that in their examination of applicants to practice, it is one of the peculiar branches in which they make the most minute and strict inquiries, requiring the applicants to be well acquainted with it. Indeed, such is the advantage which has already been derived from the improvement of medical science in this line of study, that, comparing the value of life as now estimated to what it was 100 years ago, it has absolutely doubled. In proof of this argument, I have only to refer your Lordships to the books of the various insurance offices. Not only, my Lords, is the study of this science enjoined by the Faculty from which I present this petition, and by all similar institutions in various parts of this empire, but the law of the land visits with punishment any person who may mismanage his patient through ignorance of his art; and yet, at the same time that it thus requires the student to make himself thoroughly acquainted with his profession, it, by another law, prohibits the means by which he may acquire such information; for, by the common law of this country, it is a misdemeanour for any one to have a dead body in his house, unless the person had died under his roof. I am glad to have my noble and learned friend—if he will allow me to call him so—(Lord Eldon) listening to my statement, as I delayed presenting the petition until there was a full attendance in the house, and that I might be assisted by the knowledge of learned Lords, so far as to set me right if I make any erroneous statement. I repeat, then, my Lords, that there are several trials upon record, which show that practitioners, as well as students, have been prosecuted for having dead bodies in their houses, and have suffered the punishment either of fine or imprisonment for such misdemeanour. As to that part of the petition which goes to repeal the Statute against murderers, I cannot say I go the full length which is prayed for in the petition, but I am most anxious, my Lords, to go along with the feelings of the public; I do not wish to wound those of any man, and I respect the motives of those who may think differently from me on the subject, but still I do think, my Lords, that all classes of society, especially the lower, will be benefited by some legislative enactment on this most important subject, which might be passed after due consideration, and bearing in mind, that no one is to be subjected to any act which militates against his feelings, and is at variance with a due sense of decency and propriety. In the year 1745, the surgeons were separated from the Barbers' Company by royal charter, and from that time the science has gradually improved, and the members who now compose that body are persons of as high education as in any other profession; many of them possess every qualification suited to a gentleman and a scholar. To such persons, my Lord, it is a subject of deep regret that, obliged as they are to prosecute their studies for the benefit of mankind, they are reduced not only to act contrary to the laws, but also to come in contact with persons of the lowest and vilest class, such as those who, by a vulgar appellation, are called "body-snatchers;" who, proceeding from one crime to another, acquire such total disregard for all moral propriety, that, for the sake of lucre, they commit the crime of sacrilege and robbery, and at last finish by the foulest of crimes — that of murder—for the sole purpose of turning the body of the sufferer to their own private gains. Indeed, my Lords, I cannot conceive a more dreadful state of things; and recollecting what I myself heard on the trials of certain individuals on a late occasion, I cannot conceal my own feelings while presenting this petition, which, permit me, my Lords, to observe, is presented for the benefit of the poor much more than of the rich. Your Lordships, as well as myself, if we are in want either of surgical or medical advice, shall, no doubt, be able to pay persons well instructed in their profession, and who for want of the means in this country have been compelled to pursue their studies abroad; while the poorer classes of society, and your army and navy, will have to seek for assistance at the hands of ignorant and ill-educated persons, who will mangle their bodies, and injure their constitutions, from want of that scientific knowledge of the art, which, if the present system be continued, they will be precluded from obtaining; and yet I have been startled by an observation which an individual made to me, that there was something disgraceful in a member of a scientific body taking share in the sentence pronounced against such a criminal. But, my Lords, I do think that the public at large are not fully aware of the object of that Statute which was passed in the reign of George 2nd, and which was intended specifically to prevent any chance of Christian burial to a murderer. In all other executions a part of the melancholy ceremony consists in reading the burial service to the criminal previous to his being launched into eternity, after which his body is delivered over to his friends or relations, who bury him at their own pleasure. In the case of murder this service is totally omitted; and with criminals of that class, after execution, they are sentenced to be dissected and anatomized—in other words, the body to be separated, and made into anatomical preparations, which precludes any possibility of its receiving Christian burial; and this I take to be the meaning of the law. To show your Lordships in what little esteem surgery was generally held, I have only to quote an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of Henry 3rd, when the barbers and surgeons were classed as one company, and when they were allowed four bodies a-year, which they might obtain of felons who were executed—a small number indeed in those days, and which now would be considered totally insufficient, when we have upwards of 2,000 students learning the profession in this city alone. I therefore pray, my Lords, that the prayer of the petitioners may be taken into your Lordships' most serious consideration, to the end that measures may be adopted, under the sanction of the Legislature, to secure the means of facilitating the study of anatomy in particular, and the science of medicine in general.

The Earl of *Eldon* stated, that the illustrious Duke had given a correct description of the law on the subject to which he had referred, but it was one thing to give up for dissection the bodies of those consenting, and quite another to say that the bodies of those who had not consented, or whose surviving relatives evinced any repugnance should be dissected. He agreed with much that had fallen from the illustrious Peer by whom the petition had been presented, and with many of the sentiments which it contained, fully assenting to the assertion that the state of public feeling on the subject throughout the country demanded that some change should be immediately made in the law.

The Duke of *Sussex* said, I have heard with extreme pleasure what has just fallen from my noble and learned friend—if he will allow me to call him so—and I am very glad to find my opinions confirmed by him. I am sincerely anxious that this subject should occupy your Lordships' cool and attentive consideration. I am, as I have already said, most anxious that the feelings of individuals should be, as much as possible, consulted, and that some measure should be adopted which shall promote the legitimate objects the surgeons have in view, and, at the same time, accord with the general feelings of mankind. My noble and learned friend has adverted to declarations made before death by persons respecting the examination or dissection of their bodies. I myself have made a provision of that nature. I have directed that, after death, my body shall be opened and examined, for I have some reason to think that there is a peculiarity in my conformation, the knowledge of which may possibly serve the interests of science. For more than forty years I was afflicted with a complaint of which I have lately gotten rid, and I have, therefore, directed that my body be submitted to examination—not to gratify an impertinent or idle curiosity, but to such scientific examination as may be required for explaining so remarkable a circumstance as that to which I have just adverted. In framing a measure such as that which the present condition of society and of science requires, no man can more earnestly desire than I do that the delicacy of family feeling should not be outraged; but it is competent for individuals to take measures on the subject. I have made the provisions of which I speak, and I wish others may seriously consider the propriety of acting in a similar manner, in the full persuasion that were such a practice frequent, the necessity of adopting other means to procure anatomical subjects would be nearly obviated. As a religious man, I look with confidence to that immortality, in which I may possibly remember, not without satisfaction, that my mortal remains here have been made useful to those of my fellow-creatures who may have been left still longer in this world; and, in quitting this state of existence, it may be some consolation to me to feel that, even after death, my bodily frame may advance that which I always desired during my life—the good of my fellow men. I beg leave now to present to your Lordships a petition, to the same effect as the one I have already presented, from the teachers and students of the School of Anatomy in Webb-street, Southwark; and I cannot sit down without expressing my full conviction, that if some arrangements be not speedily made, you will drive the study of anatomy altogether from this country, and compel our medical men to resort to foreign countries for that information which they ought to be able to obtain at home.

Petitions to lie on the Table.

RUSSIAN-DUTCH LOAN.] Lord *Wynford* said, in addressing their Lordships, pursuant to his Motion, he was desirous of relieving himself at the outset from the imputation of possessing an intention to make the situation of Holland more uneasy than he feared it already was. If he apprehended that his Motion would have the effect of detaching Russia from the interests of that country, he should be almost inclined to forego the task he had imposed upon himself—of bringing under the consideration of their Lordships the convention relating to the Russian-Dutch Loan, and likewise the manner in which that had lately been acted upon. He was fully persuaded that the interests of Holland were inseparably bound up in those of England. It had long been taught in this country, as one of the principles of English policy, that it was necessary, to insure the permanence of the condition in which Europe was at present placed, that the independence of Holland should be maintained. He would not go so far as to assert that it was necessary for the independence of England that Holland should be supported in the maintenance of her independence, because England was sufficiently able to assert her own freedom; but he must express his entire concordance with the opinion which had been expressed on a former occasion, that it was a most important consideration to England that Holland should be supported. For himself, he never thought of that country but with feelings of attachment and affection. To her England mainly owed the establishment of the system under which her liberties had so long flourished. From the throne of Holland had the glorious deliverer of Protestantism William the 3rd, mounted the throne of England. That Monarch had stepped from her shores to rid Englishmen from the horrors of despotism and Popery. He could not forget either that, at the accession of the illustrious family who now filled the throne of these realms, Holland had evinced the greatest promptitude to support their claims, and he could never for a moment contemplate the possibility that a King of Great Britain, of the House of Brunswick, would ever assent to the commission of an act by which Holland would be injured. He could not also but recall to their Lordships' memory the fact, that at the Rebellion in 1745, Holland had sent troops to this country to assist in putting down the Pretender; and although, in reply to these proofs of her devotion to this country, it might be urged that she at length took part in the continental struggle against Great Britain, yet it ought, at the same time, to be recollected that she was then at the mercy of France, and was compelled to act as she did by the overpowering influence of that country. Previous to that event, however, he allowed she had been misled by the arguments of the American Envoy, who was deputed to obtain her alliance against England, in the contest with the colonies, but he verily believed she had been induced solely by mis-statements to enter into the union which was formed against this country. In despite, however, of these objections, he did not for one moment conceive that it would be denied, the interest of Great Britain demanded that Holland should be strengthened and defended; and the principle of gratitude also strongly supported her claims. In upholding her pretensions, however, he must beg to have it distinctly understood, that he was by no means anxious to have it believed that he wished this country to be burthened with payments on her behalf, at a period of so much financial difficulty to herself; and he was much less desirous to see these payments continued, when it was quite obvious that Holland derived no benefit whatever from them, the treaty under which they were stipulated having become null. But what he objected to was, that at a period when the finances of this country were in such a condition as to render it a matter of some doubt how long she would be able to continue to liquidate her own debts, she continued to pay the debts of others for which, in his conscientious opinion, he thought her no longer liable. Before, however, he called their Lordships' attention to the grounds on which he had adopted those sentiments which he should that night feel it to be his duty respectfully to submit to their Lordships, he would briefly advert to the circumstances under which the treaty was entered into. In the year 1814, Holland, as well as the rest of Europe was just delivered from the power of France. On that account, the first of the treaties to which he should find it necessary to direct attention was entered into, and by that it was stipulated that the colonies possessed by the Dutch at the commencement of the late war, and captured by the English in the course of it, should be returned to Holland, with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope, Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. In a subsequent treaty, that principle was carried further, and the provisions for that purpose were afterwards fulfilled. At the time when this treaty was in agitation, observations were made as to the right which was possessed by England to the colonies which were given up by the treaty. It was said, that being taken during a period of war with Holland, they became the property of England by right of conquest, and being at the disposal of England and her allies, Holland was consequently not possessed of any right to make stipulations for their restoration. But to these objections Lord Castlereagh gave a triumphant reply at the time, for Holland being an unwilling enemy, it was totally unjust to retain colonies which had been captured from an enemy so circumstanced. It would have been better to have restored to her the whole of her colonies than to have retained them under such circumstances, when it was obvious that it was impossible for this country to treat Holland as an enemy with any shadow of justice. The moment her independence was restored to her, justice demanded that her colonies should also be restored to her, unless she consented to receive a compensation in lieu of them, which by the Treaty of 1814 she consented to do; and in consequence a portion of them was regularly transferred to Great Britain. By that treaty, however, his Majesty, in consideration of retaining these colonies, agreed to take upon himself the charge of erecting and maintaining certain fortresses for the security of the Netherlands; England also took upon herself part of the debt of Holland. The consideration given by England to Holland for her colonies, was the payment of 3,000,000*l.* sterling, and the guarantee that Belgium should become an integral part of Holland. The king of Prussia also consented, on her giving up some provinces in Germany to him, that Luxemburg should become an integral portion of her territory. In conformity with such stipulations, nothing could be more indisputable than that whenever Holland should lose Belgium and Luxemburg, then her German provinces should be restored to her, and England should give her back the colonies taken under the treaty—at least, whenever Belgium should be lost to the Dutch through any act or omission to which England and Russia might be parties. He did not mean to say, that, under all circumstances, England was bound to secure to Holland the sovereignty of Belgium; but of this there could not be the slightest doubt, that England and Russia were at least bound not to do any act, or fall into any omission, tending to deprive Holland of that for which she had paid such an enormous price. He would not trouble their Lordships with any observations on the Treaty of 1815; but he should simply state the circumstances which led to the engagement on the part of Great Britain. By an existing treaty, to which Russia was a party, the contingent of troops which Russia bound herself to furnish towards the prosecution of the war was 150,000 men. Russia, however, furnished 250,000, and as a compensation for that additional number, she demanded that some portion of the debt which she had incurred during the war in maintaining them should be taken off her hands. One particular reason why Russia was to have this debt taken off her hands was, that she made great exertions in favour of Holland, and particularly to secure Belgium to her. If this debt was created under the circumstances stated by Ministers, the case would be still stronger, for a stop ought to be put to its payment the very moment the conditions, upon which its payment by England was guaranteed, were violated; and if he could produce proofs that the treaty was no longer binding, no one, who was not able to show that greater advantages would result to England by adhering to it than by rejecting it, could for one moment contend that this country ought to continue to pay the money therein stipulated. By the Treaty of the 19th of May, 1815, the King of Great Britain stipulated, not to pay, for that was not in his power, but to recommend to Parliament to make provision so as to enable him to take upon himself an equal amount of the Russian debt with that which was to be borne by Holland, namely 25,000,000 of florins, Dutch currency, the interest of which was to become chargeable on the Government of this country. An opinion had been given elsewhere, that Judges and lawyers had nothing to do with the construction of treaties; that the King could make a treaty, and that to the King belonged the prerogative of declaring what should be its interpretation. He would not then stop to inquire how true it might be, that the King possessed the prerogative of interpreting those treaties which the Crown had full power to carry into effect; but he must take leave to say, that those treaties which depended upon an Act of Parliament must of necessity be interpreted according to those principles which were usually applied to Acts of Parliament, and by those persons to whom Acts of Parliament were usually referred for judgment. To give the Crown the power indirectly of deciding upon the meaning of an Act of the Legislature, would be imparting a dispensing power with a vengeance. It was the A, B, C, of our Constitutional

Law, that that which the Parliament could do or undo, the King could not alter; hence he would affirm, that the construction and application of the Treaty of his Majesty's Government was not to be determined as the King should be advised, but according to the principles which were usually applied to the construction of Acts of Parliament; and applying those principles to the present treaty, he should say, that scarcely could a clearer case be presented to the mind of any lawyer. Nothing, he thought, could be more evident from the treaty, than that the payment ought to cease with the sovereignty and possession of Belgium: the treaty expressly went to say the sovreignty—the French word was *domination*. The domination—the active authority—the sovereignty *de facto*—was what was meant, and, indeed, clearly conveyed by the treaty. It was well known that the sovereignty had really passed away more than a year ago. It was not enough that there might be a sovereignty *de jure*; for, as long as the monarch did not himself relinquish that sovereignty, it might be said to exist *de jure*; but it being *de facto* at an end more than twelve months ago, the question was completely settled. Indeed, for his purposes, it was quite enough that sovereignty should have ended last December. There were two great authorities to which he might refer their Lordships in support of this opinion, and which it would be merely necessary for him to name to their Lordships, in order to obtain for both the highest respect. One, was a writer upon our own laws, the other upon the General Law of Nations—he alluded to Grotius and Mr. Justice Blackstone. The view taken by both these of questions of that nature was, that those who were called to put a construction on treaties, were bound to look at the condition of the contracting parties, and thence, as well as from their language, to collect their intentions. It would be contended, perhaps, but in vain, that the sovereignty *de jure* affected the question. Spain claimed the dominion of Holland for eighty-three years after every country in Europe had acknowledged the independence of the latter country; and amongst the number foremost to so acknowledge that independence was our own Queen Elizabeth. The independence of Switzerland was not acknowledged by Austria for an immense length of time; then there was the case with the United States; and, as a more modern instance, there was that of the newly-formed states of South America, the independence of which Spain had not yet acknowledged. If Holland—and no doubt the Dutch monarch submitted the question to eminent Dutch jurists—if Holland did not feel bound to pay her portion of the debt, why should England? She felt, and justly, that to have taken away Belgium was to take from Holland the means of paying her proportion of the debt. If we could not pay under the terms of the treaty—and we could not, without the authority of a law created for the purpose—all payments since the separation of Belgium must have become illegal. What was it that Holland wanted? It was a barrier to protect her frontiers. The nations of Europe, particularly England, had supported a barrier for her from the Treaty of Westphalia down to the Treaty of Utrecht, and from the Treaty of Utrecht downwards; and it was so considered by the House of Austria. But at the close of the late war, there was no one to take this duty upon him, and how then was this barrier to be supported. How was England to go on without a security in that quarter? How was the Dutch navy (which we must look to in most of our wars) to be protected, when the great Powers did not take the defence of Holland upon them? The only way in which it could be done, was that which was done by the Treaty of Paris, which was entered into that she might be enabled to protect her own country. It was then calculated, that so long as Holland had the resources derivable from the union of Belgium, she would be able to pay the money advanced; but the moment she lost Belgium, she lost the means of paying this money; and the moment you sanctioned the separation of Belgium, you removed her liability under this treaty. If England approved of that treaty, and, for the purpose of increasing that security, advanced three millions of money, to be expended on the formation of this barrier, under the direction of the greatest General existing, was it to be supposed that they were not to have an interest in the breach of that treaty which was intended to create a barrier to keep France from that kingdom? Was it to be supposed that England was not to have these advantages? Looking to the law and authority of those eminent men, to whom he had referred, if these were the facts, the meaning of that treaty must be, that the moment that Belgium should become separated from the actual possession and control of Holland, that moment she was relieved from her obligations under this treaty. The only question was, whether the word "domination" meant sovereignty *de jure*, or sovereignty *de facto*, for it would be absurd to suppose that any country would bind itself to such conditions, when its sovereignty *de jure* was not capable of giving these advantages. By the law of England, it was distinctly stated, that it was contrary to reason, that a man could be guilty of treason against his lawful sovereign unless that sovereign was a sovereign *de facto*. He would now remind their Lordships of an instance which must be familiar to them—of the recognition, by the British Parliament, of the principle that a sovereign *de jure* was not entitled to the same allegiance as the sovereign *de facto*. At a time when the King of England claimed to be *de jure* sovereign of North America, and was carrying on a war to repossess himself of the sovereignty *de facto*, an Envoy of the actual Government of the revolted colonies to his Majesty was committed to the Tower upon a charge of high treason. He petitioned the House of Commons, describing himself as the hon. Thomas Laurens, Ambassador from the United States of America, and claiming to be treated as a prisoner of war, and not as a rebel; inasmuch as the Government of which he was the representative, had been virtually recognised by his Majesty the King of England, who had entered into treaties with it for the exchange of prisoners; and he insisted, therefore, that what had been before considered a rebellion, was rendered by those treaties a civil war, which was to be conducted on the same principles as an inter-national war. When that petition was presented, the House of Commons, on the Motion of Mr. Burke, passed a resolution, declaring Mr. Laurens was not, at the time of his committing the acts charged as rebellious, a subject *de facto* of his Majesty the King of England; and it was accordingly ordered that he should be discharged from the Tower. It frequently happened that the King *de facto*, even though he was an usurper, derived all the advantage of treaties entered into by other states with the king *de jure*, whom he had displaced. Thus, when the Earl of Warwick took the unfortunate Henry from the Tower, and placed him for a time upon the throne, the elector of Burgundy felt himself bound to fulfil towards Henry the treaties into which he had entered with Edward 4th. He mentioned this only as an instance that sovereigns do not inquire into the strict rights of other sovereigns with whom they have to treat, but look only to their being *de facto* in possession and enjoyment of the sovereignty. His views upon this question were confirmed by the opinions of two eminent writers upon the law of nations—Grotius and Comnenus. The former expressly stated, that when a state became, by civil war or otherwise, divided into distinct portions not acknowledging the one sovereign, then each portion was to be regarded by all foreigners, in case of negotiation or treaty, as a separate and independent state. This opinion bore directly upon the subject which he was submitting to the consideration of their Lordships. He had heard it said, that in this case there was no question of law. But he thought there could be no doubt at all on that subject. If there was no question of law, his Majesty's Ministers would never have sent the case to the Attorney and Solicitor General for their opinions. Ministers were not usually in the habit of consulting those learned persons except upon questions of law; and he wanted nothing more to shew that they considered this case to involve a question of law, than the fact that they did consult those gentlemen. If his Majesty's Ministers defended themselves in what they had done, on the ground that they were borne out by the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, which certainly put them in a different condition as to responsibility, from that in which they would have been, had they acted without taking that opinion, how were their Lordships to ascertain whether those officers were right or not? The House did not know what the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor General were, because they were not on the Table; and he was informed that it was not customary to move for such opinions. But if his Majesty's Ministers put the case upon the opinion of the law officers, then it became necessary for that House, as the only course open to it, to see whether the law officers of the Crown were right in the decision they had given. And, for that purpose whose opinion could the House seek? Whom could they ask to decide whether the law officers were correct in the opinion they had given? To whom could their Lordships appeal? Could they appeal for assistance on that point to any other but to the twelve Judges? He had heard that those law officers had founded their opinion respecting the Treaty, upon an equitable consideration. He could hardly believe that the present treaty must be construed upon grounds altogether unconnected with equity. If equitable considerations entitled the Emperor of Russia to receive the money in question, their Lordships could not suffer those equitable considerations to weigh in their minds in deciding upon the effect of this treaty. Equitable considerations might form a ground for introducing another law, but not for putting any other construction upon the treaty, than the plain and obvious one which it ought to receive. If his Majesty's Ministers could get a construction put upon the treaty which enabled them to continue the payments, by reason of some equitable circumstances, those equitable circumstances had not been submitted to Parliament as they ought to have been. He said, that if the Emperor of Russia was entitled to receive this money, there must be some special circumstances in the case; those special circumstances ought to be brought forward, and it would then be for Parliament to decide—not what was the meaning of the present Act, or of the treaty to which it referred, but whether Parliament should sanction the passing of another Act to continue the payments which could not be made under the present law. It might be asked what had the Judges of the land to do with the construction of a treaty? He said, that the stipulations of a treaty were immediately connected with the municipal law of the country; and so far from its being unconnected with the law, he had it upon the authority of Lord Coke that it was the practice, and the law of the land, that every treaty with a foreign State should be recorded in the Court of Chancery, in order that the King's subjects might know what were their rights under such treaties. And who was to decide upon those rights but the twelve Judges? They were not to be decided upon by the King or his Ministers. Supposing that a subject broke a treaty, to the injury of the peace of the country, who was to pronounce upon the Act but the Judges? and how were they to pronounce but according to the law of the land? But what were the greater number of treaties made for? By far the greater majority were made for the regulation of commerce. These treaties, therefore, affected the subjects of the kingdom; and the Judges were constantly called upon to decide questions of civil right under them. There was a case, for instance, some years ago, before a noble friend of his, when he was Lord High Chancellor, relating to the treaty acknowledging the independence of America. His noble friend had no hesitation, on that occasion, in deciding upon the effects of a treaty. He went into the subject very minutely, and pronounced a most luminous judgment upon it, stating how far the treaty was binding upon the people of this country, and upon those of America. There was also an insurance case, some fifteen years ago, in the Courts, which turned entirely upon the treaty enabling the citizens of America to trade with this country. The question was, whether it was necessary, according to the treaty, that goods should be conveyed directly from America to this country, or whether a circuitous voyage made any difference in the contract between the parties. Upon that case a special verdict was given. It was not brought before that House, because the Courts of Common Pleas and King's Bench agreed upon the point. The treaty was set forth in the verdict, and the Judges commented upon that treaty just as they would upon an Act of Parliament. In fact, the Judges of the land were competent to form an opinion upon any thing which was necessary to enable them to pronounce judgment upon an Act of Parliament. It was obvious that they could not decide upon this Act of Parliament without looking to the treaty, which was embodied in the Act; and, by being so embodied, rendered part of the municipal law of the country. It had been said, that their Lordships would not send a question to the twelve Judges when there was no proceeding before them. How were they to know whether the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General was right? But he said that there were innumerable cases in which Parliament had referred questions to the Judges, and that the Sovereign himself was in the habit of consulting with those learned persons. He recollected that, when he was a Judge, the question was put to him, whether a knight made in Ireland, was a knight in England? the object of the question being to ascertain whether some half-dozen ladies had a right to the title which they assumed. He was aware that there were many cases in which that House, when asked, had refused to refer questions to the Judges; but was it because there was no case, that there was no reasonable ground or necessity for such a reference? A motion was at one time made, that it should be referred to the Judges, to say whether soldiers could be raised without the consent of the parties. The question was not sent, because any man exercising rational discretion, whether layman or lawyer, could answer it without difficulty. It might be objected, that there was no Act of Parliament now proposed upon which a question was to be referred to the Judges. He did not know whether an Act would be necessary; but, if the question were referred to the Judges, and if they should be of opinion that the last payment of interest was illegal, it would then be necessary for his Majesty's Ministers to apply to Parliament for an Act of Indemnity. In granting them such an indemnity, he would most readily concur; for if his Majesty's Ministers had acted upon the advice of the law officers of the Crown, it would be very hard that they should be made to suffer in their own purses for what they had done under advice, which they had reason to consider competent. He was not aware whether an Act of Parliament would be necessary to prevent the future payments; but if the Judges should be of opinion that the payments of the money were improper, he should feel it his duty to move for an Act of Parliament, or move an Address to the Crown, to prevent future payments, unless he were assured that no future payments would be made. He had said, that in innumerable cases questions had been referred to the twelve Judges. When Lord Hastings proposed to bring in a bill to amend the law relating to usury in India, it was referred to the twelve Judges to say, whether the law as it stood bound the subjects of this country while lending their money to native princes in India. The Judges said, that the law, as it stood, extended only to the protection of subjects of Great Britain from fraud by each other, and did not relate to their contracts with persons in other countries. On this account Lord Hastings gave up his bill. He felt bound, in the present state of the country, to take the course which he now did, with such precedents before him; and if he could save the country from the payment of this money, which it was not justly bound to pay, he should be a greater economist than all the economists at the other side of the House. Another question had been referred to the Judges, whether witnesses under a civil liability were protected against answering questions by which they might be committed. In reply to that question, the Judges said that witnesses so circumstanced were not protected—that they were bound to answer, although their answer might subject them to the payment of money. In consequence of this, it was not thought right by Parliament to pass a bill exonerating such persons from their liability. These were modern instances. There was another very extraordinary case, of rather earlier occurrence, which their Lordships would recollect. An individual of the name of Porteous was convicted of murder in Scotland, and was condemned, but subsequently reprieved, by the Crown. This man was afterwards murdered by a mob, who got by force into the gaol where he was confined, owing, in a great measure, to the neglect of the then Lord Provost of Edinburgh. A bill was brought into Parliament to remove the Lord Provost from his office, in consequence of the neglect by which he suffered the prison to be broken open, and the life of a person confined there to be sacrificed. He could very well understand why the opinions of the Scotch Judges should be taken on that case. The House thought it right to obtain the fullest information upon the state of the Scotch law. But they were not content with that. They not only asked the Judges of Scotland as to the Scotch law, but also questioned the English Judges what was the law of England on the subject of a man killed under such circumstances. Now, he said that the English law had no reference to the bill which was brought in. But the House of Lords did not stop to see whether what they asked bore upon the bill. They only considered whether the information which the Judges could give would be useful, and the Judges were accordingly ordered to attend. He trusted that he had now satisfied their Lordships that, according to the treaty, the sovereignty and actual possession of Belgium had passed away from the dominion of the king of the Netherlands. Whether the right *de jure* had gone or not, the sovereignty of the Belgic provinces had sufficiently passed away, and been separated from his dominions, to render the payments of the money no longer justifiable. He had forgotten to state a circumstance which it was proper to mention to their Lordships, although it might not have much weight with the Judges, if the case were sent to them. That circumstance was this, Lord Castlereagh distinctly stated that his object in procuring this treaty was to bind the most powerful nation in Europe to protect Holland and Belgium. A question was put to that Minister with respect to the treaty, and his answer was, that the moment the possession should be separated, the obligation of Holland, and, of course, of this country, would cease. Their Lordships knew that long ago the Belgic provinces had declared themselves independent of Holland—long ago the Dutch troops were driven out of Belgium—long ago the king of the Netherlands treated with the Belgian authorities for the exchange of prisoners—long ago the Belgians elected for themselves a new sovereign, with the approbation of this country, so much so, that when that king was, on a former occasion, called by a noble friend of his, through inadvertence, "Prince Leopold," the noble Earl opposite corrected him, and said, "King Leopold." Their Lordships knew that this country had sent a Minister to Belgium, and that from the king of Belgium a minister had come to this country, who, in his addresses to the Ministers of the five Powers, stated, that he was the Minister Plenipotentiary of the king of the Belgians. He could not doubt that he had made out a case, to the satisfaction of their Lordships' minds, that the *de facto* sovereignty of Belgium had passed away from the king of the Netherlands, and was vested in the present king of the Belgians, as he was called. He (Lord Wynford) wished that he were styled the king of Belgium instead. He disliked these new-fashioned titles, and although he did not entertain any other feelings than those of respect for the present king of the French, he could not forget that he, who first called himself by that, to him, odious and detestable title, was the cause of much suffering to Europe, and of much disaster to this country. The noble Lord concluded by moving, "that the twelve Judges be authorised to lay before the House their opinions, whether the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury are empowered, by the Act of the 55th of Geo. 3rd cap. 115, or by any other law, to issue any money out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain, or any other public money, for the payment of any part of the principal or interest of the loan in the said Act referred to, at any time after the king of the Netherlands shall have ceased to exercise the sovereignty of the Belgic provinces, and shall have treated with the person exercising the power of government and sovereignty there, and after his Majesty shall have announced in his Speech from the Throne the conclusion of a treaty with the king of the Belgians, and other Powers, and shall have appointed a Minister to treat with the king of the Belgians, and after the Ministers of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, shall have treated with a minister announcing himself as Plenipotentiary of the king of the Belgians.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, that the reason for which he rose so early to address their Lordships was, that he might state what appeared to him an insurmountable objection to their adopting the proposition of his noble and learned friend; and he thought that it might be as well to reverse the order in which his noble friend had taken up the subject. Instead of following him through his arguments respecting the legality of the construction put by his Majesty's Ministers upon a treaty embodied in an Act of Parliament, and necessarily taken with the Act, he should at once go to that which was more immediately before the House, and with which the noble and learned Lord had concluded his address. From the reasons which his noble friend had given to justify their Lordships according to his Motion, it might be contended, that the question to the Judges was intended to be substantially on the construction of the treaty. For this was manifest from the words of the Act, in which reference was especially made to the fifth article of the treaty upon which the question turned; and the whole treaty was quoted in the Act. The words were, "That the money should be paid out of the Consolidated Fund as long as it should continue to be payable, according to the engagements of his Majesty under the treaty." Consequently, until their Lordships ascertained what were the engagements of his Majesty under the treaty, they could not ascertain whether the money was payable or not under the Act. But it was certain, that as soon as they should have ascertained that, then the whole question, as to the construction of the treaty, would be at an end. For the Act said, in shorter terms than he had used from its own text, that the money should be paid as long as the engagement was binding upon his Majesty. In other words, the Act empowered his Majesty's Ministers to issue the money as long as the Crown should be bound by the treaty. He believed then, that he might say, shortly and summarily, that the question to be referred to the Judges in substance, he might almost say in form, had reference mainly to the construction of those conventions. Now, he would have their Lordships pause one moment. He might bye and bye say one word as to the precedents brought forward by his noble and learned friend; but, admitting that there were precedents for laying a question before the Judges when there was no question before the House—when there was neither a trial pending, nor a legislative measure in progress—when the House was engaged in no proceeding, judicial or legislative, in which the advice of the Judges was required—admitting that there were precedents for such a course—he would have their Lordships to pause one moment to consider the principle upon which questions were usually referred to the Judges, and whether that principle applied to the present case, or rather was not contrary to that case, which was altogether excluded from the scope of the principle. The purpose of their Lordships making a reference to the Judges, was to obtain the best information from the most competent authority; and the House being more or less unlearned in such matters, resorted to those who were most learned in them, and who were professionally accomplished in that branch of law; who were long practised and well skilled, not only by the lore acquired by long study, but by that, without which abstract learning was as nothing, namely, the constant, the daily, and hourly habit of applying their learning to the cases before them. Those learned persons having these capacities to assist the imperfections of the House, their Lordships might expect to be usefully aided by their advice in all questions of daily practice in the law. But if the question to be proposed was one which the Judges to whom they were to propose it, although by law they might, and although in practice, though most rarely, yet sometimes, they did, deal with such questions; if it happened that that kind of question did only, at long intervals, sometimes come before some of those Judges, and if it so happened that these Judges were not the proper authorities to consult on such subjects, would not their Lordships pause before they consented to his noble and learned friend's Motion? It was, however, to those twelve Judges, as they were formerly called, fifteen as they now were, that the question was to be referred; and, so far as he knew, the House had no power of compelling the Judges of the civil law to attend, who decided upon the law of nations, and were pre-eminently skilled, from their constantly handling such subjects. These were not the Judges to whom the House had the power of referring the question; but they were to send it to the fifteen Judges, who, except very rarely, and at long intervals, never could, and never did, deal with such matters. It was one thing to construe a treaty, which was to be construed according to the public international law, or, as it used to be called, the law of nations—it was one thing to construe a given treaty, and another thing to construe an Act of Parliament, where the treaty did not come into operation at all—although he admitted that the Judges to whom their Lordships were called upon by his noble friend to refer the question were called upon from the necessity of the case, sometimes to put constructions upon such documents. When questions of international law arose, it had not been unusual for the Judges to call in two civilians—one at either side; not that the learned Judges themselves were not capable of grappling with such questions, but because public law was a branch of the laws with which the Judges were not familiar, because such questions properly belonged to a Court in which they did not practise. The question, in fact, belonged to another Court, in which the Judges neither practised nor sat, the Court of Appeal, which seldom attends to cases of this description. None of the Judges ever presided in that Court, or were called upon to attend it, though it decided on questions of public law, except the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who was a Privy Councillor, and who might have happened to preside one day at the Cock-pit, when a question of public law was under consideration, though that was not at all likely. It was highly improbable, then, that any of the Common-law Judges had ever sat in judgment on a question of public law; and it was quite impossible they could have done so, unless such a question had come before them incidentally, which it rarely did. This was one objection, then, to sending the question to the Judges, that it arose upon a branch of law with which the Judges were not familiar. The same objection would not apply with equal force if it could be sent to the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty; but no such thing had ever been done, and he was sure his noble friend would not propose or sanction a course so inconvenient in practice, and so entirely unprecedented. Even if the proposal of his noble friend—to send the question to the Judges—was supported by precedent, he had endeavoured to show their Lordships its inefficacy and absurdity in the present instance. But, supposing that it was not absurd, he was ready to contend that there were no precedents to sustain the proposition. His noble friend, in endeavouring to produce precedents, had clearly proved that there were no precedents. His noble friend alluded to the question put to the Judges at the suggestion of a noble Lord (the Marquis of Hastings) now no more, as to the rate of money in India; but it was a most important feature in that case, that there was a Bill before the House bearing directly on the subject-matter of the question submitted to the Judges. The Bill was introduced on the 17th of June, and the Order of the House for the attendance of the Judges was made on the 20th of June, three days after the Bill had been brought in. His noble and learned friend passed over this fact, as if it had been wholly immaterial; but no feature could be more important, for it proved that the question submitted to the Judges was incident to a legislative proceeding then depending before the House. In the other case alluded to—that of 1737—the same observation was applicable. There was then a private law before the House to disqualify the Lord Provost from holding any office of trust thereafter under the Crown; and though the proceedings then adopted occurred in the time of Lord Hardwicke, for whose memory he (the Lord Chancellor) entertained the highest respect; yet he thought the precedent was one which would be more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and which ought not now to be followed by their Lordships, even if the cases were parallel, which, he contended, they were not. The circumstances of that case were very generally known and remembered. The questions put to the Judges did not so much regard the conduct of the Magistracy of Edinburgh as the conduct of the Court of Justice, which had sentenced Captain Porteous to death, for ordering his soldiers to fire on the crowd at the execution of a malefactor. Without asserting that it had been violent and unseemly in the House to call upon the Judges to attend and answer for their conduct in trying Captain Porteous according to their oath; yet he would put it to their Lordships, whether questions growing out of such a precedent was one that it was desirable to follow. Leaving the question of precedents, however—having established, he thought, the total inapplicability of those quoted by his noble and learned friend—he wished to call their Lordships' attention to the evils and inconsistencies which must attend the adoption of the course proposed in this instance. One evil which would follow from submitting this question to the Judges was, that the same question might come before them hereafter in another shape. His noble friend had contended that the law was broken, and that money had been issued from the public Treasury, contrary to law. For this breach of the law some one must be responsible, and who could tell but that there might be an impeachment hereafter? When a question was submitted to the Judges, it was given as a dry naked question of law, and without hearing either party—for there was no party; and, without any assistance from the arguments of counsel, the Judges found their way in the best manner they could, and made their report. Out of the four corners of the paper containing the questions put by their Lordships the Judges could not travel, unless to look at their books; and, after having given their opinion on the dry naked question thus put to them, a case might come practically before them in some of the Courts of Law where parties being concerned they must hear counsel, and after hearing counsel, they might find it fitting (as many Judges had done before them) to come to a conclusion different from that which they had come to upon the abstract question referred to them by their Lordships. His noble and learned friend would say, that in such a case, if the Judges saw it was fitting, they ought and would undoubtedly come to a different conclusion. Perhaps they would, but he asked whether there would be no bias on the minds of the Judges to prevent them from coming to a different conclusion? Must they not remember that they had already considered and reported their opinion on this question; and would that recollection tend to a calm and unbiassed decision on the case before them? His noble and learned friend laughed at the idea of an impeachment as arising out of this question, though that was not an impossible case. The question, however, might come before the Judges in another shape. The officers might refuse to pay the money, and on the part of those who put the construction on the Act of Parliament now contended for, a Mandamus might be granted, or at least applied for. When the Judges came to decide on the question brought before them in that shape, would they not have their own hypothetical judgment staring them in the face? and would any man deny that the strongest minds must feel a bias arising, out of the solemn fact of having previously given a deliberate opinion in the same case? Having endeavoured to impress on their Lordships the inexpediency of the course suggested, of referring this question to the Judges, he begged now to be permitted to say a few words on the construction of the treaty on which this question had arisen. The question was, how far the treaty bound this country? To determine that question, they must look for a moment at what the treaty was, as well as at the true construction of the saving clause on which the doubt had arisen. The substance of the treaty was, that this country and Holland should pay to Russia, by way of annuity, 50,000,000 of florins—25,000,000 to be paid by this country, and 25,000,000 by Holland. This burthen Great Britain had not taken on herself voluntarily or gratuitously, but for a consideration actually granted, or condition actually performed, by Russia. He begged their Lordships' attention to this point, because he thought, if duly considered, it would lead to a more sound and statesman-like view of this question, and of our obligations to Russia, than his noble and learned friend, in the zeal of his argument, or rather his declamation, had adopted. His noble friend's speech was able and learned, but he must excuse him (Lord Brougham) if he said that, more particularly towards the conclusion, it was rather declamatory and eloquent, than argumentative. His noble friend had observed that, if he could save the country the payment of so large a sum of money, he should congratulate himself on being a better and abler economist than those who made much larger professions on that subject. If his noble and learned friend could effect so extensive a measure of economy, he certainly would have reason to be proud; and he should envy him, if he was satisfied that the economy could be effected without a breach of faith. In his anxiety to economize, however, he could never consent to pass over a treaty which bound us to pay a sum to another country, which, in respect to that payment, had given a consideration of great amount and value, and a consideration executed before the making of the treaty. The ground on which we engaged to pay this money to Russia was, for her assistance in delivering Belgium from the power of our then enemy, and the enemy of Europe—France; and, as respected this ground, Russia was put in the place of all the other allies—Prussia, Austria, and the rest. Another consideration on which Great Britain undertook to join Holland in the payment to Russia was, that this country should have the Dutch colonies ceded to it. He did not say, whether those considerations were or were not sufficient. It was no treaty of his—he was not even in the House of Commons when it was made; and he was not defending the policy of those who made it—but he stated, as a matter moving those who made the treaty, that they thought, independent of the colonial acquisitions, that this country derived great benefit, in common with the other powers of Europe, from rescuing the Belgian provinces from the dominion of France. According to his noble and learned friend, Lord Castlereagh, and, he believed, Lord Liverpool also, had distinctly stated, that the great consideration in this treaty was, that it bound Russia to protect the integrity of Belgium. From all these circumstances, there were two conclusions which they must needs draw—first, that Russia had performed her part of the contract; and, secondly, that France was the power against whom the whole arrangement had been directed—France being the power from which the Belgian provinces had been rescued, and the power which they were to be prevented from returning to. Russia stood in the shoes of the other Allied Powers, and took whatever they were entitled to for delivering Belgium from the power of France, and by this treaty the return to which she was entitled was distinctly specified. Without having recourse to learned Judges, who knew little or nothing of public law—or without having recourse to those more learned Judges, who were in the habit of dealing with the principles of public law—he thought any unlearned person might come safely to this conclusion—that Russia, the party who had performed her share of the contract, was entitled to as large and liberal a construction as the words of the obligation would warrant them in putting on it. This was not only consistent with the principles of natural justice, but it was in accordance with the strict principle of law. Vattel, in his "Chapter on Treaties," laid it down, that all conditions or stipulations should be taken strictly against the party which promised or bound himself. The parties who bound themselves in this treaty were Holland and England; and, therefore, the promise or obligation should be taken most strongly against England, and most favourably to Russia. He was now putting the case as a Russian Diplomatist might be supposed to put it, when arguing the question on behalf of his master and of his country; and he contended that was the proper way to argue it. He now came to what he called the saving clause, which was an exception introduced in the treaty, not for the benefit of Russia, but for the benefit of the obligors. But for this qualifying obligation or proviso, no question at all would arise, and we should be bound to go on paying, until the performance of the obligation, by the payment of the 25,000,000 florins was completed. By the saving clause, however, it was "understood and agreed, that the payment to Russia should cease and determine, if the possession and sovereignty of the Belgian provinces should be severed and pass away from the king of the Netherlands." This was the exception on which the question arose, and in deciding it he concurred in the application of the principle which his noble and learned friend had quoted, upon the venerable authority of Grotius—that, in deciding on the construction of a treaty, they should look at "the condition of the parties" at the period when the treaty was executed. In deciding on this question they should also adopt the principle laid down by Vattel, who observed, "that as it was impossible, in framing treaties, to provide for all cases that might arise in any unforeseen conjuncture; the true principle was, to look to the views of the parties at the making of the treaties." A conjuncture like that which arose in the case of Belgium, where there was a severance without a transfer—a taking of those provinces from the king of Holland, without their going to any other Power—was precisely such an "unforeseen conjuncture" as Vattel had contemplated—for which the words of the treaty did not provide, and to provide for which, to apply the words of Vattel, "they ought to look to the views of the parties" at the time of making the treaty. He had no objection to look to the "condition" of the parties according to the principle quoted from Grotius, but he thought the principle was better expressed by Vattel, when he said they should look to the "views" of the parties. Without going out of the four corners of the treaty, he thought he could satisfy their Lordships as to the views of the contracting parties. He might justify himself by a reference to authority, if he found it necessary to go through the progress of the negotiation on which the treaty was founded, to explain anything doubtful in it; but the grounds on which he should put it were so strong as not to require any such aid. The state of Europe, at the period when this treaty was entered into was notorious; and the "condition" of the parties or their "views," were not involved in any doubt. By the severance of the Belgian provinces, and their passing away from the king of the Netherlands, it was clearly and exclusively meant, that they should be severed from Holland and pass away to France. That was the single mode of separation thought of at the time or provided against. The erection of a new State was not contemplated by the treaty, nor was it a case ever contemplated by the public law. When such a case occurred, the public law adopted the new State, and when it had established its independence, it also gave it the rights of an old State. Severance and transfer were contemplated; but the breaking of a State in twain, and the creation of a new power was an event, no more contemplated by the public law than Revolution was by the municipal law. The case which had occurred, therefore, was not provided for by the treaty; it fell out within the rules of public law, and the only fair mode of construing the treaty, as it applied to the unforeseen case, was by taking into consideration its spirit rather than its words. But suppose he should follow his noble and learned friend (Lord Wynford), and take the literal and technical construction of the treaty, how would the question stand? The words of the saving clause were, "should the possession and sovereignty of the Belgian provinces pass away or be severed from the king of the Netherlands." Now, he begged to put a suppositious case. Suppose this country was guaranteed the possession and Sovereignty of Canada, after that colony had been conquered from France; would not the guarantee have been taken only to extend to preventing France or a foreign power from recovering the possession of the colony? and could any one contend, that under the guarantee, such an unforeseen event was contemplated as Canada throwing off her allegiance, and becoming an independent power? Looking to the literal meaning of the words of this treaty, what were they? The words were "possession and sovereignty." If the word had been "possession," alone, then there might be some ground for saying, that there should be a cessation of the payment, as the possession was lost; but "sovereignty" was added to "possession" and that gave a different complexion to the phrase. Sovereignty was only to be legally severed by recognition, or some formal act; and it was not clear that the sovereignty, in the legal sense of the word, had yet passed away from the king of Holland. His noble and learned friend had referred to cases in which the distinction was drawn between sovereignty *de jure*, and sovereignty *de facto*. Without dwelling on those, he would refer to two or three recent decisions, bearing on this question. A case was lately decided in the highest Court of the Law of nations known in this country—the Privy Council—bearing on this question. Though St. Domingo had been severed from France for sixteen long years, and she had lost not only the possession, but, *de facto*, had exercised no sovereignty, yet it had been laid down by the Lords of the Privy Council, that St. Domingo was still the colony of France, in contemplation of the public law. It might be thought the course of argument he was now taking savoured too much of what unlearned persons, in disrespect for legal distinctions, called quibbling. If the line of argument he was pursuing were open to such an observation, it should not be attributed to him. He was compelled to follow his noble and learned friend. He was for taking the large, sensible, rational view of the question. He called upon their Lordships to look to what Grotius called "the condition" of the parties, and to what Vattel called "the views" of the parties. This was the view of the question which every man of common-sense, be he lawyer or layman, could understand—but departing from this more enlarged and liberal view of the case, and looking to the strict rules of law, as laid down in the Courts of Law, for the construction of the treaty, those rules, he submitted, justified the course adopted by his Majesty's Government. A most learned and venerable Judge—whose absence from the House he regretted, as that noble Lord, (he meant Lord Stowell) would, perhaps, be better able to enlighten the House on a question of this nature than any other person—had recognized the principle of public law, which had been recognized in the Privy Council, in a peculiarly stringent case—a case of piracy. The case he alluded to was that of a Spanish vessel taken by a Colombian privateer, and she was claimed by the Spanish Ambassador. The property was Spanish; the vessel that captured her was a Colombian cruiser, and she was held by that noble and learned Lord to have been guilty of an act of piracy. And why was it so held? Because Colombia had never been separated from Spain, it was considered to form part of Spain, because our Government had not recognized the independence of Colombia, it was considered part of Spain in our Courts, and the vessel was ordered to be restored because the Colombian cruiser had been guilty of piracy. His noble and learned friend must, he thought, grant that nothing had or could be stated to substantiate that a new sovereignty, either *de facto*, or *de jure*, was established in Belgium; and the only fact to which his noble and learned friend had adverted to prove this independence of Belgium was the interchange of Ambassadors and the mention of the king of Belgium in the King's Speech. It would be difficult to find any authority, nor had any been referred to by his noble and learned friend, to show that the recognition was valid; and that, if valid, it was binding on other parties than those who made the recognition. He was not aware that the interchange of Ambassadors established the independence of a country previously under another sovereign and belonging to another country. The interchange of Ambassadors might be to negociate concerning this very independence. But he would suppose the Ambassador sent to the king of Belgium to make the recognition—that the recognition was, as far as regards this country, good; that was surely very far from saying, that that recognition was binding on other countries. It was good *quoad* this country, and against herself in relation to Belgium: we were bound by our own act; of us it might be said, that we could not use our own act to estop ourselves; but our acknowledgment of the independence of Belgium could not be binding on Russia, or be a bar to any claims she might have on us; our own act bound ourselves, but it did not include Russia, and it terminated with ourselves. Suppose, even that the treaty for the recognition had been completed before the King's Speech was made, he was prepared with the authority of Lord Stowell to show, that till the treaty was ratified it was not binding, and had no legal authority whatever. It had been decided by Lord Stowell, then Sir William Scott—and it was, rather than a new decision or a doubtful principle, the mere recognition of a principle which had never been disputed—it had been decided by Lord Stowell, that a treaty was not valid till it was ratified. The case was that of a Swedish vessel captured after the signature of a Definitive Treaty of Peace, and captured even after the ratification of the Treaty by one of the parties. England had ratified it, but Sweden had not; and because Sweden had not ratified it, that learned Judge held that the act was not complete, that to make it complete the ratification must be reciprocal, and that, till the ratification was reciprocal, it was no treaty at all. Till the treaty was fully settled on both sides, it had no legal effect. If England only had ratified the treaty, and had not ratified till after the payments became due, that could not absolve her from the payment if Russia had not ratified the treaty till this day. It was clear that the independence of Belgium had not been acknowledged by Russia, and had not been caused by her act; and if we had acknowledged it, that it did not relieve us from our obligations to Russia. They existed in all their pristine force. It was said to be a *casus omissus*, and it was a *casus omissus* in one sense; but the omission was only an exception. The independence of Belgium was a case not provided for in the exception, and the terms and obligations of the treaty must be acted on as if that exception did not exist. In fact the exception did not embrace the case which had occurred. If there were any doubt as to the force of the obligation, it would be their Lordships duty to free it from doubt; but there was no doubt; and, therefore, it was merely a case of exception. The noble and learned Lord then adverted to the doctrine, that the Crown alone had the power to conclude treaties, and only came to Parliament to confirm them; and contended, that, if, as his learned and noble friend contended, the treaty was at an end, the Crown must renew it, or make another; and it was the most monstrous, unconstitutional doctrine he had ever heard, to say, that the Crown must come to Parliament to ask its consent to make that new treaty. If the treaty were in force, the obligation on England was perfect; if it were not in force, on what ground did his noble and learned friend blame his Majesty's Ministers for not going to Parliament to tell it that a new treaty must be made? His noble and learned friend had said, that the Government had not had recourse to the best advice, and he seemed to suppose that the Government had not had recourse to any person but the Attorney and Solicitor Generals. The Government had consulted these officers, but it had also consulted the King's Advocate. After the most mature consideration, the King's Advocate gave that opinion on which his Majesty's Government had acted: and in that opinion, humble as he was, and unworthy to give an opinion, he most cordially and heartily concurred. His opinion was precisely the same as that of the Law Officers and the King's Advocate; and acting on and stating that opinion, he had been ready, in his responsible capacity as a Minister of the Crown, to give the Crown that advice which he had given. He did not wish to pry too curiously into the thoughts of noble Lords, but he should like to know, and to conjecture what would have been said had the Government acted otherwise? If furnished with the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, such as he had described—if, their own judgment differing from that of the law officers, they had thrown that opinion behind the fire, and had refused the payments, would there ever have been an end, he would ask, to the imputations of gross and scandalous breach of faith—would there ever have been an end to the accusations against Ministers? What would have been said of the Ministers' jealousy and dread of that great power? and how often would their Lordships have been told, that if it were France, the money would have been paid? The Russian services in the common cause, it would have been said, are all forgotten, and only the common enemy is thought of. All that, and more than that, would have been said, had Ministers thrown the opinion of the law officers away—had given up their own judgment, and had refused to pay the money. Would they not have heard, too, of low petty jealousy, of party quibbling, of base envy, and of carping, under the influence of party feelings, against the treaty they had not concluded? It would have been said—"It is no treaty of yours; if it was your treaty, you would have carried it into execution in the letter and the spirit—you would never have carped or quibbled at it; and particularly you would not have confined yourselves to the four corners of the treaty; you would have given a liberal construction to it—you would have found means to justify the payment, and the payment would have been made. But now (they would have said), as the treaty is not yours—as it is the work of wiser and better men—as you had no share in making it, you are insensible to its value, and put on it no fair, manly, and liberal construction." Certainly, the Ministers were no parties to that treaty, they had no share in approving its provisions; he had himself warmly opposed it; but if the country was bound by the treaty, if the obligation continued, God forbid that his opinion of the impropriety of contracting that obligation should have any influence over his judgment as to the fact whether the obligation existed or not, and as to the spirit in which the obligation ought to be executed. He had entered very fully into the question, and considering that it might be right and fit that this Convention should be hereafter renewed, these observations might, he hoped, tend to smooth the difficulties of those who would have that duty to perform, and tend to conciliate those who, like his noble friend, thought that the Government might not need such a labour, and said that it ought to have gone to Parliament to sanction its proceedings. On these grounds he had entered more at large than he otherwise should have done, and begged to apologize to their Lordships for the time he had trespassed on their attention.

The Earl of *Eldon* said, he rose with some diffidence upon the present occasion, but, as an honest man, he was called upon to state his opinion upon this subject. He wished to say, that he had seen the Motion of his noble friend before it was submitted to their Lordships, and had given it his approbation; but he was bound to say, that, since he had come into the House, he reflected on the subject, and he thought it went too far. He did not remember a single case in which the opinion of the Judges had been asked in order to ascertain whether the proceedings of the Ministers were authorised by law, and in order to ground on that opinion a Parliamentary proceeding. He could not reconcile his mind, after mature consideration, to ask the opinion of the Judges in the first instance. He trusted, therefore, that his noble friend would not press his Motion in its present terms. In what he was about to say, he proposed, therefore, to discuss the legality of the course itself pursued by Government, and thus to narrow the grounds of the Motion. The noble and learned Lord upon the Woolsack had entered, at considerable length, into the legality of the course which the Government had pursued, and to such an extent he (Lord Eldon) would not follow him; but this he would say, after the experience of a long political and legal life, that he never heard of any thing more unwarrantable than the payment of money to Russia after the obligations of the Treaty of 1816 had altogether "ceased and determined." He would not say that the Government, for the sake of preserving the general peace, might not be justified in what they had done, but it must be always done upon their own responsibility. If their not doing so might endanger the public peace, then it would be their duty to come to Parliament to state their case, and ask for a Bill of Indemnity. The Treaty of 1816 was laid before Parliament, and the Parliament enacted, that a certain thing should be done; it adopted the treaty to a certain extent, and provided for its execution as long as Holland and Belgium should be united and not separated. As long as that condition lasted, Great Britain was bound to pay the money, and pay it for the behoof of Russia. The only question was, what had the executive Government to do with the Parliament? and the only answer was, to ascertain what Parliament had done as to the treaty? The Parliament had said, Thus far shall ye go, and no further. If the Government applied to the law officers of the Crown to know what authority the Acts of Parliament gave, the law officers of the Crown of former days would have looked only into the Act of Parliament, and by that have defined the authority given by Parliament. But, in this case, an Attorney General, who was a common-law lawyer, applied to a Solicitor General, who was an equity lawyer, to know what was to be done on equitable principles. The Attorney General and Solicitor General, on being called upon to give an opinion, should have confined themselves strictly to the Act of Parliament, and its legal construction. The Government went to Parliament in 1816 with the treaty, and the Parliament said, that the treaty should go no further; but the law officers considered what the Parliament ought to have done. He should like to know, whether their Lordships were to act under the Treaty of 1816, as interpreted by the law officers, or under the Act of Parliament, by which its provisions were to be carried into effect. The stipulation of both the one and the other was the continued union of Belgium and Holland. But that union ceased, or in other words, their separation took place. But the noble and learned Lord (Lord Brougham) contended that the mere fact of separation, without the admitted sovereignty and independence of Belgium, was not such a separation as to exonerate this country from performing her portion of the Treaty of 1816; and yet this observation was made, this argument assumed, while the King of Great Britain recognized a king, an independent sovereign, on the throne of Belgium. That very acknowledgment should have absolved us from paying any further sums to Russia, in virtue of the Treaty of 1816, while it pleased our Government to act in defiance of common sense, and a proper economy, to continue large and unauthorised payments. He was somewhat acquainted with law, with equity, and with politics, and never yet in the course of all his experience did he meet with so gross and unpardonable a violation of public duty as had been exhibited by the Government in this transaction. If they had no opportunity of coming to Parliament for advice, then they might have acted as they had done; and if they had not time to do so, yet felt compelled to act under the peculiar circumstances of the case, their course should have been to apply for an act of indemnity, which possibly might not be refused. He thought it was his duty upon this occasion to have it recorded as his opinion, that the payment of money, in violation of the Treaty of 1816, was one of the grossest violations of Ministerial duty which he ever recollected. It was said by the noble and learned Lord (Lord Brougham), that where a treaty was made between two parties, neither was bound, unless both agreed; but here was a case where the King of England recognised a king of Belgium, and yet it was contended that the stipulations of the contract of 1816, being so far at an end, England was not released from her obligations to Russia, which was one of the principal parties to such contract. He never before heard so paltry, so untenable a doctrine attempted to be maintained in that House. No man could deny that force and menace had been used towards the king of Holland, before and since the separation of that country from Belgium. But, after all, the question for their Lordships' decision was, whether or not it would be discreet and wise to have the opinion of the Judges upon the right construction of the Act of Parliament under which certain sums were to be paid to Russia? He would bet his life, even if he were fifty years younger than he was, that there was not one of the fifteen Judges in Westminster Hall who would decide it in the same manner as his Majesty's Ministers. There was not one of the Judges such an idiot to do so. He ventured to assert, that no other Judge but the learned Lord upon the Woolsack would have interpreted the Treaty of 1816 as he had done. The question of policy or expediency might be for the Government, but their Lordships were called upon to decide simply on the Act of Parliament, by which money was stipulated to be paid to Russia. The noble and learned Lord upon the Woolsack had cited the opinions of Lord Stowell in advocacy of the doctrine which he mentioned relative to the distinction between the separation of two States and the acknowledgment of their respective sovereignties; but this he could say, that there was not a man in Europe who thought worse of the transaction then under discussion than his noble relative. He did not know what course his noble and learned friend meant to pursue, but if a motion had been made calling on Ministers to vindicate themselves on a charge of committing a breach of the laws of the country, and if the matter had been gone into, he felt that it would have been impossible for him to withhold his vote for passing on them the strongest censure.

Lord *Wynford*, in reply, said, that the simple question here was relative to the construction of an Act of Parliament, and he knew of no more competent persons to decide it than the learned Judges of the land. All he sought for by his motion was information for the guidance of their Lordships, because he thought that the conduct of the Ministry was not only open to censure, but was such as to render it advisable to take the most effectual steps to prevent similar mischief in future, and he had no doubt, notwithstanding what had been said by his noble and learned friend upon the Woolsack, that law and justice were in favour of his opinion. With respect to the construction of the treaty, he thought that his noble friend on the Woolsack had not met the real question before the House. He had travelled, indeed, in the course, of his speech all over Europe, but the only way in which he had met the true point in debate was by a something which sounded very much like a quibble; and without once mentioning the consideration. This, he contended, was the most material part of the case. After the triumphant answer which had been given to the noble and learned Lord by his noble and learned friend who immediately preceded him, he would not trespass further upon their Lordships, but withdraw the Motion.

The Motion withdrawn.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, February 2, 1832.

MINUTES.] Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. JEPHSON, Copies of the Charters granted by Elizabeth and James 1st to the University of Dublin. On the Motion of Mr. HUME, the number of Informations, since 5th July, 1822, lodged at the Police Offices against the Coffee-house Keepers, under Act 3rd George 4th, cap. 55, and subsequent Acts; stating the amount of Penalties levied, and how applied; of the various Corps of Yeomanry Infantry in England and Wales, stating the date when first embodied, the names of the Commanding Officers, their complement of Men, and the Annual Expenses of each Corps; of the amount of Rate made, and the Money actually levied, up to this time, by the Surveyors appointed under the Act 13th George 3rd, cap. 78, for the repair of the Public Roads of the Parish of Clerkenwell, for the year 1831-2, commencing on the 20th of November, 1831: also, an account of the Amount Expended for the said Repairs; specifying the Amounts under the heads of Salaries, Materials, and Labour; also, the date and abstract of all Contracts entered into by the said Surveyors for repairing the said Roads, stating the Names of the Parties to each contract; also, a Return of the Amount which would be raised in the year by a Sixpenny Rate on the Parish of Clerkenwell, as directed by the Act aforesaid; of the amount of Excise duty collected on each description of Bricks and Tiles in England and Scotland in the year 1831:—On the Motion of Mr. POULETT THOMSON, the number of Goat Skins, and Kid and Lamb Skins, (distinguishing them) on which Duty has been paid, for Home Consumption, in each year, from 1820 to 1831, inclusive.

GENERAL DRAINAGE.] Mr. *Penleaze* presented a Petition from the town of Southampton, praying that a measure might be adopted for a General System of Draining in that, and all other towns throughout the country. In the prayer of this petition he most fully concurred. There were many suburbs and other places in the vicinity of Towns where there existed no compulsory power to protect the poorer classes, by whom such places were inhabited generally, from the bad effects arising from an impure atmosphere, caused by the want of drains and sewers.

The *Speaker* apprehended that the object of the petition could only be obtained by a multiplicity of private Acts each place having one for itself, and if any places had a local Act which was no longer applicable from the increase of the town to which it applied, the remedy was to bring in a new Act to increase and extend the powers of the former one.

Mr. *Penleaze* only meant to suggest that he thought a general bill might be introduced with great advantage, and when the House considered the misery produced by pestilence in particular districts, the predisposition to which was mainly owing to want of cleansing, he thought his suggestion, particularly at the present time, worth attending to.

Mr. *Hume* did not exactly know the practice of the House, but it appeared to him there were precedents to attain the object the petitioners prayed for. They were, for example, "General Lighting and Police Acts, General Highway Acts," and "General Inclosure Act for Scotland." If, by a general statute, local communities could avail themselves of such parts of it as were applicable to themselves, the large expenses attendant upon each private act would be avoided; party disputes would frequently be prevented, and the most beneficial measures for the health and convenience of local districts be easily performed.

The *Speaker* said, he was fearful he had not made himself distinctly understood by the hon. member for Middlesex. The House could undoubtedly pass a general bill, but the Legislature hitherto had left the particular communities to judge for themselves as to the propriety of obtaining local Acts for their own regulation and convenience. But where there was a public Act giving them at the same time the power to effect such purposes without that especial sanction, it was then compulsory upon them, and his object was, to draw the distinction, in order to shew that particular bodies might not obtain private Acts to the injury of the country.

Mr. *Hume* understood perfectly the wisdom and propriety of the rules laid down by the Speaker, which had for their object, that private property should not be invaded at the convenience of individuals, or intruded upon without notice. But a general bill might be made applicable to particular cases, by authorising any local community to meet, and, by a certain majority, accept or reject the proposals made to them.

Mr. *Sanford* said, many considerable towns felt the inconvenience and difficulty of obtaining draining and cleansing Acts. Bath was in that situation; he, therefore, agreed with the hon. Member for Middlesex, that a general measure, the provisions of which could be applied by local districts, was very desirable.

Petition to be printed.

ANATOMICAL SCIENCE.] Lord *Morpeth* presented a Petition from the Surgeons of the town and neighbourhood of Halifax, praying that the Legislature, by an alteration in the present state of the law, would afford them additional facilities for the study of Anatomy.

Mr. *Hunt* said, he did not wonder that such a petition had proceeded from a number of surgeons, but he had as yet seen no petition of that nature from the poor, who were to be dissected, he wished that the noble Lord would inform him if those persons who were so ready to dissect others, offered to give up their own bodies for dissection.

Lord *Morpeth* said, the petitioners had made no offer of the sort, but as the hon. Member declared that he had not yet seen a petition from those whose bodies were likely to be dissected, he had the pleasure to inform him, that a petition had been agreed to by several of the inhabitants of Wakefield, offering to give up their bodies for the benefit of anatomical science.

Mr. *Sheil* said, he had also presented a petition containing a similar prayer.

Petition to lie on the Table.

GENERAL REGISTRY BILL.] Lord *Morpeth* said, he had been requested to present a very large number of Petitions from the county of York, of great weight and importance (a statement which, he believed, would be conceded to him, when he mentioned the parties and places from whom and which they proceeded), against the bill of the hon. member for Stafford, for establishing a general office for the registration of deeds in London. He was sorry, the hon. member for Stafford was absent, but that was not his (Lord Morpeth's) fault, as he had given notice that he meant to present those petitions. The Bill of the hon. Member had occasioned very great excitement in Yorkshire, and the hon. Member must be responsible for the consequences. The measure was viewed with the utmost disapprobation in the county of York, by every class of persons that was likely to be affected by it. They were satisfied with their now local registry, and were disposed to adopt any regulations to improve the operations of that, but they objected strongly to a general system by which their own local regulations would be abrogated. The hon. member for Stafford had stated, that he had received communications from individuals in Yorkshire, highly approving of his plan; but hitherto those persons were totally unknown, and even their existence was a matter of conjecture. The hon. Member had also asserted, that the opposition to the bill was got up by attornies, and other interested persons. But from whom did the petitions which he now produced emanate? From the great landed proprietors, from the most eminent commercial men, and from the whole body of the yeomen of Yorkshire. One of the petitions was from the owners of real property in the West Riding of Yorkshire,—a second from the owners of real property in the North Riding of Yorkshire—a third from the Magistrates of the North Riding of Yorkshire, assembled in quarter sessions at Northallerton, signed by forty Magistrates; and a series of petitions from the bankers, &c., owners of real property in the following places, viz. Huddersfield, Leeds, Barnsley, Sneith, Shipton, Doncaster, Orsett, Selby, Cawood, Brayton, Sherburn, Stanfield and Langfield, Todmorden and Walston, Pudsey, Tadcaster, Calverley, Bingley, Bawtry, Tickhill, Shapton, Harbury, and Settle. They were all expressive of hostility to this measure.

Mr. *Strickland* seconded the prayer of those petitions with great satisfaction to himself, because his opinion entirely coincided with that of the petitioners. This Bill, which might properly be called a Bill for the collection of original title-deeds or copies, emanated from a commission that had cost the country 33,000*l.* It was now 133 years since that eminent judge, Sir Matthew Hale, brought forward a plan of the same sort. But he thought that the Law Commissioners had, in their proceedings, lost sight of the cautious recommendation which that great man had adopted. He said, " If it be found, on inquiry, that the plan is likely to be attended with greater evil than advantage, let it be avoided." In every reign since, a similar proposition had been made. This he believed, was the sixteenth time. The last effort was that of Mr. Serjeant Onslow; but his Bill did not receive a second reading. It most clearly appeared, by the petitions presented this day, that the plan was universally opposed in the county of York. It was a curious circumstance, that the learned Gentleman who had introduced this measure had himself changed his opinion on the subject. He had, three years ago, signed a report, in which it was stated that a general registration would be fatal to commercial credit. Another fact which bore upon this subject was, that there were a certain set of persons resident about the metropolis, who, under various pretences would ransack title-deeds in the hope that if they could discover a flaw in any title, and thereby wrest property from the present holders, they would obtain a valuable compensation from the party who might succeed to it.

Mr. *Hume* knew not whether the learned gentleman alluded to had or had not signed such a report as had been stated; but he thought that in his absence the hon. Member should not have made an attack on that learned Gentleman's professional character. The hon Member had also attacked the gentlemen employed in the law commission, but he was conscious that good would result from their inquiries fully adequate to the cost of their labours.

Mr. *Ramsden* stated, that he would strenuously oppose the Bill, as it appeared to him that it would establish an inquisition into every man's private affairs, and tend to expose arrangements never intended for the public eye.

Mr. *Spence* thought, that the Bill, as it stood, would be a most inestimable benefit to the landed interest. The expense of the transfer of landed property, particularly in the administration of estates, was enormous, and much of that would be spared. A general registry would enable all men to ascertain more easily than at present whether titles were good or not. At present that was almost impossible. He hoped that nothing would prevent his hon. and learned friend from bringing the Bill to a second reading, and have its provisions fully and fairly discussed, in order to get rid of the erroneous impressions now entertained on the subject by the landed Gentlemen.

Sir *John Johnstone* said, the gentlemen of Yorkshire did not object to registration, but they thought that all the advantages of the general Bill might be obtained by local measures similar to those which already existed in the Ridings of Yorkshire, and he knew the persons connected with that registry were most anxious to adopt any improvements with regard to it that could be suggested.

Mr. *Sadler* supported the prayer of the petition from Leeds, having been requested so to do, and he begged to corroborate the assertion, that the proprietors of landed property in Yorkshire were almost to a man opposed to the measure.

Mr. *John Campbell* said, that the hon. member for Yorkshire was quite mistaken in supposing that the first report of the Real Property Commissioners was adverse to the Bill. It approved, not condemned, the measure, though the Commissioners only weighing the arguments on both sides, had not recommended the measure. The report said, " But no measure has been suggested to us from so many different quarters, or has been so earnestly pressed upon us, as a general registry of deeds, whereby it is contended that every transfer of land, and every encumbrance upon it, would be placed within the means of the knowledge of every person having occasion to deal with it; all rights might be suffered to prevail (as natural justice requires) according to their priority; the use of outstanding legal estates, and the expense of keeping them on foot and transferring them would cease; the investigation of titles would be materially abridged and simplified, and fraud, in all transactions respecting real property, would be effectually prevented. We are aware, however, of the numerous and weighty obstacles which present themselves to the establishment of a plan so extensive, and, in order to make it effective, so novel in this country. The experiments which have been tried on two English counties and in Ireland, have been so imperfect, both in principle and detail, and have been so marred by the doctrine of equitable notice, that they afford no criterion of the utility of the measure, or the means of accomplishing it. We found, that information upon this important subject must be sought, not merely from the practitioners of English law, and from English treatises, but from Scotland, where a general registry has been long established, which is the great boast of the law of that country, and from the Continental States, in many of which a similar institution has been introduced with more or less success. We have taken steps for obtaining this information in the most authentic shape; and we shall anxiously consider whether the plan can be safely adopted in a country of so great extent as England, where transfers of land are more frequent than in any other part of the globe, where the law of real property must ever remain a peculiar and complicated system, and where the disclosure of private affairs may be dangerous to commercial credit." The only imputation that could with justice be thrown on them was, that they did not at once recommend the measure. They had weighed, as they said they would, the arguments on both sides. With respect to the petitions, he had received information that the Attornies of Yorkshire had got up many of these petitions, and had hawked them about for signatures. The emoluments of the profession of the law, would indeed, be diminished by the Register Bill; but, in so far would that be a benefit and gain to the landed gentlemen. The Bill would be altogether to their advantage. Titles would be easily verified, and a great sum saved in every transfer of landed property. It would relieve the landed property of the country from one of the heaviest taxes to which it was now subject. It would be a benefit to the landed gentlemen, and an injury to nobody but the lawyers.

Mr. *Trevor* denied, that these petitions had been produced by the intrigues of interested persons. All the landowners of Durham were against the measure, being confident that it would promote delay and vexation in the transfer of landed property. He was certain that if the Representatives of the North of England were guided by the wishes of their constituents, they would oppose the Bill at every stage.

Mr. *Stephenson* said, the provisions of the Bill were misunderstood by those gentlemen who asserted that it would afford facilities for prying into private concerns for the purpose of vexation. He begged to assure hon. Members no such effects could attend its operation.

An *Hon. Member*, connected with the North of England, declared, that he could not concur in the prayer of the petitions. He believed that the measure would be beneficial to the landed interest. The local registers were badly conducted, the offices were nearly sinecures, and to show their management, one of their charges was for expedition money, which meant that the registrars demanded fees above those allowed by the Act of Parliament.

Mr. *John Wood* said, that the present expense of registering deeds in Yorkshire was most enormous. He was convinced that if the provisions of the Bill were generally known, much of the clamour that now prevailed (for it was clamour resulting from ignorance) would be done away. He recommended Gentlemen to read the report of the Commissioners, and they would see that nine out of ten parts of their law expenses on the transfer of property would be saved.

Lord *Milton* admitted, that there was a division of opinion in Yorkshire, but that related to the question merely whether the registration of Yorkshire should be retained or not. His own opinion was against the Bill, but he was open to conviction.

Mr. *Sanford* said, he knew many places in which the people were nearly unanimous against the Bill, and he thought it would be impolitic, unjust, and even mischievous, to attempt to force it on those who were not inclined to consider it a benefit.

Colonel *Trench* also knew, that many persons objected to the Bill. Within a few days he had seen a protest signed by the ship-owners and other respectable inhabitants of Scarborough against it. It was therefore very incorrect to assert that the Bill was opposed only through ignorance, many persons were of opinion there was something of a job connected with it.

Lord *Morpeth* assured the hon. and learned Member for Stafford that most of the petitions he had presented were adopted at public meetings, and they were not got up under any influence, but spoke the genuine feelings of the subscribers.

Mr. *John Campbell* said, he held a letter in his hand, which distinctly stated that the petitions were hawked about from door to door, throughout the county, for signature. The opposition to the measure was chiefly made by those who were incapable of appreciating it. Most of the publications which had appeared on the subject were decidedly in its favour, and so were all the great law authorities in the kingdom.

Mr. *Strickland* assured the hon. and learned Member, that one of the petitions presented to the House could not, at any rate, be liable to his imputations, when it was signed by Lords Harewood, Stourton, and Howden, and many more Gentlemen of nearly equal rank in life, as well as the highest mercantile authorities; who were all convinced, that it would most unnecessarily expose every man's private transactions,and promote litigation and expense.

Mr. *Schonswar* observed, that he had presented a petition from Hull against the Bill, which was adopted at a public meeting, and signed by all the respectable inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The lawyers in the House were in favour of the Bill, but all the clients in England were opposed to it.

Mr. *Hunt* said, it was very whimsical that the lawyers were so anxious to force a benefit upon the landed interest, which benefit the landed interest was so anxious to reject. He could assure the hon. and learned Gentleman, that the small proprietors had the same feeling against his Bill as the large ones.

Mr. *O'Connell* observed, that he was an ardent supporter of the Bill, from knowing the good effects that had been produced in Ireland by a similar measure. It was wonderful to him that country gentlemen would persevere in upholding a system which obliged them to go to market, and buy a commodity, without knowing whether they got the full value for their money. It was the duty of every professional man to do his best to remedy such evils.

Sir *John Johnstone* said, the "expedition money" which had been mentioned was paid for work performed in extra hours, in consequence of the business of the registry having much increased.

Lord *Sandon* observed, that at one time it was one of our principal quarrels with Lower Canada, that the legislature of that province would not adopt a general registry—a system which, in his opinion, was good in principle, and which he hoped to see carried into effect.

Petitions laid on the Table.

BRITISH SUBJECTS—FRANCE.] Viscount Palmerston having laid on the Table a copy of the Treaty relating to the Netherlands, with the ratification of Great Britain, France, and Belgium, of the 31st of January,

Mr. *O'Connell* took that opportunity to put a question to the noble Lord with regard to a transaction that had recently taken place in France, involving, as it appeared to him, an infraction of the rights of British subjects. He alluded to the forcible transportation from the French territory of about fifty British subjects, on the suppression of a religious establishment there, called La Meilleraye, the members of which had devoted themselves to agricultural and religious pursuits. They had been subject to no trial, but they had been carried to Brest like felons, and thence sent out of the country, in violation of their rights as British subjects. He wished to know whether his Majesty's Ministers had received any information on the matter, and whether it was their intention to take any steps to vindicate the rights of British subjects in this instance?

Viscount *Palmerston* said, that he had heard of the suppression of the religious establishment in question merely from general rumour; but he had received no official information on the subject from the individuals to whom the learned Gentleman had alluded. Undoubtedly, if any persons, British subjects, could show grounds tending to prove that they had been treated in a manner not justified by the treaty between this country and France, his Majesty's Government would take steps to inquire into the matter.

Mr. *O'Connell* would take care, that the transaction should be brought, in the regular way, under the official notice of Government.

TITHE COMMITTEE (IRELAND).] Lord *Milton* wished to take that opportunity of appealing to the hon. and learned member for Kerry not to persist in his Motion for placing the name of a noble friend of his (Lord Killeen) on the Select Committee appointed to inquire as to tithes in Ireland. As the Committee stood, he was disposed to place every confidence in it; at the same time, he could not but regret its exclusive nature; and he must add, that if the hon. Member's Motion should come to the vote, he should feel it his duty to vote for it. Such a motion, however, had better not be persisted in, as it would inevitably produce a discussion which should, at the present moment, be carefully avoided. Things might be said by parties on both sides that they would have afterwards reason to regret, and, altogether, under existing circumstances, the wisest course would be, not to raise a question on the subject.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, that he had determined to bring the Motion forward solely because it had been openly avowed, that the exclusion of Catholics from the Committee had originated with the Irish Government, and was sanctioned by the Cabinet here. The request of the noble Lord had, as it ought, great weight with him, and the reasons by which it was supported, afforded to it additional weight. Preferring, therefore, to err on the side of delicacy than to err on that of over-energy, the result of which might be the introduction of an unsalutary discussion, and being anxious, as a zealous Reformer, not to place the least bar in the progress of the Reform Bill, which had already lost a night this week, he begged leave, in accordance with the request of the noble Lord, to withdraw his Motion.

Lord *Milton* expressed his gratification at the courtesy of the hon Member, and thought that Ireland would derive benefit from the course he had agreed to adopt.

Motion withdrawn.

EXCHEQUER COURT (SCOTLAND) BILL.] Sir *George Clerk*, pursuant to notice, moved, that the names of the Lord Advocate, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, Mr. Cumming Bruce, Sir George Warrender, Mr. Pringle, and Mr. Dixon, be added to the Committee on the Scotch Court of Exchequer. He had no objection to the Gentlemen who at present composed the Committee, and his only object in making the Motion was to obtain a full inquiry into all the circumstances connected with that Court; but he thought that object could not be obtained without a considerable portion of Scotch Members being attached to the Committee, to counteract, in some degree, the influence which the Government had in the majority of those who now composed it.

Lord *Althorp* had no other objection to place several of the Gentlemen named by the hon. Member in the list, but that they had already expressed opinions which shewed they had prejudged the question.

Sir *George Warrender* had no desire to be placed on the Committee; but in reply to the noble Lord, he must say, that he had not come to any conclusive opinion on the subject. Several years since, he had advocated the wisdom of giving additional business to the Court of Exchequer, and last year he had offered some objections to the Bill then proposed. Nevertheless, he was disposed to enter into the inquiry with an unbiassed mind; and whether he was placed on the Committee or not was of very little consequence to him, but certainly more Scotch Members ought to be attached to it.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* was sorry his name had been mentioned, for he had formed no opinion upon the matter; and he was somewhat surprised that the noble Lord had made such an objection to him. He desired to have a Committee to judge whether the abolition of the Court was advisable: all the opinion he had ever given was in reply to the Lord Advocate, when he had asked him the question, whether the Court could not have new powers given it so as to be made useful.

Sir *William Rae* was sorry the Motion was resisted, particularly as the inquiry in question was now proposed by Government, though it formerly resisted all investigation. Last Session, a bill to abolish the Court of Exchequer was sent down from the House of Lords, without the shadow of an inquiry, and it was resisted on that ground. He had then given notice that he should move to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, but nothing further was done, and the Bill was put an end to by the prorogation. Then came the present Bill, which was also brought forward without inquiry, and when he had applied to the noble Lord to ascertain whether investigation would be allowed, he was answered, yes, and the matter was then taken out of his hands and placed in those of the Lord Advocate, who appointed a Committee composed almost exclusively of the supporters of Government. This looked more like a plan for quashing an inquiry than for promoting it.

The *Lord Advocate* felt himself in the painful situation of being obliged to oppose the Motion; and he trusted he should satisfy the House that there was no necessity for the addition proposed. He had heard, with some surprise, that the Bill of last year was to be opposed on the ground that it was an indignity to Scotland to abolish one of her superior Courts without inquiry; and that topic was urged by the right hon. Baronet, who had himself introduced and advocated much more important alterations in the tribunals of Scotland, without any investigation whatever. It was now proposed to add several Gentlemen to the Committee, on the grounds that the great majority of the present members were supporters of Government, and that there was not an adequate proportion of Scotch Members. With respect to the first objection, this was no party question; and, with regard to the second, it did not require local knowledge to understand whether there was enough business before a Court to justify keeping it up. It would be invidious to make personal objections, and fortunately there was no necessity for it; for he rested his objections on the ground that it was unusual for those who were opposed to any specific object to be in large numbers on a Committee to inquire into a measure on which they had previously made up their minds.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, the Motion had reference to an important change in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, and he begged to call the attention of the House to the circumstance, that hitherto there had been no instance of any change in the Supreme Courts of any of the three kingdoms, without a due and solemn inquiry, in which party feelings had no share. But of late they had the Reform Bill—that indecent proceeding, the Bankruptcy Court Bill—that nasty job—and now the Scotch Court of Exchequer Bill—a hurried contrivance. He would leave the first alone for the present, but with regard to the second, his opinions were so decidedly against it, that he thought the strongest language alone could adequately express them, and he had no doubt the thing was managed in the way it had been, because no respectable man could be found to declare on oath that the alteration was necessary, and the sole principle was, to upset ancient rules and customs, and to induce the House of Commons to set a precedent of acting without due information. In the third case that came before them, the principle appeared to be, to abolish a court, and pension two individuals, who, he had no doubt well deserved the pensions, but he should have wished to have had some inquiry put, whether they deserved them or not. He was not arguing the question with any feelings of nationality, and his sentiments were entirely abstracted from party; he would, therefore, content himself with remarking, there had been no general changes in this country without being productive of greater evil than good; and if they did not legislate on sounder principles than they had recently done, the Law Courts of the country would become the arena of political parties.

Mr. *Keith Douglas* said, a royal commission which had been established for the purpose of inquiry, had decided that the Court of Exchequer ought to continue, and yet Ministers in opposition to that commission called upon the House to abolish that court. It, therefore, became necessary to have the most full and deliberate inquiry, and certainly the Gentlemen proposed were well qualified for the task. In opposition to the learned Lord Advocate he must assert, that Committees were frequently enlarged when there appeared a necessity for a more full inquiry.

Mr. *Croker* said, the question was not whether an inquiry should be undertaken, but whether it should be conducted by persons competent to discharge the duty; and he thought, if the House would look to those already composing it, and the names of those proposed to be added, they could come to but one conclusion.

The question was put that the Lord Advocate be added to the Committee. Agreed to.

Mr. Cutlar Fergusson and Mr. Cumming Bruce were also added to the Committee.

Upon the name of Sir G. Warrender being proposed, a division took place, when there appeared, Ayes 56; Noes 100—Majority 44. The names of the other Gentlemen proposed were negatived without a division.

Progress of the Reform Bill.] On the question being put that the House resolve itself into a Committee on the Reform Bill,

Lord *Ebrington* begged to ask if it was in the contemplation of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to make any arrangements for the sitting of the House on Saturday? When he considered the slow progress of the Reform Bill, and when he considered the state of anxiety which prevailed both in and out of the House on the subject, it appeared to him necessary that arrangements should be made to expedite the Bill through the Committee. Trade and commerce had materially suffered, and they would continue to do so while the people were kept in a state of suspense and anxiety. He, therefore, deemed it prudent to suggest to the noble Lord the propriety of resuming the sittings of the House on Saturdays so long as the Bill remained in Committee.

Lord *Althorp* said, he had not hitherto contemplated, nor had he, at the present moment any intention of sitting on Saturdays. The reason that this additional day had been formerly imposed upon the House had its origin in the dilatory manner in which the Committee on the Reform Bill proceeded, and, he should add, unnecessarily delayed, during the last Session. No Committee had ever before been so procrastinated. The present Committee unquestionably got on slowly, but still its progress was sufficiently rapid, to obviate the necessity of sitting on Saturdays. If, however, after a short time, it was found that the Committee did not increase its pace, so that the question might be brought to a conclusion during the Session, he would undoubtedly suggest the propriety of sitting on Saturdays, until the measure passed the House. At all events, he did not intend that the House should sit on Saturday next.

Lord *Stormont* wished to know if it was intended to take the Committee on the Reform Bill on the Wednesdays. He believed that there was no objection entertained by the House to sit on that day, with the understanding, however, that it should be devoted to expediting the several other important measures waiting for consideration.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* agreed with the noble Lord in thinking there should be a certain day in the week set apart for the furthering through their various stages the several measures before the House, in some of which the country were as much interested as it could possibly be in this Reform Bill.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* thought the House should proceed from day to day throughout the week in the consideration of the Reform Bill. An opinion prevailed out of doors that exertions were made in several quarters to retard the progress of the measure, and it would be well if the House would unite, even at the expense of a little more personal fatigue and labour, to give a contradiction to this belief. But there were other and more paramount reasons why the Bill should be expedited. The trade and commerce of the country were in a state of uncertainty; and he firmly believed they would so remain until the question was finally settled. He thought that if hon. Members would talk less, but more to the purpose, the Committee would soon be brought to a conclusion.

Lord *Althorp* had already expressed his intention with respect to the sitting of the House on Wednesdays. It was proposed that that day should be devoted to other business before the House, and that the Reform Bill should only be considered on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays. On last Wednesday, undoubtedly the Committee had been proceeded with, but that was only in consequence of the previous Monday being a *dies non.* While on the subject he thought he might as well state that he would move that the House should consider the Reform Bill on the ensuing Wednesday, as Tuesday next was to be devoted to another subject.

Mr. *Croker* denied, in the most emphatic manner, that exertions were made by one side of the House to retard the progress of the Bill. Perhaps he was wrong in offering himself as the champion of the one side of the House, but, as respected the party to which he belonged, he felt it his duty to say, that no delay whatever, calculated unnecessarily to impede the Reform Bill, had originated with them. He thought the hon. Alderman, who, by the bye, he did not recollect to have either seen or heard during any of the discussions either on the principle or details of the measure, ought to be more cautious in accusing the House without foundation. If any delay had been given, it was occasioned by the necessary postponement of some parts of the Bill by the originators of the measure themselves; and it therefore struck him as extremely impolitic in the hon. Alderman, supporting, as he did, his Majesty's Ministers, to allude to the topic of delay. The hon. Alderman had complained of the number of speeches made during the discussion in Committee. Now, he would beg to inform him, and if the hon. Alderman had attended in his place, he would have perceived, that any observations made by the Gentlemen on that (Mr. Croker's) side of the House were invariably incidental to the details of the Bill; and when any extraneous question was started, the supporters, and none but the supporters, of the measure were to blame. For instance, on the previous evening, a question was raised by an hon. Baronet—as great a favourer of the Bill as any in the House—which occasioned a very considerable discussion. He repeated, that any delay which had taken place originated with his Majesty's Ministers and their supporters: not that he meant to impute any blame to them on that account; on the contrary, they deserved great credit for their candour in postponing certain clauses until the House was put in possession of requisite information. For his part he could not accuse himself of causing unnecessary delay; he had occasionally found it requisite to trouble the House with observations, but he had done so solely with a view to render the details of th measure as little objectionable as possible; and he begged to say, he would continue to offer such observations as he might deem necessary, notwithstanding any comments which might be made either by the hon. Alderman or his constituents on the other side of Temple-bar, to whom he did not give the credit of knowing much on the subject.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* said, he had not alluded to either side of the House in particular. He had merely stated an opinion which he knew to exist in several parts of the country. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to quarrel with him for addressing the House at all; but he begged to observe, that, as a Representative of the City of London, he conceived he possessed quite as much right to give expression to his sentiments as the Representative of a rotten borough; and although the right hon. Gentleman might disregard what fell from him, he would still persist in claiming his privilege. The right hon. Gentleman had gone so far as to accuse him of a neglect of duty. He had not certainly addressed the House as often as the right hon. Gentleman, and for a sufficiently good reason, that he did not so well understand the intricacy of the subject. But as to any neglect of his duty—[" *Spoke, spoke.*"]

Mr. *Baring* rose to order. The question before the House was that the Speaker do leave the Chair. He did not see how the hon. Alderman could enter into a detail of his services in the cause of the Reform Bill.

Alderman *Waithman* said, he was only desirous of replying to a charge which had been made against him.

The *Speaker* begged to remind the hon. Alderman he could not, consistently with the rules of the House, reply in an explanation to a charge.

Lord *Ebrington* did not wish to delay the progress of the Bill, but he could not refrain from corroborating the assertion of the hon. Alderman, the Representative of the City of London. He would repeat that assertion. He knew that there did prevail a very strong impression that futile and unnecessary delay had been offered to the progress of the Bill. He (Lord Ebrington) had regularly attended the discussions on the Bill, and he would say it appeared to him that there had been a great and unnecessary waste of both words and time. The country knew this to be the case, and therefore complained. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Croker) appeared to take credit to himself for assisting the progress of the Bill. He (Lord Ebrington) could not flatter him much on this point. In fact he could not give the right hon. Gentleman credit for ever wishing to do so. Much time had been already wasted in useless discussion, and, unless the Bill made more rapid strides, he thought it would be necessary to sit on Saturdays. He had intended to submit a motion to that effect to-morrow, but in the hope that no further useless discussion would be attempted, he would postpone doing so until next week, when, unless he found the Bill making more rapid progress than it at present did, he should feel it his duty to take the sense of the House upon the subject.

Sir *Henry Hardinge*, after remarking that the only reason given by the noble Lord for the motion he proposed to submit was, that the people out of doors were not satisfied, proceeded to say—"Have we then already arrived at the period when the sections of London are to dictate to this House? For one, Sir, I never will give way to such dictation. I know that the way this Bill is to be carried through by Government, is by aid of the mob. I, however, as one member of Parliament, never will submit to be dictated to by the sections of London, speaking through the noble Lord as their organ. I say again, Sir, that noble Lord shall not dictate to me, or to this House."

Lord *Ebrington* said, Sir, I beg leave to contradict as positively and as strongly as the forms of this House will admit, the assertions made respecting the grounds which induced me to give notice of my Motion. I would say, contradict the misrepresentation, which I am persuaded was unintentionally made by the hon. and gallant Officer, as to the grounds of my Motion. I repel again with indignation the insinuations of the hon. and gallant Officer, of my being the organ of the mob. I would not be the organ of any set of men whose opinions did not coincide with my own. I would not be the organ of any set of sentiments which did not agree with my own. I am the Representative of a numerous and respectable constituency—I am an independent member of Parliament, and I can tell the gallant Officer, that I speak my opinion as honestly, as sincerely, and as independently as himself, or any other Gentleman in this House.

Sir *Henry Hardinge* said, when the intemperate cheers of certain hon. Members there whom I have in my eye shall have ceased, I will answer the noble Lord. The noble Lord's argument was, that it is the opinion of the people out of doors that there was an unnecessary delay in the progress of the Reform Bill, and that they would not, after a time, be satisfied if the rate of that progress was not increased—unless the House sat on Saturdays. He certainly did not use the word "sections," when he advanced his argument for the Motion alluded to. But I say the force of that argument rested on mob dictation. I say there are certain Members in this House under the influence of mob dictation. [Cries from the Ministerial side of "*name, name.*" The hon. Member continued.] As I am called upon to name, I may allude to the fact, that Cabinet Ministers have, in their correspondence with Political Unions, and in the interchange of courtesies with them, even ventured to designate the discussion of the House of Lords as the whisper of a faction. I apply again to what was said by the noble Lord, and when I find him resting his chief argument on the opinions of the people out of doors, I think I am justified in concluding that, in a great degree his Motion is brought forward because out of doors all opposition to the Bill is denounced by certain bodies, and because the fruit of these opinions prevails. The noble Lord tells me, that he repels with indignation something that has fallen from me. I do not understand him—but if he means to say, that he repels with indignation any thing advanced as a fact or opinion by me, I receive this with quite as much indignation as he expresses, and I am perfectly ready to meet it in any way the noble Lord chooses—[*order*]. I have seldom troubled the House in the discussions upon this Bill, but whenever I hear the opinion of people out of doors advanced as an argument to compel the House to any particular line of conduct, I will always repeat what I have said to the noble Lord, and to any other noble Lord. Whatever opinion or statement of mine the noble Lord repels with indignation, I have only to say, that I repel whatever he may urge against my opinions with equal indignation. I repeat what I have before said, and I have not one iota to retract.

Lord *Ebrington*: "The right hon. and gallant General stated, that I was here the organ of the sections of London—that they spoke through me as their organ. To that assertion I gave, and again give, a positive denial—a flat contradiction. No Gentleman has a right to state what is unfounded in fact; far less when the assertion is calculated to convey an unjust insinuation. I repeat that the assertion of the right hon. and gallant General is perfectly unfounded in fact."

Mr. *Goulburn* was sure that the House would see that the warmth displayed by the noble Lord was not warranted by what had fallen from his right hon. and gallant friend. What his right hon. and gallant friend said was, not that the noble Lord spoke there as the mere tool or organ of the sections of London, but that he founded his Motion in obedience to the feelings entertained out of doors.

Lord *Althorp*, in common with every other Member, must reject those occasional misconceptions which occurred in the heat of debate, but was confident that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman would himself see that the expression "organ of a section," which he had applied to his noble friend, was not warranted in fact, and that no personal offence was intended by his noble friend's warm denial.

Sir *George Murray* agreed with the noble Lord in regarding the present misconception as one of those occasional ebullitions which occurred in the heat of debate, and which were to be regretted; but still thought that the undue warmth was entirely on the side of the noble member for Devonshire.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* would take it upon him to inform the noble Lord, that a very large and influential portion of the public attributed, and that, too, on just grounds, the delay in the progress of the Bill to its framers and supporters. He would beg leave to add, if they, or any of them, thought they could force the Bill through the House without full and ample discussion, they would find themselves mistaken. With respect to the noble Lord's intended motion, all he would then say was, that it would be nothing less than a severe censure on the noble Lord's, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, management; for if that noble Lord saw no reason for adding Saturday to the Committee days, the proposition must be an implied censure on his zeal and sagacity.

Mr. *Cressett Pelham* considered that, as the noble Lord (Lord Ebrington) said he agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Alderman (Alderman Waithman) near him, he was, *pro tanto*, the organ of the sections of London; he however, denied, for himself, that any unnecessary delay had been offered to the Bill since it had gone into Committee. He was told that the trading districts anxiously looked forward to the passing of the measure, and reprobated all discussion. But the trade of the country was not the sole interest to which the House had to attend, and, as a country gentleman, he protested against it being hurried through the Committee.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—BILL FOR ENGLAND—COMMITTEE—SIXTH DAY.] The House then resolved itself into Committee.

Lord *John Russell* observed, that Clause 17 of the Bill had been postponed, at the suggestion of the right hon. member for Aldeburgh until the Committee decided on the 24th Clause. As that clause had been agreed to, he would move that the House should proceed with clause 17 of the Bill.

Mr. *Croker* said, that his only motive in desiring the postponement of this clause until the 24th was agreed to, was, that as both involved the same principle, one decision would answer. The House having agreed that clause 24 should stand part of the Bill, he, for one, would not offer any opposition to this clause.

Mr. *Praed* begged to trouble the House with one observation. It was complained that the progress of the Bill in Committee was delayed. Now, he happened to remember when the clause, to which they were about to agree without any discussion, was discussed in the last Session, it occupied a considerable period on three several nights. It could not, therefore, be said, that the unnecessary delay was offered by the opponents of the Bill.

On the question, that the clause stand part of the Bill,

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, that, as the Representative of Lincoln, it would be necessary for him to trespass on the attention of the House for a short time. He did not expect that his observations would reach the public, inasmuch as he understood that all the public journals—even those which professed to advocate the cause of Anti-reform—had come to a determination of *Burking* the highly-important observations which he found it sometimes necessary to make on behalf of the interests of his constituents. He must, however, state, that the proposed division of the county of Lincoln was in direct opposition to an Act of Parliament, he alluded to the 52 George 3rd, which had for its object the navigation of the river Witham. The divisions of the county there established were contrary to those put forward by this clause. He did not mean to say, that an Act could not be altered or modified by succeeding Acts, but such a thing was never done without the necessity of the required alteration being clearly shown; and certainly the proposers of this Bill had made out no such case. As he knew it was of no use arguing any question in the face of so great a majority as supported Ministers through thick-and-thin, he would content himself with moving these words in addition to the clause, "that all the freeholders whose freeholds are situated on the north side of the river Witham shall vote for the Representatives for the district of Lindsey, and that all those whose freeholds are on the south side of that river shall vote for the Members proposed to be given to the districts of Kesteven and Holland." It was his intention to have taken the sense of the Committee on the Motion, but, as the attendance of Members was extremely small he would defer doing so until the Report was brought up.

Lord *John Russell* said, that the sense of the last Committee had been taken on this point, and he should not, therefore, go into the question now, but should leave the hon. and gallant Member to pursue any course he might please. He would only add, that he believed the convenience of the present division would be found to be greater than that proposed by the hon. Member.

The Amendment was negatived without a division.

Mr. *Croker* thought, as one of the clauses now stood, the freeholders of the county of the city of Lincoln would, though the noble Lord did not intend it, have a right to vote in both divisions.

Lord *John Russell* said, that when the counties came to be divided that difficulty would be obviated, and that was to be effected by a future bill.

Mr. *Croker* thought it would be right to apply the remedy when the evil was discovered, and not to look to future events to obviate it.

Sir *William Ingilby* concurred for once with the gallant Colonel. He agreed with him, that the proposed division was not the most convenient that could be devised. He saw no good reason for taking four or five parishes from one division of the county, and adding them to the other. He must, however, at the same time say, that he did not at all agree with the gallant Colonel's frequent assertions respecting the sentiments of the county of Lincoln. The gallant Colonel might misrepresent the city of Lincoln as much as he pleased, but when he came to misrepresent the county of Lincoln, it became necessary for him to interfere. He had heard the gallant Colonel talk about impossible things, till the gallant Colonel at last, came to believe them, so that he reminded one of a certain Baron in Germany. The Baron in Germany talked about going up to the moon till he believed he could get there, and the gallant Colonel talked of the no less extraordinary circumstance of a re-action in the county of Lincoln, until he really believed it, though there was not the slightest ground for the supposition. Not long since, a public meeting of the county had taken place, at which the gallant Colonel ought to have been present, but he was not, though, if he had been, he would have found that there was no such thing as a re-action on the subject of Reform in the county of Lincoln. Stronger resolutions than at first had been intended were proposed and carried. Having said this, he would now add one word upon another circumstance, to shew how little ground there was for talking of re-action in the county of Lincoln. The state of the opinion of the county had been manifested at the time appointed for calling out the Militia. He did not know the reason; but something occurred at Stamford upon the subject, and the Lord-lieutenant thought fit to disband the Militia. The pretence put forth was, that the weather was too inclement, but he hardly knew how that could be admitted as the real reason for the Lord-lieutenant's conduct, when it was known that the Militia of other counties were called out at even a later period. He believed the true cause of this disbanding was to be found in the fact, that the Southern Regiment of Militia had uttered that fearful word "Reform." He thought that fact shewed how little ground there was for saying that there had been a re-action in the county.

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, that he seldom had the pleasure of hearing the hon. Baronet's voice in that House, and, therefore, when the hon. Baronet did speak, he felt inclined to get up and answer him. But on this occasion it was impossible for him not to reply—happy as he was to seize every opportunity of contesting with the hon. Baronet his opinion as to the county of Lincoln. He had been asked why he did not attend what the hon. Baronet called the last county meeting—a meeting which took place in November? He did not attend it for two very cogent reasons—the first was, that he was closely confined to his bed by sickness; but had he been able to attend, he should not have done so, for he would not have compromised himself by attending a meeting which the hon. Baronet called a county meeting, but which he understood, out of a population of above 300,000 persons, did not amount to 400, and not 150 of these were freeholders of the county. Much as he respected that county, and he had good reasons for respecting it, he must say, that when he read what had fallen from hon. individuals who were at the meeting, so unbecoming as it was, he was glad that he was not present. He must say, that, when he read what had been said at that meeting, he did not think the meeting had done any credit to the county. The hon. Baronet had touched upon matter foreign to the subject when he spoke about the Militia. The hon. Baronet did not understand the matter—he was no soldier, and never had been one, unless he had belonged to some awkward squad in a volunteer corps. When the hon. Baronet talked of a Militia regiment expressing their political opinions, he ought to know that such an expression of opinion was opposed to all propriety. He (Colonel Sibthorp) had been in the regular service, and he was now in the Militia; but he asserted, most positively, that he never had, and never would be connected with a regiment which interfered with political matters; and he would tell the hon. Baronet, that if he was under his command and violated his duty by giving utterance, as an officer, to political opinions, he (Colonel Sibthorp) would put the hon. Baronet under arrest. He should now only add, that if the reasons given by the hon. Baronet for the disbanding of the Lincoln Militia was the true reason, he was glad of it. He begged to say, that he had not misrepresented the county of Lincoln; and when the hon. Baronet accused him of often having done so, the hon. Baronet ought to have refuted the misrepresentation earlier. He was utterly incapable of misrepresentation; but though he had known the hon. Baronet for years, and had met him frequently in friendship, he must say, that the statement was unfounded in truth. He asserted that there was a considerable re-action in the county of Lincoln, to the hon. Baronet's discomfort, and however facetious the hon. Baronet chose to be upon it, he was well acquainted with the fact.

Sir *William Ingilby* said, that the gallant Colonel was a well-bred soldier, and it was a pity for the county that he had not the command of the Militia there; and the gallant Colonel was no doubt right when he said he would put a man under his command under his arrest, if that man violated military discipline by the introduction of politics. He should have no objection to serve under the gallant Colonel, for he was sure the gallant Colonel would act in a straight-forward manner, which the present authorities had not done when they got up a miserable squabble at Stamford, and misled the Government by their account of the matter.

The 17th Clause was then agreed to.

The 25th Clause, enacting that no person shall be entitled to vote for a county in respect of certain copyholds and leaseholds in a borough, read.

Mr. *Frankland Lewis*, in reference to this clause, requested the noble Lord would inform him whether a burgess, who had the right of voting as owner or occupier of a 10*l.* house, could vote in a borough as a freeman, and in the county as a freeholder? He meant, of course, when such person did not claim the right of voting in the borough in virtue of the house he occupied.

Lord *Althorp* observed, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman, that there was no intention to give an individual two votes. A person might have his option, either to vote in the borough as a freeman, or in the county as a freeholder, if his premises were under 10*l.* value annually, but he could not be allowed to vote for both.

Clause agreed to.

On the 26th Clause, enacting that possession for a certain time, and registration, are essential to the right of voting for a county,

Lord *Althorp* stated, that, under the circumstances of the present Bill, which was not likely to pass so early as to render it necessary to make a specific enactment for the registration of the present year, he would move, that the blank be filled up with the words "the 20th of June."

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* said, he would take this opportunity of repeating the suggestion he had made last Session, that, for the purpose of expediting the Bill, and to afford time for deliberation upon other subjects, it would be highly desirable to divide the Bill, after the 34th or 35th clause, when the rights of voting were all determined, and to leave the question of registration and subordinate details for separate discussion. These, he thought, might be much better discussed in a Committee up-stairs.

Lord *Althorp* must object to the proposition of his right hon. friend. He thought the House would never pass a Bill which granted certain rights of voting, without determining the mode in which such rights were to be exercised.

Clause agreed to.

On the 27th Clause being read, which enacts, that the right of voting in boroughs shall be enjoyed by occupiers of houses, &c., of the annual value of 10*l.*,

Mr. *Hunt* rose to propose the Amendment of which he had given notice. He hoped, for the sake of the principle, it would meet with better success than it did last Session, especially after the convincing speech of the hon. member for Thetford (Mr. Baring) last night. His amendment was, that all householders, all payers of rates and taxes, should have a vote. The principle was one known in the Constitution, and was acted upon in Westminster, Southwark, and other places. The principle was, that all persons who occupied a house, and paid taxes, should have a vote; and every man liable to be called upon to serve in the Militia, had as great a stake in the good Government of the country as the first Peer of the realm. Nothing could be more complicated than the right of voting given by this Bill. It would give rise to endless litigation, unless some measure was had recourse to, to simplify these rights. All he required was, a vote for every householder who paid taxes, and the Bill even went beyond that principle in some instances, by allowing persons who lived in lodgings, and who, therefore, in many instances, had no property whatever, the right of voting. Besides this, the determining the value of 10*l.* houses would give rise to endless disputes and litigation. What was now going on at Quarter Sessions relating to the law of settlement, which rested upon houses of that value, would be transferred to the Barristers' Court. Surveyors would be called on, who would give contradictory opinions, and everlasting squabbles must be the inevitable result. The annual registry would cause more excitement than an Annual Parliament, which he had always advocated, but would be attended with unmixed evil, as there would be no means to carry off the local effervescence which would prevail from one registry to another. He believed many Gentlemen agreed with him in these opinions, but would not avow them, although they talked of the intelligence, loyalty, and good sense of the people of England. They would not follow out the necessary consequences flowing from such sentiments, and give every father of a family a vote. He had no hope of carrying the Motion now, but he had no doubt that in a very few years either this or some still stronger measure would be adopted. He wished, therefore, to place his opinions on record, and would content himself with moving, "That all householders paying taxes, shall have a vote for the respective Members to be chosen in the next, and every succeeding Parliament."

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* opposed the amendment. It would be in the recollection of the House, that this proposition was discussed, and unanimously decided against the hon. Gentleman, in the course of the last Session of Parliament. He certainly thought that Ministers, in giving the vote to 10*l.* householders, had gone as low in the qualification as they ought to go; but there was a great deal of good sense, however, in the remarks which had been made with respect to the advantages which would arise from the qualification being got at by means of the rates of the whole of the country, if they could be fairly and equitably assessed. In that case, he had no hesitation in saying, that he would not merely require that the voters should be rated to the poor, but also to the full extent of the value of the House; and he would provide that no person should have a vote in any borough who was not rated to the full value of 10*l.* a-year. It was impossible, however, that this proposition could be carried into effect in the present state of rating, because it was so unequally and differently proportioned, that it was quite impossible, from it, to say whether a house was worth 10*l.*, 12*l.*, or 20*l.* The present Bill, however, was undoubtedly better than the last, as far as the 10*l.* clause was concerned, but there were still opportunities for abuses and evasions. This was a most important clause, particularly when it was taken in connexion with the succeeding one; and he wished to call the noble Lord's attention to a statement he was about to make respecting it. The clause, taken by itself, provided that no person should have a vote who was not in the occupation of a house of the value of 10*l.*;

this occupation, if the occupier be fairly registered according to the provisions of the Bill, would enable him to vote, provided he was rated to the poor, and had paid up all his rates. What he was about to state was most material with reference to the next clause, because that introduced an entirely new principle; he would not say whether it was right or wrong, but he was sure it demanded the most serious consideration That clause—the twenty-eighth—said that it was not necessary a person should have occupied the same premises during the whole time, but he might have occupied different premises in succession. To shew how this provision would work was his object. It was in the power of any person in possession of premises, to go to the overseer and insist upon being rated: he had a right to be rated on the very day he entered upon the occupation. A person might occupy twelve different houses in the course of the twelve months; and it would only be necessary for him to have paid the rates for the premises, in respect of which he claimed the right of voting. It appeared to him there was no provision whatever that a person must have paid the rates for any other tenement than the last he occupied. He thought an amendment should be introduced, having the object of making a man prove the payment of the rates for all the successive premises he might have occupied during the year before he was entitled to be registered. There was one improvement in the present Bill over the last, however, that the registry was not to be completed until three months after the insertion of the names therein. This would afford some additional security for a *bonâ fide* occupation, for that time at least. He confessed, however, he thought something was still wanting to secure the advantages of permanence and stability in the constituency. He should prefer a fixed qualification of even 5*l.* a-year to a shifting and fugitive one, whereby a class of voters might be let in without respectability or character. A general registry of the whole kingdom, for the qualification of voters, was certainly a desirable object, but it would be exceedingly difficult to attain.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, the learned Gentleman who spoke last had observed, that he could not assent to any proposal for altering the 10*l.* qualification by the substitution of another amount of annual value in lieu of 10*l.*; and possibly if there was any necessity for fixing a specific qualification to be indiscriminately and universally applied, he might agree with him. But he must deny that any sufficient reasons had been alleged for adopting the 10*l.* qualification as the rule without exception for every town and borough. His great objection to this qualification was, that it was applied to every place in the United Kingdom, no matter what the size, wealth, or population of that place. It was quite a mistake to say, that this would produce uniformity of voting; for the class which paid 10*l.* rent in one place was very different from the class which paid the same amount of rent in another. He was prepared to place the qualification below 10*l.* in several towns and boroughs; and he had felt some surprise that the noble Lord did not retain the scot-and-lot franchise in all the old boroughs that were to retain their franchise, in which he found the scot-and-lot right in existence. The objection to this was, that the scot-and-lot franchise was more liable to abuse, in consequence of the poverty of many of those by whom it was exercised. He would venture to say, however, that there was scarcely any place in which the scot-and-lot voters would not be found as respectable and as independent as the 10*l.* rent-payers in very large manufacturing towns. The objection arising from poverty applied with at least equal force to the latter class of voters. When it was considered that a class of persons were to be admitted to the franchise who had no fixed habitations, as they might shift them several times in the course of a twelvemonth, who were not trusted by their landlords for more than a weekly payment of rent, it would be seen that the 10*l.* qualification was no test of respectability. By retaining the scot-and-lot voters, more variety would have been given to the franchise, and a link of connection preserved between the Representative body and that class of householders which paid the smallest amount of rent. Acting under this opinion, he would certainly have preferred the raising of the qualification above 10*l.* in the largest towns, and adopting in the smaller a course somewhat similar to that adopted by the noble Lord with respect to freemen of corporations, by giving a right of voting to all householders who pay rates. He repeated, that, by this plan, they would have secured an equally independent class of voters, and, at the same time, preserved the link which unites the poor voter with his richer neighbour. He could assure the noble Lord that this class of men were all above poverty, and, in small towns, capable of exercising their right with discretion and independence. With respect to the large towns now about to be enfranchised for the first time, he was not at that time prepared to say that 10*l.*, 15*l.*, 20*l.*, or any other given amount, would be the proper and just qualification; but he must declare, without wishing to introduce into the consideration of this question any topics connected with the general principle of Reform, that he bitterly lamented that the Government did not take more time than six weeks to consider the details of their measure. After the Ministers had come to the determination to introduce a Reform as extensive as this, six months might have been fairly required by them for the purpose of maturely considering the details of that Reform, and the various classes of constituency to be established under the system. Take the case of Manchester, Birmingham, or Leeds, which are to be enfranchised. The constituent body of those towns ought certainly to be so numerous as to ensure a popular right of election far out of the reach of any individual control, but it ought also to be formed on such principles as to ensure the just weight of intelligence, character and property combined. The true interest of those great societies would not be consulted by turbulent elections and return of reckless demagogues. He did not see any impossibility in carrying into effect the suggestion thrown out by the hon. Member for Thetford last night, that they should take 3,000 or 4,000 of the highest-rated persons in a large town, and give them the right of voting. The question would be, whether by such a proceeding they would not establish an independent system of Representation, free from abuse, and ensuring to the intelligence, knowledge, and respectability of the town, their just influence. He saw no reason why this suggestion should not be adopted in cases wherein the Legislature was about to confer new privileges, and might, therefore, proceed on what principle it pleased. He wanted no restriction on the right of voting in such places as Manchester and Birmingham, save that which might be necessary to prevent the predominance of numbers over property—and of popular passion over the deliberate judgment of the educated and reflecting classes. The relations of those towns to the community at large were very important—their interests were very varied and very complicated, and he was satisfied that those relations would not be comprehended, and those interests would not be promoted, by the triumph of demagogues. He could not then say what was the precise amount of qualification which should have been fixed for the great manufacturing towns, but of this he was assured, that the right of Representation would be a curse instead of a benefit to those towns, if that right did not ensure to property and intelligence their just influence in the return of Members. Entertaining these opinions on the principle, he had strong objections to the manner in which it was proposed to determine the value of the property that was to confer a vote. A house and land, paying together 10*l.* rent, was hereafter to give to the person occupying it a right of voting. He much feared that serious evils would arise from this. It held out to landlords an inducement to take away land from the poor occupier who now held it, and to add it to a 5*l.* house, for the purpose of bringing the rent of house and land together up to 10*l.* Its tendency was to create a petty oligarchy in every town more offensive than that which they superseded. He was confident, indeed, that the difficulty of determining the value, and ascertaining the qualification in practice would be so great as would lead to the necessity of reconsidering that part of the Bill. He would give them an instance of that difficulty out of many he possessed, from the borough with which he was best acquainted. His Majesty's Government had wished to ascertain the number of houses of the value of 10*l.* annual rent, within the limits of the borough of Tamworth. Two persons were selected to procure the necessary information, the town-clerk, and the churchwarden—men in every respect well qualified for such a task, and possessing all requisite industry and information. The return was made. The town-clerk stated, there were 202 houses rated at 10*l.*, and the churchwarden returned 325, and these conflicting returns were made for a borough containing only 729 inhabited houses. Ample time was given to make the return, and he believed it was as complete as it could be made; but the difference arose from the town-clerk taking the Poor-rates as his guide, and the churchwarden taking the Church-rates. Now, he would just ask the House to consider the condition of a stranger going down for two or three days to one of these boroughs, to make a return of the number of houses valued at 10*l.* What was the prospect that his judgment could be relied upon when men so intimately acquainted with the localities presented such discrepancies in their statements? He would give them another case, which occurred a fortnight ago in a southern county, without the parties having the slightest conception that it would ever be appealed to as an argument in a question of Reform :—A doubt arose whether a party had gained a settlement by occupying a house of the value of 10*l.* Two days were occupied in the hearing. Fourteen Magistrates were on the bench. Elaborate speeches were made on both sides, and at the conclusion the Magistrates divided: seven of the fourteen were of opinion that the house was of the value of 10*l.*, and seven were equally satisfied that it was not. Now, if it were so difficult to decide on a disputed question of value, in a case wherein there was so little either of interest or passion, or party feeling, to disturb the judgment, what must be the obstacles to be surmounted in an inquiry before a stranger in cases wherein so many and such powerful personal feelings and interests would be brought into collision? He apprehended that he did not exaggerate much, when he said that the expense, and the delay, and the difficulty would form a serious obstacle to the working of the Bill; and he regretted much that the noble Lord and its framers had not looked a little more closely at the qualification in the Jury Bill, which was of a much simpler character. The Juryman was qualified, either by the occupation of a house rated at 20*l.* to the Poor-rate, or of a house having fifteen windows. The expense of procuring evidence to ascertain the value of 10*l.* houses would be great in all disputed cases. Supposing a person, resident in London, who had a vote in Cornwall in right of a house of the description in question, were compelled to prove his right, to how much inconvenience, and to how much expense might he not be put? The witnesses were to have a viaticum, and, as he understood, graduated according to their condition in life. These expenses were to be of constant recurrence. They must be defrayed every year, and by whom? By the party claiming a right to vote? No; but by the whole community, and the unfortunate scot-and-lot voters who were deprived of the franchise, would have to pay the expenses of those on whom it was conferred. He implored the House to pause before they burthened the Poor-rates with such a charge as this, and to endeavour to ascertain whether a more simple test might not be devised for ascertaining the qualification.

Lord *John Russell* said, the principal objection of the right hon. Baronet was, that there was too great a variety, instead of there being a general uniformity, of suffrage; and that the right of suffrage, instead of being low in the small towns, and higher in the large towns, was, on the contrary, too high in the small towns, and too low in the large towns. This the right hon. Gentleman considered to be a great defect. Now, he must contend, on the other hand, that if they had made the franchise low in the small boroughs, and high in the large towns, the system would be much worse, and must of necessity be mischievous to the principles of practical Reform. Let the House, in the first place, take the smaller boroughs. There was no one acquainted with elections in this country who would not admit, that boroughs where the scot-and-lot system of voting prevailed were exceedingly corrupt, and were the most disgraceful blots that existed in the Representation. In two or three of these boroughs a constituency was to be found of so wretched a character, that they were always ready to receive twenty or twenty-five guineas, as the price of their suffrages. When they were allowed to send Representatives to Parliament, it was deemed necessary that their suffrages should be founded on something above that which was merely nominal. It was considered just and wise, that men possessing the elective franchise should be above the temptation of a bribe. Then let them take the larger towns, and consider whether any good reason existed for raising the right of suffrage higher with respect to them. The right hon. Baronet stated truly, that the scot-and-lot franchise brought a great number of the lower sort of voters more immediately in contact with the Constitution, which he viewed as a circumstance of great importance. But he thought that the right hon. Baronet was mistaken in his application of the just and equitable principle on which his argument was founded. This lower description of voters in the small insignificant boroughs had little knowledge of political rights, and paid less attention to them; those who really considered these subjects were to be found in that great and numerous class of tradesmen and artisans who inhabited large towns. They took an interest in political questions, and they would therefore be likely to select men calculated to represent their interests and to support the interests of the country in Parliament. Now, if the right hon. Baronet's suggestion were followed, it would let in the suffrages of voters in small boroughs, who took no interest, or scarcely any interest in political matters, and it would keep out the suffrages of those who really did take an interest in them. In both respects, by making the right of suffrage lower in the small boroughs, and higher in the great towns, they would injure the Bill; and in both respects they would injure the constituency of the country. The right hon. Baronet had stated fairly the objections which might be raised against taking value as the criterion of the right of Suffrage. On that point he could only say, that if any mode could be devised by which the right of suffrage could be ascertained without trouble, inconvenience, or expense, he would most readily adopt it; but until such a mode was discovered, he would adhere to that which the Bill contained, as being, under all circumstances, the best. If the right of voting were to be decided by rate, it would not answer; because rating was very different in different places. In some places a house was rated on the value of 10*l.* a-year, which was barely worth that amount; whilst in others that rate was affixed to a house worth 50*l.* or 60*l.* a-year. But it was perfectly evident that there was no way of framing a clause free from objection if they admitted value at all, whether actual or rated, as the criterion. He, however, saw no mode less objectionable than that which was proposed. If rent was taken as the criterion, the punctual payer would in some cases be deprived of his right of voting, while the person who did not so pay would retain it. For instance in Manchester there was a person who had a number of small houses let at from 10*l.* to 11*l.* a-year. Those tenants who had paid regularly had an allowance, which brought the rent down to 9*l.* or 9*l.* 10*s.* Now if rent were the criterion, these last would be excluded, while the persons who did not pay punctually would have a vote. The right hon. Baronet had apparently overlooked one essential difference between the respective operations of the jury laws and the elective franchise; in the first, the person was called upon to exercise a burthensome and in some instances expensive duty; in the latter case a privilege was conferred. Further he believed the right hon. Baronet was not correct in supposing that the expense of litigation would fall upon the Poor-rate. There were some other points urged by him which would be more appropriately answered in a future stage of the proceeding.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, he was as much opposed to the 10*l.* franchise in the present Bill as in the former. Indeed it appeared to him, on the whole, that the operation of it would be found still more objectionable. The former Bill afforded four tests by which the qualification might be ascertained—the rent actually paid, the agreement between landlord and tenant, the being rated at 10*l.*, and the value of the house. The framers of the present measure had, however, thought fit to abandon three of these tests, and to adopt "value" alone. Now, in his opinion, in doing so they had chosen the very worst criterion. It would give rise to innumerable disputes, and who, he wished to know, was to defray the expense of this litigation? Why, the individuals who had no votes would be favoured with the agreeable privilege of paying, to ascertain the right of those who had. An odious oligarchical distinction would be thus established. The man who possessed a 10*l.* house would be allowed to vote, while his neighbour, whose tenement was not worth quite so much, was excluded from the right of suffrage. And the individual possessing this oligarchical distinction had also this advantage, that the man who had no vote contributed to pay the expense of ascertaining the other man's right. This would be, it was true, an oligarchy of shop-keepers, but it would excite as much ill-feeling in its sphere, as that oligarchy which was so much spoken of in that House was supposed to do. If a man's name were omitted in the list of voters, what would be the consequence? Why, he must prosecute his right before the Barrister—he must call evidence; and he believed very few men would go to the expense, but would sooner forfeit their claim. He very much doubted, also, whether the lists would be fairly made out—whether they would not be tinctured by political intrigue and political feeling. His great objection to this provision was, because it appeared to him that it would be found impracticable to carry it into effect. Men beneficially occupied in London would be very unwilling to proceed to a great distance to prove the value of a house. They had heard of oligarchy, but there might be an oligarchy of carpenters and builders who would keep up the value of houses. The clause would give an influence which shop-keepers ought not to have. Having expressed his objection to the clause, he did not wish to enter into other provisions, but he could not avoid protesting against the tyranny of making the valuation of houses the foundation of the franchise, forcing men to go through litigation, to establish their right of voting. He appealed to the Ministers, having in vain appealed to the Aldermen of London, whose bowels were closed up. He appealed for mercy and candour, which could not be found in the palaces of Mayoralty. His hope was, that they would answer his appeal. He hoped that the worthy Alderman opposite would condescend to give them, on a subject like this, more of his arithmetic and less of his taunts and jokes, and that he would apply himself to the showing how this clause would possibly work well. There was no part of the Bill which, in his (Sir Charles Wetherell's) opinion was more objectionable than this clause, and neither the taunts of the worthy Alderman, nor the sneers of all the Aldermanic body of the City of London, should prevent him from doing his duty.

Sir *Robert Peel* referred to Clause 55, page 28, and objected to the provision which made all the expense incurred by Overseers in every parish in making out lists fall on the fund collected for the relief of the poor; and that of the returning-officers of cities, boroughs, &c., was to be defrayed by the Treasurer of the county. In the latter case it was not, indeed, called poor-rates, but it was, in fact, the same fund. The amount of these joint demands would be very large, and the evil would be increased, from the payers not having a due control over these expenses.

Lord *Althorp* said, that the expense of summoning witnesses would not be thrown on the county or the poor-rates, but that the intention of the Bill was, that it should be borne by the parties themselves, for whose benefit they were summoned, and who would have to tender the *viaticum*, as was the case under similar circumstances at present. In the course of this discussion the Motion which had been made by the hon. member for Preston appeared to have been altogether lost sight of. Now, he thought that it would be better and more convenient to dispose of that Motion in the first instance, before they should proceed further with the discussion on this clause. With regard to that hon. Member's Motion, he might observe, that it was not one that the Committee were at all likely to accede to, and he, therefore, hoped, that that hon. Member would excuse him for not going into any of the arguments which might be offered against such a motion. Such arguments were not necessary, for the Members had already made up their minds on the subject. The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite had said, that there were four tests of value in the last Bill, and that there was only one to be found in the present. But though there was only one particularly specified in the present Bill, the others still remained, and could be had recourse to for the purpose of testing value where they should be deemed necessary.

Mr. *Sadler* rose, amidst a call for the question. It was not his intention to confine himself exclusively to the amendment. He wished to address a few observations to the noble founder of the measure, who had just stated, with apparent complacency, that the fixed amount of the qualification would, in consequence of the difference in the value of houses in large and small towns, vary the franchise, and obviate the objections urged as to the apparent equality of the proposed qualification. He must remind the noble Lord that there was one feature which bore a most dismal uniformity; it was one which could not satisfy the people of England. That was a disfranchisement of several millions of the most industrious parts of the population, the greater proportion of whom resided in houses under the value of 10*l*. He knew not on what ground a Reform in Parliament could be admired when it had the effect of diminishing the benefits derived from the Constitution of England.

At the time they proposed to give the people additional influence, they entirely disfranchised a large part of them. The industrious classes in every part of England would lose their birthright. They would be left without any Representation whatever, and that at a time when the principle of virtual Representation was stigmatized as much as possible; and yet this measure was exalted by its propounders as resting on a basis broad, liberal, and open, though nine-tenths of the population of the kingdom were excluded from its supposed benefits. When the noble Lord spoke of quieting the people of England, he wished to know whether the people could rest satisfied with such an arrangement as this. They were preparing to injure the most meritorious men in the country—men who stood forward in the moments of danger to defend the nation. Those men were to be disfranchised. He had represented a constituency in which there were many of the poorer classes, and among them he had never seen the corruption which distinguished persons living in larger houses. Many industrious men would not only be disfranchised, but deprived of their political rights. He had then in his eye individuals who would be injured by the Bill. Individuals who wished to live in small houses for the purpose of bringing up large families would lose their political rights. Every one above the rank of a pauper was entitled to the elective franchise.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* said, that the wit of the hon. and learned Member for Boroughbridge had nothing whatever to do with the question before the Committee, and the profuse display of it, which that hon. Member was wont to make on occasions like the present, led to nothing but an useless waste of the time of the House. The hon and learned Gentleman was always exceedingly ready to be facetious at the expense of the Aldermen of the city of London. He did not know whether the Recorder of Bristol was an Alderman; but of this, at all events, he was quite certain, that the Aldermen of the city of London maintained their ground as well as the Aldermen of Bristol, and that some of them, at least, were as well skilled in horsemanship as any amongst the civic dignitaries of that now, unfortunately, too celebrated place. His name was to be found, he believed, in every division, though it was not recorded, two or three times every night in the debates. In fact he had heard of one hon. and learned Gentleman speaking thirty-six times on the same question. For his own part he had always done his duty towards the large body of constituents that he represented, and he should be always ready to defend his conduct against the uncalled-for attacks of the hon. and learned Gentleman, who, though he talked to him about his facing his constituents at the hustings, had probably never seen even the semblance of a hustings, and yet who took up more of the time of that House than any other hon. Member of it, in talking absolute and downright nonsense.

Mr. *Trevor* rose to express his opinion, although he did not represent so large a constituency as the worthy Alderman, he considered it his duty to say this Bill proposed one thing, and brought about another. It proposed to give an increase of elective suffrages, but deprived a large and respectable portion of the community of the franchise which they had derived from their ancestors. He could never believe this would be a popular measure. He should assert the Bill would not give satisfaction to the community; on the contrary, it would produce disappointment. It had been thrown like a firebrand through the country, and when the population became cool it would be hailed as the greatest delusion that ever deceived the public.

Mr. *Hunt* asked, why his Motion had been Burked by the noble Lord. Why should the liberal Ministers prefer the Motion of the hon. member for Lymington to his? Persons who lived in houses under 10*l.* had been described as living in places only fit to breed the Cholera Morbus. He could only say, that the houses at Preston which let for 6*l.* a-year were better than many in London and other places which let for 14*l.* or 16*l.* There were no less than 8,000 voters in Preston at present, and by the operation of this Bill they would be reduced to 900. Why were they to be disfranchised? Was it because they had sent him, a troublesome Member, into that House? All who paid King's taxes and parochial rates ought to have the right of voting. He did not expect his Motion to be carried, but he could not avoid feeling regret that a liberal Ministry had made up their minds to Burke such an amendment. He had seen all the friends of the noble Lords take the hint; they obeyed the whip, and not one word was said in support of what he considered a liberal proposition.

The Committee then divided on the Amendment; Ayes 11; Noes 290—Majority 279.

Mr. *Evelyn Denison* said, that although it might not be possible to decide on the merits of the whole clause that night, yet that perhaps the Motion of which he had given notice might be discussed. It was "to introduce provisions by which the right of voting in boroughs to be derived from the occupation of a house of not less than the clear yearly value of 10*l.* may be fixed on a more certain and permanent basis than is proposed in the Bill." The proposal of one great uniform qualification for voting had been hitherto unknown in this country, and he feared that the machinery proposed by the Bill would not be equal to the pressure upon it. The parochial assessments in the manner now designed would not, in his opinion, answer the object proposed: however, passing at once to the question of value, he would mention what he thought would answer better than the plan developed in the Bill. He thought it would give a character of permanency to the intended qualification, were it allowed that a house and premises having been once admitted on the list as of the value of 10*l.*, should be permitted there to continue for a certain period without examination every year, and that the mere possession of such a house should entitle the occupier to vote.

Sir *John Wrottesley* said, that the hour of the night had arrived at which they were last year accustomed to adjourn, though always with this understanding, that the proposition about which they might happen to be engaged at the moment when the customary hour of adjournment arrived, should be resumed next day. He hoped that there was no intention of meeting on Saturdays, but really if they persevered in the practice of leaving unfinished the clause about which they might happen to be engaged at the hour proposed for adjournment, he saw no alternative but meeting on Saturdays.

Lord *Althorp* thought the House might go on for a short time longer without opposing itself very much either to the wishes of the hon. Baronet, or of those Gentlemen who just then cried out "No." The Motion before them lay within a very narrow compass, though he fully agreed with the hon. Mover, that it was a very fit subject to be brought under the consideration of the Committee. The Bill provided that all the occupiers of houses of the value of 10*l.* should have votes. His hon. friend, if he understood him rightly, wished for the means of establishing, in some measure different from the Bill, a decision as to what should be taken and esteemed to be 10*l.* houses. But the Bill, if he took the trouble to look at it, would effect that object in a manner the most complete and certain. If it were once decided that all occupiers should have a vote for a period of five years, it would create a species of franchise similar to that of burgage tenure. The effect of such a system, he apprehended, would be, to lead to the buying up of houses for election purposes. There was not one of the objections to the Bill which the adoption of such a motion would obviate.

Colonel *Sibthorp* differed from the noble Lord in thinking that the question lay within a narrow compass, and was, therefore, favourable to an adjournment of the debate.

Mr. *Evelyn Denison* said, that the noble Lord did not entirely comprehend his meaning. The same objection would apply against the Bill as it stood, as against his proposition; for it was only these houses that could confer the right of voting.

Mr. *Croker* thought, that the hon. Baronet (Sir J. Wrottesley) would see how impossible it was to adopt his suggestion; for in the present clause, there were two most important questions to be disposed of. The first was, to decide whether the right of voting should be conferred by a 10*l.* or 20*l.* house, or by any other such qualification; and the next was, how were they to get at that qualification. These were subjects so serious, that it would be impossible to get through them this night.

Lord *Althorp* said, he understood it was the wish of the Committee that the discussion should be postponed; he, therefore, begged to move that the Chairman report progress.

House resumed.

POSTAGE OF LETTERS (IRELAND) ACTS.] On the Motion of Mr. Spring Rice, the House went into Committee on the Post-office Laws in Ireland, and the right hon. Gentleman having proposed two Resolutions—one empowering the Postmaster General to establish penny posts in any town in Ireland, and another that it was expedient to amend the Irish Post-office laws generally

Mr. *Hume* said, that he had before called the attention of the Government to the practice of clerks in the Post-office being newspaper-sellers, which he hoped would now be put an end to. Exclusive of the impropriety of such officers being diverted from their duty, a strong prejudice must arise from the fact that sometimes newspapers sent by news agents did not go in proper time, while those sent by the Post-office clerks did not fail in their regular arrival. This gave an impression of unfair dealing, and whatever gave rise to that should be done away. If there were not power in the Post-master General to abate this, he ought to have it by the new Act.

Lord *Althorp* said, there was power enough in the House as it stood to put an end to this practice; but if it were put a stop to, there must be a considerable addition to the salaries of the clerks in the Post-office.

Mr. *Hume* said, that economist as he was, he would willingly grant an addition of salary in such a case, as he looked upon the taking of fees by public officers as a most pernicious practice.

House resumed.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, February 3, 1832.

Minutes.] Returns ordered. On the Motion of Viscount Strangford, of the number and Tonnage of American and British Ships entered inwards in the Port of Liverpool from the United States of America, from the 1st of January, 1831, to the 1st of January, 1832, and the number and Tonnage of all Foreign Ships laden wholly or in part with Timber or Deals from Norway to London, from 1st January, 1831, to 1st January, 1832:—On the Motion of Lord Auckland, the number of Vessels, with the amount of their Tonnage, built and registered in the several Ports of the British Empire, in each year, from 1814 to 1831, both inclusive; the number of Vessels, with the amount of their Tonnage, and the number of Men and Boys usually employed in navigating the same, that belonged to the several Ports of the British Empire, in each year, from 1814 to 1831, both inclusive; the number of Vessels, with the amount of their Tonnage, and the number of Men and Boys employed in Navigating the same (including their repeated Voyages), that entered inwards, and cleared outwards, at the several Ports of the United Kingdom, from and to Foreign Parts in each year, from 1814 to 1831, both inclusive, distinguishing British from Foreign; and, also, of the number of Vessels, with the amount of their Tonnage, and the number of Men and Boys employed in Navigating the same (including their repeated Voyages), that entered inwards and cleared outwards, at the several Ports of Great Britain, from, and to all parts of the world, in each year, from 1814 to 1831, both inclusive; a like Return, exclusive of the Trade between Great Britain and Ireland; a comparative statement of the British and Foreign Tonnage which have entered the several Ports of the United Kingdom, distinguishing the Countries from whence, from the year 1814 to 1831, both inclusive; of the Tonnage of Vessels employed in the Coasting Trade, entered at, or cleared out from, the Ports of the United Kingdom, from 1823 to 1831, both inclusive; of the number of Ships which passed the Sound, from the year 1814 to 1831, both inclusive; and also, for all Lead Ore, Pigged and Rolled Lead, Shot, Litharge, and Lead Paints, Exported and Imported, between January, 1831, and January, 1832, distinguishing the Countries and the amount of Duty.

Petitions Presented. By the Earl of Radnor, from the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of Roscommon, in favour of Reform. By the Marquis of Lansdown, from the Surgeons of Leeds, and from the Inhabitants in general of Leeds, signed by several thousand Persons for facilitating the Study of Anatomy:—By the Earl of Sheffield, from the Landowners and Inhabitants of Shipley, and from the Rector and Inhabitants of Pulborough, Sussex, in favour of a Labour Rate.

Reciprocity Treaties.] Viscount *Strangford* moved for an Account of the Sums of Money paid under the authority of the Lords of the Treasury to Corporate Bodies and Individuals in compensation of the loss sustained by them from the reduction of Port Duties on Foreign Vessels in each year, from the 1st of January, 1826, to the 1st of January, 1832. He must observe, and no doubt the noble Lords opposite were fully aware, that the appropriation of the public money to such a purpose was perfectly illegal. He did not, however, intend to cast any censure upon them on account of these payments, as the practice had been established by a former Administration. He moved for the Return, not for the purpose of censuring the principle of the payments, but as the only means of arriving at an accurate knowledge of the expense which the reciprocity system had imposed upon the country.

Lord *Auckland* said, that it was quite true, as stated by the noble Viscount, that these payments were illegal. His Majesty's Ministers had, however, inherited the irregularity from the former Government. It was only a few days ago that he became aware of the course which had been pursued being illegal, and it was the intention of Ministers to apply to parliament for an indemnity.

The Motion agreed to.

Arbitration Bill.] Lord Tenterden moved, that this Bill be read a third time.

The Marquis of *Westmeath* wished to take that opportunity of expressing his anxious desire, that the Bill should be so framed as to extend to Ireland, Lord *Tenterden* had no objection to the extension of the principle of this measure to Ireland, but he could not take upon himself to introduce a clause to that effect into the present Bill without consultation with the Irish Judges. He had a vague recollection that when this and some other Bills relating to the administration of Justice were formerly before the House, he had applied to Lord Plunkett for his opinion, as to the propriety of extending their provisions to Ireland, when the noble and learned Lord replied, that he thought it would not be advisable without further consideration.

The Marquis of *Lansdown* said, it was impossible that the House could acquiesce in so important an alteration of the Bill as that suggested by the noble Marquis on its third reading, and without any previous notice.

Bill read a third time and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, February 3, 1832.

MINUTES.] New Members sworn. Lord HOTHAM, for Leominster.

New Writs ordered. For the Ayrshire District of Boroughs, in the room of THOMAS FRANCIS KENNEDY, Esq., who had accepted the Office of Clerk of the Ordnance.

Bills brought in. For Regulating the Care of Lunatics. Read a third time and passed; Sacramental Test (Ireland.)

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. CROKER, of the Population in, and Assessed Taxes paid by all Towns not sending Members to Parliament, and having more than 5,000 Inhabitants; and of the number and amount of Exemptions from the Assessed Taxes on account of Yeomanry Cavalry Horses, for the year 1831, in each of the 110 Boroughs in Mr. Drummond's List:—On the Motion of Mr. ATTWOOD, of Bank Notes, and Bank Post Bills in circulation in every week from 31st July, 1831; of the Monthly Return paid by the Commissioners for the redemption of the National Debt, from 6th November, 1830; of the Value of Gold and Bullion received into the Mint, and the amount of Gold Coined from 6th August, 1831, up to the latest period all the Accounts can be made up to:—On the Motion of Mr. SPRING RICE, all Correspondence relating to Canal Communications in Canada, with the Expenses attendant thereon.

Petitions presented. By Mr. HUNT, from the Reform Association of Paisley, against the Anatomy Bill; from the Members of the Manchester Political Union, in favour of Reform. The Petition prayed for Householders' Suffrage, Annual Parliaments and Vote by Ballot; and from the Members of the Manchester Political Union, praying for an Inquiry into the Manchester Affair of 1819:—By Mr. WALTER CAMPBELL, from Campbelltown, Collessie, Dunoon, and Bournere, in favour of Reform:—By an HON. MEMBER, from Inhabitants of Calverly for restricting the Hours of Children working in Factories:—By Mr. ROBINSON, from Householders of Worcester, for an Inquiry into the manner in which public Hospitals are conducted in England; and from the Master Silk Throwsters of Sandbach, for an Inquiry into the Causes of the Distresses in the Silk Trade.

GENERAL REGISTRY BILL.] Mr. *Blamire*, in presenting a Petition against this measure, from the owners of freehold and customary lands in the town of Brampton, in the county of Cumberland, and its vicinity, stated, that these petitioners objected to this Bill, as well upon general grounds as upon the inconvenience which it must of necessity impose upon them, by entailing an expense on all lands held by customary tenures much beyond what would be borne by any other description of landed property, by subjecting them to a double registry, viz., the court-rolls of the manors, and the proposed registry in London. He regretted the absence of the hon. and learned Member for Stafford, who had but that moment left the House, for he felt assured that this subject was worthy of his serious consideration. Certainly it was absurd and preposterous to exempt the copyholder from the operation of the Bill, and to bring the owner of customary lands under it; and, indeed, he had hoped, in consequence of what had passed before, that the hon. and learned Member would ere this, have altered the Bill in that respect. The only difference which existed, he believed, between copyhold and customary tenure consisted in the different modes by which the lands were conveyed. In copyholds, the copyholder, when he sells or mortgages, is obliged to appear personally in the Lord's Court, or depute another in his stead, by letter of Attorney, under hand and seal, to appear personally in Court, and surrender into the hands of the Lord, in the presence of the Jury, the tenements sold or mortgaged, to the use of the purchaser or mortgagee, who must also, in like manner, appear personally, or by some other person lawfully deputed, and accept from the Steward by rods the premises in question. These Acts are entered on the court-rolls of the manor, and a copy (called an admittance) is granted to the purchaser or mortgagee; but the court-rolls are the title of the copyholder notwithstanding. In customary or tenant right lands, the mode of conveyance is this: the customary tenant executes a deed called a bargain and sale, directly from himself to the purchaser or mortgagee. This deed is presented to the Court of the Lord, and the Steward, under the sanction of the Jury, takes down an abstract of the deed into the Lord's court-roll, a copy of which being given to the purchaser or mortgagee, is called his admittance. But the court-roll is his title, as well as in the case of the copyholder. In customary tenures neither the seller nor buyer need appear personally, and there is no surrender into the Lord's hands as a preliminary step, which alone constitutes the great distinction between copyholds and customary lands; but in both cases every change which takes place must be entered upon the court-roll in open Court, and no proceeding affecting the property is valid unless so entered; and to these court-rolls all the world may resort for information. And, so far as regards publicity, the titles to both tenures are exactly upon a footing. In many manors you find lands of both tenures, and the court-roll for both is to be found in the same book. What a strange anomaly it would then be that the copyholder should be exempt from the Registry Act on the score of its title appearing for centuries back upon the court-roll, and that the customary tenant should be subjected to its operation, when his title during the same period was to be found in the same book, in the same office, and with the same exactness in every respect; but the most iniquitous thing with respect to the customary tenant would be this, that he would be subjected to the cost of a double registry, whilst the one in London would be useless and inoperative, for every intending purchaser or mortgagee would search the court-rolls of the manor, where he would find the title as far back as he might wish to go, which would be more confined and limited in London. Besides, the registry in London would be nothing more than what is entered in the court-rolls of the manor. In his opinion the customary tenant, whose possessions were held by a less base tenure than those of copyholders, had never been fairly used by the Legislature. For example, he had never had the power given him to devise his property, as the copyholder had. This distinction was absurd and preposterous, and he trusted the hon. and learned Member would yet propose to place both tenures upon the same footing. The hon. Gentleman also presented a petition from the parishes of Plumbland, and Alpatria in the same county, with the same object in view, and also from Dalston and Castle Sowerby, and in doing so said that the hon. and learned member for Stafford had the other evening spoken contemptuously of the poor little statesmen in the north of England. Now, these two last petitions proceeded from men of that description; all living upon their own properties; and though their possessions might not be very large, yet that their intelligence and independence were very great he could himself bear ample testimony; and they to a man, looked upon this measure as being most obnoxious and unconstitutional, and declared that though they were warmly and devotedly attached to the cause of Reform, yet still they would not purchase the safety of that great and important measure at the cost of having this Registration Bill become the law of the land.

Mr. *Hodges* presented a similar petition signed by 100 solicitors of the county of Kent. From an intimate knowledge of many of these gentlemen, he was certain that their motives for opposing the Bill could not be impugned. They were connected with the most respectable persons in the county, and were intimately acquainted with the landed interest. But an additional reason for the feeling in the county of Kent being so decidedly against the Bill was, the custom of gavel-kind which prevailed there, by which tenure land was divided among all the brothers of a family, and of course was split into small portions. The operation of such a measure as a General Registry would, therefore, press with greater severity on that county than on any other in the kingdom.

Sir *Francis Blake* presented similar petitions from the Mayor, and several Magistrates of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and from the gentlemen acting on the Grand Jury of that town. With the prayer of these petitions he fully agreed. He assured the hon. and learned member for Stafford, that the hostile feeling against the Bill in all the northern counties continued to increase, and he suspected the same feelings would become general among the landed interest throughout the country. Such an impalatable measure could never be forced upon them. The Bill was an innovation upon established usages and its effects would be to deteriorate the whole rights of property.

Mr. *John Campbell* said, if the Registry Bill were really understood by the public, and a strong opposition to it were then manifested, he should consider it to be his duty to withdraw it. But he believed that it was not understood, and therefore he did not think that he ought to withdraw it. He was anxious that it should be thoroughly discussed in that House. By such a discussion he would appeal to the good sense of the English country gentlemen; by that good sense the question ought to be decided, and not by feelings of prejudice.

Sir *Francis Blake* said, the framers of this measure seemed to think that the landowners did not know what was conducive to their own benefit. Now he, as a landowner, believed that he was just as well acquainted with his own interest as the promoters of the Bill were.

Mr. *Bayntun* presented a similar petition from York, and stated, that his constituents felt the greatest alarm at the proposition of the hon. Gentleman: they felt this Bill would tend to increase, rather than diminish the expense and difficulties incident to transfers of landed property, and would entirely preclude the loan of money on the simple deposit of deeds; for by the law of lien, money was now frequently borrowed at a trifling expense, and without delay, by the mere deposit of title deeds. On reading the Bill, he understood all equitable mortgages were to be registered, then liens were to be registered. If that was the case, then a search must be made in London before money could be lent on the deposit of deeds, and the equitable mortgage actually completed in the Register-office, which would increase the delay and expense in a great degree. From what other hon. Members had stated in that House, and what he himself knew, this Bill appeared to be opposed to the wishes, intentions, and transactions, of the greater part of the community, and pressed most hardly on those unable to bear the expense incident to transfers of real property, frequently of small amount —namely, the lower classes of society.

Mr. *Croker* said, his opinion in favour of the principle of this Bill still remained unchanged, but he did not consider himself pledged to support all the details of it. In the Committee he should think it his duty to offer such suggestions as might appear calculated to obviate any serious objection against the measure.

Mr. *John Campbell* would be very proud of the right hon. Gentleman's assistance when the Bill went into Committee. In answer to a doubt which some Gentlemen expressed, as to the probable operation of the measure, he begged leave to say, that the Bill would greatly facilitate the raising of money.

Petitions laid on the Table.

REFORM (SCOTLAND).] Mr. *Walter Campbell* presented a petition from the Magistrates, landowners, and Commissioners of Supply of the county of Argyle, against the Scotch Bill of Reform. The petitioners were favourable in general to Reform, though they disapproved of some of the details of the Scotch Bill.

Sir *George Murray* admitted that these petitioners were not Anti-reformers, and indeed he believed that there were very few Anti-Reformers to be found in Scotland. He was himself favourable to moderate Reform, though, like the petitioners, he did not approve of the Scotch Bill. In Argyle it would be particularly pernicious, as it would take away the influence of the great landowners—the county being in general divided into large sheep farms—and throw the power of electing Members into the hands of the inhabitants of small towns on the coast. Much dissatisfaction, he must also observe, had been expressed at that provision of the late Bill, by which the borough of Rothsay, in the county of Bute, was to be done away with, and in the matter of elections, was to form part of the county of Bute. He strongly objected to such a system of dismemberment, and protested against such a wanton violation of ancient feelings, and associations.

Mr. *Walter Campbell* admitted, that what the right hon. Baronet had stated was correct. He hoped that the Government would take the details of the Scotch Bill into further consideration, and would make an alteration that would adapt the Bill to the county of Argyle.

Petition to be printed.

CORPORATION REFORM—IRELAND.] Mr. French presented a Petition from Roscommon, in favour of Reform of Corporate Bodies, and of giving Ireland an additional number of Representatives.

Mr. *O'Connor* supported the prayer of the petition, which he knew to be agreeable to the feelings of the great body of the people of Ireland. He hoped, therefore, that the details of the Irish Bill would be reconsidered, and Ireland receive a greater share of benefits than was now promised her by the Bill.

Mr. *James Grattan* was of opinion, that the Irish Bill was not extensive enough, and he thought the benefits of the English

Bill, as far as regarded the machinery, with a greater number of Members ought to be extended to Ireland.

Petition to be printed.

SALE OF BEER ACT.] Lord *Granville Somerset* wished to know whether it was the intention of the noble Lord to bring in a Bill, in the course of the present Session, to remedy the evils complained of in the Beer Bill?

Lord *Althorp* said, that at present he was not prepared to bring in any measure of the kind, and he did hope, that whenever the House should take that subject up again, in any measure which it might think it right to adopt, it would not depart from the principle of the existing Beer Bill. That bill deserved a longer trial, and he was not, therefore, prepared at present, as he had already said, to propose any alteration in it.

Lord *Granville Somerset* said, that if no member of the Government would take the matter up, he should think it his duty to propose that some inquiry should be instituted into the working of the measure.

Mr. *Robinson* said, if the noble Lord when he talked of the "principle" of the Bill, alluded to the license to drink beer on the premises, he could assure him nothing could be more mischievous than the operation of that "principle," particularly in the rural districts.

Mr. *Hume* observed, that he had no doubt that magistrates, who felt their consequence somewhat abated, and monopolists, who found their profits decreased, made loud complaints, and probably also the liberty given to the poorer classes, might in some instances have been abused, but he knew, generally, that the Act had operated in a most beneficial manner.

POOR LAWS COMMISSION.] Mr. *Weyland*, adverting to what the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said, the other evening with respect to the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the working of the Poor laws, observed, that although the noble Lord asserted the labours of the Commission would occupy but a very short period, a noble and learned Lord in the other House (the Lord Chancellor) had intimated, that the inquiry would occupy so much time, there was no probability of any measure of relief being introduced until late in theSession. He now wished to know whether the noble Lord anticipated so much delay or whether he did not intend to introduce some measure pending the inquiry?

Lord *Althorp* could only repeat what he said before, that he did not think the inquiries of the Commission would occupy much time, and that then the Government would be prepared to state the course it intended to adopt.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—BILL FOR ENGLAND — COMMITTEE — SEVENTH DAY.] The House went into Committee on the Reform of Parliament (England) Bill.

The Chairman having read the commencement of Clause 27 (the 10*l.* Clause),

Mr. *Evelyn Denison* rose to propose his Amendment, the consideration of which had been postponed last night. This proposition, he said, would go to fix the franchise on the rates, and on the houses themselves, instead of on the rent, which he conceived was the preferable way for determining it. If they sent forth the 10*l.* Clause in its present state, so encumbered with machinery, and so much calculated to give rise to squabbles and litigation, it would do away with any good that might be otherwise expected from it. This proposition, while it freed the Clause from those objections, was based, at the same time, exactly upon the same foundation. By this means the necessity of an annual registry would be obviated, and the value of the houses might be ascertained in the same way as was done by the Commissioners for the inhabited house duty. He begged, therefore, to move, that all the words after the word "city or borough," in line twenty-eight, down to the words "ten pounds," in line thirty-three, should be omitted, for the purpose of inserting the following words—"any premises answering the description hereinafter to be mentioned."

The Amendment having been put,

Lord *John Russell* did not see how he could possibly admit the proposition made by the hon. Gentleman. That proposition went to attach the franchise to the houses, and not to the persons, and to determine the number of houses that for a certain period were to be entitled to the franchise in a borough. He did not think that such a regulation would be just or fair towards those persons who might build new houses in a borough. Neither would it be fair to the tenants of such houses, for they would be deprived for five years (that, he believed, was the period contemplated by the proposition of the hon. Member) of that franchise which others enjoyed. The argument urged by the hon. Member was, that when the value of a house was once fixed, there would be no further necessity to look to it; and that the franchise would rest upon the house itself, and not upon the occupier. But the same rule would hold good with the plan proposed by the Bill, for when once a House was put into the Registry as being of the value of 10*l.*, any future occupier would generally be admitted to vote for it without further inquiry. When the registry was completed, therefore, there would be little trouble in keeping it up, and they had an example that the principle would work well. At Norwich there had been disputes of long standing relative to the Poor-rates, and an act had been brought in to enable persons holding houses or lands and tenements of the value of 10*l.* to vote for guardians of the poor. This bill was revived and amended in 1827, and the qualification was almost exactly that proposed by this Bill. This had been found to act well, though the community of Norwich consisted of 11,000 occupiers, amongst which there were 4,000 houses of 10*l.* value. He also thought that, although there might be difficulties with respect to ascertaining the value of houses when settlements were concerned, yet questions of that nature were not at all similar to those which would arise under this Bill. All questions of value relative to the franchise would be tried with favour, while in cases of settlement there was and would be a leaning against the allowance of fresh charges on a parish. This made the cases materially different, and he (Lord John Russell) had no doubt that the magistrates who divided seven and seven on a case of settlement, would have divided twelve to two in favour of the right to vote.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* said, that the object in voting for guardians of the poor was very different from that in voting for the election of members of Parliament. At contested elections particularly there would be a very close examination of votes. The noble Lord had said, that the general rule would be in favour of the franchise. But how could that be known, as it must vary with the feeling of the Barrister who had to decide? There were, for instance, many houses which would be declared by the surveyors not to be worth 10*l.*, which, nevertheless, might, from peculiar circumstances of business, &c., be worth more to the occupier; and in deciding upon these, the assessor would have a task of great delicacy. Suppose a doubtful case, of a house in a town, for which 8*l.* only was paid, and which the owner looked on as worth 10*l.*, this would not be admitted into the list for the city; and if it were freehold, and that he then wished to have it registered for the county, the occupier would have no opportunity of registering it any where until the ensuing year.

Lord *Althorp* was ready to admit that it was easy enough to imagine a case where such a proposition as that laid down by his right hon. friend might hold; but to legislate, as was said *de minimis*, had never yet been considered wise. The case put was that where a man might be rejected from a city list; but if regard were had solely to the appeal, the man would have only to appeal against the decision of the Overseer, and then the Magistrates would immediately admit him into the register for the county. It would, in fact, be impossible to find any system that would not be liable to trivial objections.

Sir *Robert Peel* doubted much whether the Norwich act would strengthen the noble Lord (John Russell's) argument, for that Act laid down strict rules as to the valuation of property, and enacted that the corporation or the guardians of the poor should assess the rate according to the full annual value of the property within the city, and according to five-sixths of the value of the property in the adjoining hamlets. Of course, this full value having been ascertained, it must be easy, so far as Norwich was concerned, to decide on the qualification of voters. If this change were to be made at all, he still retained his opinion that the Poor-rate would be the best criterion of the value of premises. Even with respect to the county rates, the directions of the statute were, that the full value of all rateable property should be ascertained, and the assessment to the county rate made accordingly. Now if there were to be two modes of ascertaining value—one according to the county rate Act, and another under the Reform Bill, great confusion would ensue. Surely it was absurd for the Legislature to require two different modes of ascertaining the value of the same property. In his opinion means should be adopted for ascertaining the value of property in all those towns that were to return Members, and the rates should be levied, and the qualification for voting ascertained, on that full value. Thus should we be enabled to dispense with the annual registration—a fruitful source of annual contention and discord—or at any rate we might make registration (after it had once taken place) available for a period of three or five years, making some provision by which property that had increased in value in the interim, should entitle its owner to a vote.

Lord *John Russell* would have been inclined to abide by the Poor-rates as a measure of value, but that, from all the information he had received, he felt convinced that the assessments were so irregular in different parishes, that it would not be possible to have recourse to them with effect. He had known instances of houses in different parishes of the worth of 30*l.* or 40*l.* a-year not rated in the proportion of three to four, but in one case at three, and the other at fifteen. In fact, in different parishes no proportion whatever was preserved. His own opinion was, that, from the acknowledged inequality of value and inaccuracy of the parochial assessments, the people themselves would, in the course of a very few years, go to the trouble and expense of correcting the anomalies that now prevailed, and then no difficulty could exist. But the question at present was, whether a rule was to be taken which, in particular cases, might be subject to doubt, or whether, a great number of *bonâ fide* holders of property to the amount required were to be disfranchised. The Committee might no doubt, adopt the simple rule recommended by the right hon. Baronet for ascertaining value, but its effect would be, by raising the present standard of qualification, to disfranchise a great number of persons to whom the Government meant honestly to give the franchise.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, the noble Lord might easily get a cheer if he held out the lure that the effect of the proposal mentioned by him would be to disfranchise a great many persons. His proposition, however, had no reference to excluding any one; it only went to secure what was just and fair, for if those who were not qualified were allowed to vote, it would be defrauding those who were justly entitled to the franchise. If there were cases such as the noble Lord alluded to, of houses not being rated in the proportion of three-fourths of real value, but the proportion of three-fifteenths, they were cases of fraud and injustice. He did not believe that such instances were numerous, and the noble Lord was thus legislating on cases which constituted not the rule but the exception.

Lord *Althorp* had no doubt that all rating should be at the full value of the property, but certainly that principle was not followed throughout the country. The right hon. Baronet's desire for a uniform right to vote was just, but the right hon. Baronet himself knew that the attempt to effect this would cause the greatest difficulty in every town, and would only throw greater obstacles in the way of the object they had in view. A good deal had been said of the difficulty now experienced at Quarter Sessions; there, however, the value for a series of years, was inquired into, which increased the difficulty; but the inquiry under the Bill was not to be conducted in that way. No doubt difficulties would exist, but he believed they were greatly exaggerated.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* knew from experience the difficulties now existing, as he often had sat a whole day listening to a host of surveyors and appraisers, who usually held very contradictory opinions of the value of premises. It had been alleged, in some instances, that the value of a small quantity of fruit in the garden, increased the worth of a House, so as to bring the occupier within the laws of settlement, but these difficulties would increase when a barrister was to decide, who would be a stranger, and prejudice being likely to arise, there would be greater temptation to appeal.

Lord *Sandon* knew that the inequality of the rates was, even at present, a constant source of complaint in every populous town, and it was his belief, that wherever a difference of political feeling existed, the first effect of this Bill would be to cause a re-assessment of every such town. It was of consequence, therefore, to make the rule as simple as possible, and he thought that the machinery of the clause would be simplified by some such amendment as that proposed.

Mr. *Warburton* hoped that Ministers would not be beguiled by any seeming plausibility, into adopting the Amendment of the hon. Member, particularly as recommended by the right hon. Baronet who followed him. The right hon. Baronet seemed to desire to engraft on the Reform Bill a scheme for correcting the proportional assessments of parishes to counties. It might be expedient to devise a scheme for determining accurately the parish rates of the several towns and boroughs to be affected by the Bill; but Ministers would be guilty of absurd rashness if they made such a scheme a part of a measure for improving the Representation of the people. Such a plan would be immediately opposed by the Representatives of many towns, in obedience to the commands of their constituents, among whom it would be very unpopular. A general parish assessment at the full value would excite general discontent. The Ministers had acted wisely in confining themselves to the narrow comparative scale of the Bill.

Sir *Robert Peel* was convinced by the arguments on the other side, that there was nothing to be urged against his proposition. As to those arguments, he was not surprised that some Gentlemen should make use of them; but that the hon. Member, a mathematician, should resort to them somewhat astonished him. The hon. Gentleman said, that if the suggestion was adopted, the parishes would be rated at their full value, instead of, as at present, at three-fifths, or whatever the proportion might be. And he complained of this as a great grievance. But pray what difference would that make? If there was 100*l.* to be raised, each parishioner would have to pay the same amount of rate, whether rated at the full value, or only at three-fifths, so long as the same rule of rating prevailed—as it must prevail—throughout the whole parish. He knew something about this matter, for he met with the same difficulty when he introduced the New Police Act. He then wanted to raise 8*d.* in the 1*l.* on the real value of property, but he did not for that reason require that a new valuation should be made: though some parishes assessed themselves on the full value, others at three-fourths and four-fifths. Let the House look at what the Legislature declared in 1825. In that year, Parliament passed an Act placing on record the difficulty of taking the alleged value of a tenement as a criterion in determining the right of settlement; alleging in the preamble that it had given rise to expensive litigation, and ought, therefore, to be avoided. It was that very expensive litigation he was anxious to counteract; and he repeated, that to have two criteria of value in the same parish with respect to the same identical property, appeared to him a great absurdity; and so far from preventing dissension, was likely to produce it. He did not make his proposition with the intention of disfranchising one single person; but because it would be the means of avoiding much dispute and expensive litigation.

The *Solicitor General* begged the right hon. Baronet to bear in mind that the various tests, of which the Poor-rates was one, for ascertaining the actual value of tenements in towns were but so many means to an end—the condition for exercising a political franchise. There was this objection to the Poor-rates, that if adopted as the basis of the Bill, they must be altogether remodelled so as to be universally applicable upon the same principle throughout the kingdom; and all the good to be arrived at by this elaborate process was already secured by the Clause as it stood.

Mr. *Wason* was sure that if the Poor-rates were adopted as the basis of the qualification, and they were to be levied on the full value of property, many voters whom the Bill intended to invest with the franchise would be capriciously deprived of it. Making the payment of such rates the foundation of the right of voting; would be open to other serious objections; for instance, a sound discretion was often exercised in exonerating persons of large family who inhabited small houses from the payment of rates, but to prevent a man of that description from voting for a member of Parliament, because he was endeavouring to bring up all his family without parochial relief, would be a great drawback upon personal exertion to attain independence.

Amendment negatived without a division.

Mr. *Granville Vernon* rose to propose the amendment on this clause, of which he had given notice. He had seen no less than eighty lists by different parish officers, all of whom had great difficulty in ascertaining the numbers and qualifications of the rate-payers. To direct such persons to establish a uniform rating by value, as proposed by the right hon. Baronet, must be attended with great trouble and expense. Parishes must either be re-assessed on the statement of the parties themselves, or the value of their houses must be taken. Besides, it was objectionable on many accounts to appoint parish officers to such a duty, for they would thus be converted into a sort of Parliamentary agents. It must also be recollected that they were sometimes appointed, and always approved of, by the Magistrates, and of course, therefore, they might in some degree, be under their influence. The consequence of the course proposed in the Bill was, that every parish would become, yearly, a scene of political contention. If what the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell) stated was correct, namely, that the assessment would right itself in the course of time, and become proportioned to the real value of the property, there could be no force in the objection of the hon. member for Bridport. His object was, to give to the Overseers acting under this Bill a merely ministerial and not a judicial character. If the amendment he meant to propose should be adopted, they would get rid of nearly the whole of the machinery of registration. In his opinion every person who was ready to pay rates, should be permitted to vote, and he apprehended few persons but those really entitled would volunteer to pay more than their regular share for the purpose of voting at the next election for members of Parliament, even if some did so, it would be the interest of their neighbours rather to encourage than to oppose them, for the more rate-payers there were the less burden would fall upon each comparatively. He therefore begged leave to move an amendment, "That, after the word 'landlord' these words be inserted, 'rated to the relief of the poor, or, in places where there has been no such rate, to the county.'"

Mr. *Freshfield* said, he had an amendment to propose in a previous part of the clause, and hoped the hon. Member would postpone his amendment for the present.

Mr. *Vernon* assented.

Mr. *Freshfield* said, the amendment he should propose was, that the words "under the same landlord" be left out. As the clause now stood, a person occupying a house, shop, or warehouse, with land, of the value of 10*l.* a year, under the same landlord, was entitled to a vote. Now if the landlord should die, leaving the house to one person and the land to another, the occupier would thus have two landlords instead of one, and would accordingly be deprived of his vote. He could not suppose that such was the intention of the Government, and therefore proposed that the words should be left out.

Lord *Althorp* said, such a case was not likely to occur often, and the general rule which this amendment would establish was liable to great objections. He considered the alteration proposed would be extremely detrimental, and as such he must oppose it. The cases alluded to could not be of very ordinary occurrence.

The Amendment was negatived.

The Chairman put the Amendment proposed by Mr. Granville Vernon—that all persons rated to the poor at ten pounds, or in lieu thereof, and if no such rate existed in the towns, if they were rated to the county rates at that amount, should have the right of voting.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* said, the object of the clause they were now considering was, to give every person a vote who occupied a house of the annual value of 10*l.*, and the difficulty was how to obtain a correct list of such persons. The amendment proposed by the hon. Member was, to take the tenant's own word for the value, provided he was disposed, and actually paid rates upon the house to that extent, although the premises he occupied might not in reality be worth a fifth of that amount. This was a summary way of settling the question, but it was open to the great objection that the rates might actually be paid by some other person, who would influence the voter. Many votes might be manufactured in this manner, at a small expense, in districts where the rates were small. He considered that some well-devised plan might be struck out for a register of qualified houses, the owners or occupiers of which should be entitled to a vote. At present, perhaps, no assessment of a general nature could take place, although in ten years at least some such step might be found necessary. He would, under all the circumstances, support the original clause as it stood.

Colonel *Wood* considered that the inequality of rates upon houses would prevent the possibility of being able to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the number of individuals in their respective parishes, who were entitled to vote. This would apply particularly to large parishes, where they must have recourse to the landlord, to know the value of his houses, and there were often local Acts by which the rates upon certain houses were to be paid by the owner, and not by the occupier. He, therefore, wished that the elective franchise should be given only to those who paid poor or county rates upon premises of 10*l.* value; this would not require a new registry, as the poor-rate would always speak for itself.

Colonel *Davies* feared the clause would create great litigation, particularly if taken in connection with the next. By that clause, the same premises might not be occupied for a year, but inhabiting a succession of 10*l.* houses conferred the right of voting; so that, in case of any dispute as to the parties' right of voting, a surveyor would have to ascertain the value of the various premises he had occupied. The expense of a new and general valuation would not be half so great as would arise from these petty vexations. They would encourage the lowest description of Attornies; but, undoubtedly, in his mind, the best foundation for the privilege of voting would rest on the proposed amendment, when, to the other considerations urged in its favour was added this, that the rate was constantly payable, although an election might not take place in four or five years.

Lord *John Russell* said, the object he had in view was to enable persons who had 10*l.* houses to vote for Members of Parliament. He admitted the inequality of parish rates. It might be desirable to have an equal rate in all parishes, but until that could be effected, the House should not delay the grant of a right of franchise to the 10*l.* householders. In Liverpool alone, it required seven months to get at an equalization of rates; and what must it not be in every parish in England? The Amendment could not be admitted, because it did not affect the object of the Bill, which was not to encourage the payment of Poor-rates, but to enable 10*l.* householders to enjoy the right of voting for a Member of Parliament. He would not delay the Bill for any such problematical arrangement.

Mr. *Philip Howard* was willing to support the largest extension of the elective franchise compatible with that certainty and simplicity of arrangement which was the very essence of legislation; but, convinced that a qualification depending upon "value" would be open to much litigation, collusion, and fraud, and hold out but too many temptations to perjury, he should support the amendment of his hon. friend, the member for Bassetlaw. Another advantage would arise from taking assessment as the test of qualification: it would materially diminish the expense and difficulties attending registration. Considering assessment as a most faithful test, whilst ruinous and protracted scrutinies before a Committee of the House of Commons would, on the other hand, be the inevitable consequence of adopting the uncertain standard of the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, he approved of the amendment. It was of importance to consider, that, upon the smooth and well working of this portion of the Bill the success of the whole measure, as well as the stability of the Constitution in its renovated form, might ultimately depend.

Lord *John Russell* said, the Overseer would of course take out all the names in his list of those who were rated to the poor at the value of 10*l.* and upwards. A provision was made for publishing the names of the claimants throughout the parish; and any person who felt himself aggrieved could apply to the Barrister to have his name inserted.

Lord *Sandon* feared all these precautions would not prevent Overseers, particularly in large parishes, putting such names on their list of voters, as they thought fit, whether qualified or not.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* thought, that the arguments urged against the Amendment of the hon. member for Bassetlaw proved that there was no good reason for resisting it; on the contrary, all that had been said showed that Ministers had not made out their case. The noble Lord said, the Overseer would take the names of persons occupying houses at and above the value of 10*l.*, and would form a list for the Barrister, and there was no penalty on him for leaving the name out of this list. If the Overseer, therefore, left a name out, it would give trouble to the parties to carry on an appeal before the Barrister, and many would rather abandon their right to vote than take that trouble. The noble Lord said, that the Overseer's list was only to serve as a guide to the Barrister; but that was taking a circuitous course for attaining an object which could be reached by a straight one. The register of voters might at once be taken from the list of the payers of the parish rates, and quite as correct a list could thereby be obtained as by the method proposed by the clause, and with infinitely less trouble. A man who paid his rates regularly upon 10*l.* a-year would take care to claim his right to vote. Again, if a person was under-rated, there was an inducement to pay his fair proportion of the Poor-rate that he might be put in the list. The plan of his hon. friend was not only less expensive and troublesome than that of the noble Lord, but would also contribute to form a more correct valuation of houses for the purpose of rating. The hon. and learned Solicitor General said, that the object of the framers of the Bill was to obtain, as nearly as possible, the real value of houses; and the only question was as to the means. He was convinced, the mode proposed by the noble Lord would lead to continued litigation, for the course of proceeding was involved and troublesome. The noble Lord, however, said, that if the suggestion of his hon. friend was adopted, it would be necessary to make out new parochial assessments, and that he should be unwilling to involve himself in a work of so much magnitude. He did not apprehend there would be any considerable difficulty in having a new parochial survey; and it would be desirable: and when they were engaged upon a measure to change the whole of the Representative system, they ought not to be scared by presumed difficulties. The plan of registration proposed by the noble Lord would be found inconvenient: it was unnecessary, and would lead to dissensions in all parts of the country. It was always better to avoid, as much as possible, the introduction of new machinery into any part of the Constitution, and more especially as regarded the system of Representation, when the old mode of attaining the end was adequate for the purpose. This he thought could be proved by the series of Acts relating to the laws of Settlement, and for the assessment of poor-rates. The Act passed in 1825 was the last; it made some important alterations in the previous state of the law relative to valuations. The Committee was aware that the old law of settlement depended on an Act of Charles 2nd, which was in force until a few years since. In 1819, an Act was passed relative to the valuation of houses, and was intituled "An Act to amend the Laws respecting the Settlement of the Poor, as far as regards renting Tenements." Under the operation of this law, it was found necessary to make a new valuation of a great many parishes; and the difficulties which were supposed to lie in the way of a tolerably correct valuation, were not found to be nearly so great as had been anticipated. This Act says,—"Whereas great difficulties have arisen from the settlement of the poor, as far as regards renting tenements," &c.; and then proceeds to enact "that the value of any such tenement shall be determined by the rent." This was the test applied by the 59th of George 3rd, cap. 50, for the purpose of attaining the real value of houses. This Act remained in force for six years; but in 1825, in consequence of the difficulties that were found to lie in the way of the working of this Act, another Act was passed for the purpose of remedying these, and of defining the mode of taking the valuation. It stated that, "Whereas the settlement of the poor has been made, in some instances, to depend upon the annual value of tenements which they may have rented, or upon the annual value of tenements in virtue of which they have paid parochial rates; and whereas, the ascertaining such value in such respective cases has given rise to very extensive litigation; and whereas, doubts have arisen as to the interpretation of former Acts." It then enacted, "That no person shall acquire a settlement in any parish or township, by reason of renting or paying parochial rates for any tenement, unless such tenement shall consist of a separate and distinct dwelling-house or building, or of land, or of both, *bonâ fide* rented by such person at and for the sum of 10*l.* a-year at the least, for the sum of one whole year." It provided also, that the rent for such house must be actually paid; but it concluded with these words, "Provided, that it shall not be necessary to prove the actual value of such tenement, anything in any Act or Acts, or any construction of or implication from any Act or Acts, or any usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." The declaration that the actual value ought not be proved, arose from the circumstance that it was impossible to find a constant test. Thus, there was a Statute specifically providing that the "actual value" of a tenement should not be taken as a test, as that would lead to constant litigation. Now, however, they were called upon to adopt a course which it had been found necessary to abandon. The noble Lord recommended the adoption of an indirect course to arrive at the value, when there existed a simple mode of attaining the same object. The noble Lord, when he introduced the Bill, said, in allusion to this clause, in consequence of a complaint, that it would be found to be attended with great difficulties in operation—that he had directed inquiries to be made into the subject of local rates, and had satisfied his own mind that the difficulty might easily be overcome, but although he might satisfy his own mind, he had not condescended to perform the same office for others. Nothing had astonished him more in the proceedings respecting this Bill, than the paucity of information furnished to the House respecting the several details contained in it. This was certainly one of the most important clauses, for it not only introduced into the Constitution a new species of franchise as regarded the places upon which the right of Representation was to be conferred, but it also introduced a new constituency into all the cities and boroughs in the country. The subject-matter of this single clause was so important, that it would not be too much if a Committee were to sit for a whole Session to inquire into the subject, and to collect adequate information. There certainly was a mass of information relative to the 10*l.* householders, which had been obtained by the Commissioners; but there was no information how that information was obtained, or the correctness of it. They were considering, therefore, a most important clause, which was to determine the mode of calling into existence a large constituent body, with almost an entire want of information on the subject.

Mr. *John Campbell* said, it appeared to him that much less inconvenience would be experienced under the plan laid down in the Bill than under the operation of the amendment of the hon. Gentleman. He was aware, however, that it would be impossible to carry into effect such an extensive register, without some inconvenience. It was well known to most Gentlemen, that, in the greater part of the parishes in England, the Poor-rates were not calculated upon the rack-rent, but upon a varying scale. If a new survey were to take place, and a valuation made at the full rental, it would produce universal alarm. No real increase would be made in the amount of the Poor-rates; but the higher valuation might be considered a prelude to a tax imposed by the State for political purposes, and thus the Reform Bill would indirectly occasion discontent. This might, indeed, produce the reaction which had been hitherto looked for in vain. To shew that such a result might be fairly anticipated, he would merely refer to the circumstance that the General Registry Bill had been represented, and very successfully as mere machinery for a new land tax. Besides the assessment of one year would not do for the following year; and he was fully persuaded that the charge for actually surveying all the parishes, and for the constant alterations that would be necessary, would be much greater than any expense that would be consequent upon the legal assistance that might be requisite for registration. He denied that the Overseer was a ministerial officer, and it would be most inexpedient to clothe such a person with the power of making out a register which he would have if the rate were to determine the franchise. By means of the Barrister, a security was obtained against the partiality of the Overseer; for even the risk of exposure in the Court of Registration would operate as a check against dishonesty. According to the Bill, the return of the overseer was only to be *primâ facie* evidence of the existence of the right of voting; but the hon. Gentleman's amendment went to the extent of making the Overseer's list final. It was intended, he was informed, that there should be an appeal to the Quarter Sessions; but what expense would that lead to? They all knew it would amount to the positive denial of the poor man's right. He, therefore, was decidedly of opinion that calling in the assistance of the Barrister was the best possible course that could be adopted. The Barrister had his professional character to sustain—his proceedings were to be public, and all the responsibility in the decision of each case rested with himself. The appeal to the Quarter Sessions would be a mockery. From the jobbing he had seen in these places, he was inclined to believe that leaving the decision to the Magistrates would be almost as bad as referring it to the determination of an open Committee of that House. Each case would be treated as a political question, and gentlemen on the bench would be as much pressed for their votes as Members of Parliament.

Sir *Edward Sugden* was well aware that this particular clause had excited very great attention throughout the country. He did not understand how the Ministers could have voted last night against the proposition of the hon. Member for Preston, and could yet determine on supporting the clause as it now stood. They had opposed it, as they said that it had a strong tendency towards Universal Suffrage. Now, he must confess that he did not think there was much difference between the two, for people of the very poorest classes would equally come under the operation of both clauses. If the Ministers said, as they had done, that they did not support the clause of the hon. Member for Preston because it had a strong tendency towards Universal Suffrage, he must say that, in his opinion, the present clause was not much short of Universal Suffrage itself. He was still prepared to contend, as he always had done, that the Government had taken the worst criterion in taking the value of houses; and he, therefore, could not support the clause. Those who supported it were bound to state the grounds upon which they had abandoned the former tests, and taken up this. All the evidence and experience they had, taught them that the things against which they ought particularly to guard were, this one of value, and particularly this value of 10*l.* Any of the other three criteria would have been preferable to this. The 10*l.* standard of value had been tried in the case of the Poor-rates and voted a universal nuisance, insomuch that it had been found necessary to make landlords responsible for houses of that description. In the metropolis the 10*l.* franchise would be Universal Suffrage. There was no house to be got—you could not get a stable for your horse and scarcely a respectable dog-kennel, without paying 10*l.* a-year for it. Yet every man must know, that in the country the occupier of a 10*l.* house was in a respectable class of society. But what was the difference between the rural population and those of the manufacturing cities and towns? The noble Paymaster of the Forces had told them, that the population of large towns were more accustomed to political excitement, and politically better informed, and therefore their influence was to be encouraged, and the sound and honest opinions of the country disregarded. The political information obtained by these classes was collected in Unions and Clubs, and nobody knew better what sort of politics were taught in those schools than the noble Lord. It was in such assemblies, actuated by such principles and motives as had been openly declared by them, that the noble Lord sought for the politicians who were to exercise a domination over the public mind. The difficulty of ascertaining the value of property would be very great. Suppose, for instance, that a man rented a house at 4*l.* a-year, and on account of his poverty was only rated as upon a rent of 1*l.*, and paid no inhabited house-duty, he might insist upon a right to vote, and might bring a cloud of witnesses to swear that with his pig-stye, and his bit of ground, and his goodwill for the house, and his goodwill in the house, it was worth 10*l.* a-year. In such a case as that the aid of the Overseer would decide the matter. Humble an individual as he was, he would undertake, if the Overseer were given to him in any town under the new Bill, to return the Members. Give him but the Overseer—all he asked was the Overseer—it was a modest request—but if he had but the Overseer with him in making up the register, he would answer for carrying the election. One of the greatest objections to the measure was also to be found here, in the fact that it went to transfer elections from before the face of a free people, as they were now held, to this private manufactory of the lists of voters before the Overseer, the Barrister, and the Attornies, whom the former might get to assist him. And why, he would ask, was the registry required at all? No man's house could be legally rated to the Poor-rates above its value, and no man was to be allowed to vote unless he had paid his Poor-rates. Why, then, they had a registry in the Poor-rate, and no other was necessary. He would tell the noble Lord, with a confidence which every day's experience confirmed, that if he passed the Bill with this franchise, and with this machinery, it would never give content to the country. He spoke not of the Anti-reformers, but of those who were friendly to the Bill, though not to a franchise which would go to overwhelm the influence of property and intelligence, and leave the institutions of the State without safeguard or defence. Not that he wished to shut out even the lowest of his countrymen from such a share in the Representation as would be safe, and in proportion to their weight in the scale. On the contrary, he protested against the exclusion that would be perpetrated by this Bill. At present the

Constitution included and protected all classes. He did not say, that the Representation of some might not properly be extended; but, more or less, all were now represented. The humblest, but not the least deserving, were by this measure to be deprived of all their political right for ever, and, to make the violation more nefarious, it was to be accompanied by heavy expenses, which they must help to pay. Gentlemen who voted for this measure, and treated it like a common turnpike bill, would hereafter find that it would produce consequences which would compel their serious attention. In a Reformed Parliament the first necessary effect of the Bill would be that this 10*l.* standard must be altered. Taken as a general standard, it would be found too low for any of the purposes which Representation had hitherto been made to serve in this country. But if it were to be tried for the noble Lord's purpose of bringing into action all the political excitement of the country, then they would be obliged to resort to the proposition of the hon. member for Preston. The House would do well to remember that this clause would have to be considered in another place, where it never could pass in its present state; and it would reflect disgrace upon that House if it were passed without consideration. The effect of the joint-occupancy right would be to convert the occupier of every floor in a house having a common staircase, for which a rent of 3*s.* 10*d.* was paid, into a voter for Members of Parliament. Nay, the occupier of every shed and every warehouse in the city of London would be entitled to the same privilege. He had formerly understood that the members for the city of London were instructed to oppose this part of the Bill. But now all opposition was hushed; the Gentlemen opposite were not permitted to make their objections; and therefore it was, he supposed, that they did not like to hear the arguments of independent Members, who were determined to hold up the deformities of the measure to the public view, and to let the country know what it really was. He believed that the country would, upon reflection—he knew that it would upon experience—not endure that such persons should exercise such a privilege, and the same objections would be held against persons voting upon separate holdings, which the Bill provided, and which he thought equally objectionable. Upon these grounds, and for the reasons which he had stated to the Committee, he should support the Amendment, believing it to be a great improvement of the clause.

Lord *Althorp* agreed with the hon. and learned Member who had just sat down, that the clause now under consideration was one of the utmost importance. It was the clause on which he set the greatest store. The hon. and learned Gentleman had argued that it would be an improvement to introduce the provision making it necessary that the householder should be rated to the Poor-rates, as the other test—the 10*l.* value—was not sufficient. It was well known, however, that many persons were rated to the Poor-rates who did not occupy houses of 10*l.* value, and he had particular reason to know that such was the case at Leeds; and, on the other hand, many persons occupied 10*l.* houses, and were not rated to the Poor-rates. The clause, therefore, did not go to the length of the proposition of the hon. member for Preston, and fell far short of Universal Suffrage, which the hon. and learned Gentleman had described it as nearly amounting to. The hon. and learned Gentleman objected that the alteration made in this clause, as compared with the corresponding clause in the last Bill, would lead to a great extension of the franchise, because, in the last Bill, there were several tests necessary, in addition to the value of the house. The intrinsic value of the house, however, was felt to be the simplest test, and all the others had been dispensed with. He (Lord Althorp) did not see what difficulty the Barrister could find in deciding against the right of a man to vote, in the case put by the hon. and learned Member, when he only lived in a house for which he paid 4*l.* rent and 1*l.* rate. The Barrister would first ask, "Do you pay Poor-rates?" the answer would be "Yes;" the next question would be, "Do you pay assessed taxes?" and when the answer "No" was given, the Barrister must be a very different one from the hon. and learned Gentleman himself if he admitted the right. Another objection to this clause was, that while in the rural districts respectable persons occupied 10*l.* houses, and houses of a smaller value, in large communities, houses of that value were generally occupied by persons of the humbler classes. He agreed with his noble friend (Lord John Russell), however, that persons occupying 10*l.* houses in large communities, from the political knowledge, and the information which they often possessed on public matters, were well entitled to vote, and might exercise the elective franchise with great advantage to the public. All the information which he was possessed of, led him to the conclusion that, under this clause, the franchise would not be extended in large towns to unfit persons or those who would be incapable of exercising it beneficially. Being rated to the poor-rates was an additional security, as it would give a great facility in discovering who persons were, and where they resided, upon their claiming the right of voting. With respect to the hon. and learned Gentleman's objections as to joint occupancy, he did not admit that it was well founded. Persons occupying the several floors in a house with a common stair-case could not vote under the clause, unless their holdings were taken as separate tenements and separately rated to the Poor-rates. If rated as separate tenements, he did not see that there was any objection to the exercise of the franchise by persons so occupying. He should not detain the Committee further, but conclude by expressing a hope that the Committee would confirm the clause as it now stood, it being one of the most important clauses in the Bill.

Mr. *Hunt* would vote against the amendment, because the effect of it would be to lessen the total number of voters, to which he was opposed on principle. If the principle now advocated was good, he could see no reason why they should not sell the franchise at once, and let every one who could buy it have a vote.

Mr. *Granville Vernon* begged to be allowed to state again why he proposed the amendment. He was a sincere friend to the Bill; but he thought the noble Lord, by this clause, was putting it in the power of the Overseers throughout the country to decide who should or who should not have votes. This would turn every Overseer into an election agent, and, in his opinion, would greatly detract from the benefit which he hoped the country generally would derive from the passing of this measure.

The Committee divided on the Amendment:—Ayes 184; Noes 252—Majority for the Original Clause 68.

The blank in the clause was then filled up with the words "ten pounds."

List of the Noes.

England.

Althorp, Viscount
Atherley, A.
Baillie, J. E.
Bainbridge, E. T.
Baring, Sir T.
Baring, F. T.
Barnet, C. J.
Bayntun, S. A.
Beaumont, T. W.
Benett, J.
Berkeley, Captain
Biddulph, R. M.
Blake, Sir F.
Blamire, W.
Blount, E.
Blunt, Sir C.
Bouverie, Hon. D. P.
Bouverie, Hon. P. P.
Briscoe, J. I.
Brougham, J.
Bulkeley, Sir R. W.
Buller, J. W.
Bulwer, E. L.
Bulwer, H. L.
Burdett, Sir F.
Burton, H.
Byng, Sir J.
Byng, G.
Calvert, C.
Calvert, N.
Campbell, J.
Carter, J. B.
Cavendish, Lord
Cavendish, Hon. C. C.
Cavendish, Hn. Col. H.
Chaytor W. R. C.
Chichester, J. P. B.
Clive, E. B.
Cockerell, Sir C.
Cradock, Colonel S.
Crampton, P. C.
Creevey, T.
Currie, J.
Curteis, H. B.
Denison, J. E.
Denman, Sir T.
Duncombe, T. S.
Dundas, Hon. Sir R. L.
Dundas, Hon. J. C.
Easthope, J.
Ebrington, Viscount
Ellis, W.
Evans, Col. de Lacy.
Evans, W.
Evans, W. B.
Ewart, W.
Fazakerley, J. N.
Fellowes, H. A. W.
Fergusson, Sir R. C.
Foley, J. H. H.
Foley, Hon. T. H.
Folkes, Sir W.
Fordwich, Lord
Franco, Sir R.
Gisborne, T.
Godson, R.
Gordon, R.
Graham, Sir J.
Grant, Right Hon. R.
Guise, Sir W. B.
Handley, W. F.
Harvey, D. W.
Hawkins, J. H.
Heathcote, Sir J.
Heneage, G. F.
Heron, Sir R.
Heywood, B.
Hill, Lord G. A.
Hodges, T. L.
Hodgson, J.
Horne, Sir W.
Howard, H.
Howick, Viscount
Hudson, T.
Hume, J.
Hunt, Henry
Ingilby, Sir W.
Jerningham, Hn. C. V.
Kemp, T. R.
King, E. B.
Knight, H. G.
Knight, R.
Labouchere, H.
Langston, J. H.
Lee, J. L.
Lefevre, C. S.
Leigh, T. C.
Lemon, Sir C.
Lennard, T. B.
Lennox, Lord A.
Lennox, Lord G.
Lester, B. L.
Littleton, E. J.
Lushington, Dr. S.
Macauley, T. B.
Macdonald, Sir J.
Mackintosh, Sir J.
Mangles, J.
Marjoribanks, S.
Marshall, W.
Mayhew, W.
Milbank, M.
Mildmay, P. St. J.
Mills, J.
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, J.
Mostyn, E. M. L.
North, F.
Norton, C. F.
Nowell, A.
Nugent, Lord
Paget, T.
Palmer, General
Palmerston, Viscount
Pendarves, E. W.
Penleaze, J. S.
Penrhyn, E.
Pepys, C. C.
Petit, L. H.
Phillipps, C. M.
Phillips, G. R.

Ponsonby, Hon. J. B.
Poyntz, W. S.
Price, Sir R.
Ramsden, J. C.
Rider, T.
Robinson, Sir G.
Robinson, G. R.
Rooper, J. B.
Rumbold, C. E.
Russell, Lord J.
Russell, Lieut.-Col.
Sanford, E. A.
Schonswar, G.
Scott, Sir E. D.
Sebright, Sir J.
Skipwith, Sir G.
Slaney, R. A.
Smith, Hon. R.
Smith, G. R.
Smith, J.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, M. T.
Smith, R. V.
Spencer, Hon. Capt.
Stanley, Lord
Stanley,Rt.Hn.E.G.S.
Stanley, E. J.
Stephenson, H. F.
Stewart, P. M.
Strickland, G.
Strutt, E.
Stuart, Lord D. C.
Stuart, Lord P. J.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tennyson, C.
Thicknesse, R.
Thomson,Rt.Hn.C.P.
Throckmorton, R. G.
Tomes, J.
Torrens, Colonel
Townley, R. G.
Tracey, C.
Troubridge, Sir E. T.
Tynte, C. K. K.
Uxbridge, Earl
Venables, W.
Vere, J. J. H.
Vernon, Hon. G. J.
Villiers, F.
Villiers, T. H.
Vincent, Sir F.
Waithman, R.
Walrond, B.
Warburton, H.
Wason, W. R.
Waterpark, Lord
Watson, Hon. R.
Wellesley, Hon. W. L.
Weyland, Major
Whitmore, W. W.
Wilbraham, G.
Wilde, T.
Williams, Sir J. H.
Williams, J.
Williams, W. A.
Williamson, Sir H.
Wood, C.
Wood, J.
Wood, M.
Wrightson, W. B.
Wrottesley, Sir J.

Scotland.

Adam, Admiral
Campbell, W. F.
Dixon, J.
Ferguson, R.
Fergusson, R. C.
Gillon, W. D.
Grant, Right Hon. C.
Haliburton, Hon.
Jeffrey, Rt. Hon. F.
Johnston, A.
Johnstone, J. J. H.
Loch, J.
Mackenzie, S.
M'Leod, K.
Ross, H.
Stewart, E.
Traill, G.

Ireland.

Belfast, Earl of
Blackney, W.
Bodkin, J. J.
Boyle, Hon. J.
Brown, J.
Browne, D.
Burke, Sir J.
Carew, R. S.
Chapman, M. L.
Copeland, W. T.
Doyle, Sir J. M.
French, A.
Grattan, H.
Grattan, J.
Hill, Lord A.
Jephson, G. D. O.
Killeen, Lord
King, Hon. R.
Knox, Hon. J. H.
Lamb, Hon. G.
Lambert, J. S.
Leader, N. P.
Macnamara, W.
Mullins, F.
Musgrave, Sir R.
O'Connell, D.
O'Connell, M.
O'Conor, Don
O'Farrell, R. M.
O'Neill, Hon. General
Ossory Earl of
Parnell, Sir H.
Ponsonby, Hon. G.
Power, R.
Rice, Hon. T. S.
Ruthven, E. S.
Sheil, R. L.
Walker, C. A.
Wallace, T.
Westenra, Hon. H.
Western, C.
White, Col. H.
White, S.
Wyse, T.

Teller.

Duncannon, Viscount

Mr. *Davies Gilbert*, on the Committee proceeding with the clause, said, he had no desire to delay the Bill, but he really believed that the very lowest description of persons were those who were in the habit of taking houses at considerable rents, for the purpose of letting them by floors, and he wished to exclude them from obtaining the franchise; he, therefore, begged leave to move as an amendment, that after the words "ten pounds," there should be inserted the words "above the value of any part or parts of such property underlet in any manner whatsoever."

Lord *Althorp* felt it his duty to oppose the amendment. He had no doubt that houses were often taken for the purposes described, and by the description of persons mentioned by the hon. Member, but there were also many most respectable persons who let part of their houses, and the lodgers frequently paid the whole rent. This was particularly the case with shopkeepers, and as it would be impossible to draw any distinction between the two classes of persons, he hoped the Committee would agree with him in thinking that the amendment ought not to be agreed to.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. *Warburton* said, that he should have presented a petition from the National Union relative to this clause, if he had had an opportunity. He had not been able to do so, but he should now state some of the objections which were contained in the petition, and which occurred to himself. The petitioners stated, that from what they knew in Westminster, the making of the payment of rates or assessed taxes, particularly of rates, a condition of voting would lead to bribery. Every one knew that such things had taken place as candidates paying rates for poor voters, and he feared that that practice would be resorted to under this provision, in spite of any act against bribery which might be introduced. He conceived that the objects of making the occupation of a house of a certain value the qualification for voting, were, that the voter should have some stake in the country, and also that he should be above improper influence. By making such a condition as this, the voter instead of being more independent, would be rendered more liable to corrupt control. The hon. Gentleman moved the omission of all that part of the clause which made the payment of rates a condition of voting.

Lord *Althorp* must oppose the amendment. His hon. friend must see the difference between the payment of the rates before a name could be registered, and the payment of them on the eve of an election. If such a practice, therefore, ever had prevailed at Westminster, as the petitioners described, the provision in the Bill was calculated to remove or at least abate the evil.

Mr. *Hunt* was aware that the practice alluded to prevailed in the west of England, but he now heard for the first time, that it was known in the city of Westminster.

Sir *John Hobhouse* said, he did not know what might have been the case in ancient times, but he did not believe that any such practice had prevailed since he had been connected with Westminster.

Mr. *Warburton* said, he alluded to ancient times, but not so far distant as to be beyond the memory of man. He believed many of the petitioners were personally acquainted with the fact.

Mr. *Goulburn* begged the noble Lord would inform him how the qualification was to be taken in those districts where there were no Poor-rates?

Lord *Althorp* said, in such a case, the test of value must necessarily be had resource to.

Amendment negatived.

Lord *Althorp* said, objections had been made, that the Bill contained no specific regulations regarding the residence of voters; he, therefore, intended to propose a proviso should be introduced into the clause before them, making a residence of six months previous to the last day of July, in the city or borough, or within seven miles thereof, necessary to entitle a person to vote.

Sir *James Scarlett* remembered an argument used by Mr. Fox, which he considered applicable to the present question. That eminent man had said, that the original Representation of England was made up wholly of local interests, created for the purpose of considering what portion of aids each place should contribute towards the public expenditure, or the King's revenue; and while that was the only object of their meeting, such a system of delegation was proper, in order that correct information might be obtained of the means of the particular places which were called upon to pay. But when Parliament began to take the principal part in framing the laws of the country, it became important, that the Members should represent the nation generally. This argument applied particularly in the case of out-voters, and besides, he thought that the House would lose a part of its dignity if it ever became the Representative of local interests only.

Lord *Althorp* could not imagine that the effect of the clause would be to create more local Representatives, and he thought the House lost more dignity by having Members who represented no constituents at all, than having many who might be biased by local connexions and habits.

An *Hon. Member* begged to ask the noble Lord, how distance from the place of residence was to be computed—whether from the place of election or from the boundaries of the borough.

Lord *Althorp* replied, that it was intended to calculate the distance from the limits of a borough, and not from the place of election.

Sir *Edward Sugden* said, the noble Lord ought to have given notice that he intended to move a proviso which might so much affect the rights of voting.

Lord *John Russell* begged to tell the hon. and learned Gentleman, that he had given notice that it was intended to move such a proviso, although, he admitted, he had not given the exact words.

Proviso agreed to.

On the question that the clause do stand part of the Bill,

Mr. *Hunt* rose, and said, that he should not trouble the House at any length upon the motion which he had to make upon the present question, as it had already been discussed. He should, therefore, content himself with saying, that the proviso which he wished to add to the clause, was in strict conformity to the principles of the Constitution, which did not contemplate subjecting any subject to taxation who had no share in the election of the Representative who assisted in imposing taxes. His motion was—"that all persons who should be excluded by the operation of the present Bill from having any share in the election of the Representatives in Parliament of the nation, should be exempted from the payment of rates and taxes, and also should not be called upon to serve in the militia, or be made liable to impressment for the army or navy." The hon. Member declared he should not divide the House upon this proviso.

Question, that this proviso be added to the clause, negatived.

On the question being again put from the Chair—" that the clause, as amended, do stand part of the Bill,"

Mr. *Hunt* rose for the purpose of bringing forward the motion of which he had given notice last night. He wished to exempt the borough of Preston from the operation of the measure, and he begged to be informed on what principle it was to be so hardly dealt with? He had never heard any charge brought against the electors of corruption. No Committee of that House had ever been appointed to inquire into charges of that nature; and here was a body of between 7,000 and 8,000 electors, who were totally free from any imputation of venality, about to be Burked at once by this Bill, which was miscalled a Reform Bill. Why was it, he must ask the noble Lord and his colleagues opposite, that, out of a body of 7,000 or 8,000 electors, only 800 or 900 were to be suffered in future to exert their privilege? If the clause passed, one of the largest boroughs in the whole kingdom would be reduced to a condition as rotten as Old Sarum. For a great number of years the borough of Preston had been equally divided between the Whig and Tory interests. The noble house of Derby had influenced the return of one Member, and the large manufacturers in the town had returned the other. The people of Preston, however, had emancipated themselves from the former influence, not out of any disregard to the hon. Member whose return was so influenced—the present hon. member for Windsor—but because they had thought proper to select himself for their Representative. He was not there, and knew nothing of their intentions. They raised a subscription, beginning with the sum of 10*l*., and, without his being present at all, they elected him as their Representative. Why, therefore, was it that the electors of Preston were to be selected for disfranchisement? He should feel it to be his duty to move that a proviso be added to the present clause to the effect, " that nothing in the present Bill do have any operation on the borough of Preston."

Lord *Althorp* said, that the hon. Member had asked him, why Preston was selected in particular for disfranchisement? To this he must answer, that Preston was by no means selected from any other places, but it happened that a great portion of the electors fell under the general rule, which, for the benefit of all, it had been deemed advisable to adopt as the principle upon which the franchise was to be conferred, and the present electors would have no reason to complain, for their votes were preserved to them during their lives. The hon. Member had asked, why the Preston electors were disfranchised by him? Would the hon. Member allow him to ask, in his turn, why the hon. Member wished to disfranchise them himself, when he moved so recently that all who did not become entitled to a vote under this Bill should be exempted from the payment of rates and taxes?

Mr. *Hunt:* When I made that motion, I had not the slightest expectation of its being carried. I said so: did I not?

Committee divided on the amendment, when there appeared—Ayes 5; Noes 200—Majority 195.

List of the AYES.

Best, Mr.
Forbes, Sir Charles
Forbes, Mr.
Shaw, Mr.
Vere, Mr. Hope

TELLER

Hunt, Mr.

Mr. *Mackinnon* said, he would not detain the Committee many minutes, as they had permitted him to go on, although it appeared it was somewhat irregular, as he had missed the proper opportunity to press his amendment, which was simply to add the following provision to the clause: "that, in all towns or cities where the number of houses rated at 10*l*. and upwards, exceeds 500, the right of voting shall be granted to those persons paying 15*l*. yearly, and upwards; that in all towns or cities where the number of 10*l*. houses exceeds 1,000, the right of voting shall be in persons paying not less than 20*l*. yearly rent." In consequence of having had two of his suggestions adopted in the present Bill, he thought it possible his proposition in the present instance might be entertained by the Committee. He was apprehensive that if the clause was left to operate in its present shape, without some qualification, it would give the Representation in all the large cities and towns into the hands of the populace; popular clamour and excitement would prevail over intelligence and reason, and the mere mob would altogether swamp the persons of respectability and property, and render the Members from such places the mere delegates of the lowest classes of the people. The only instance in the history of this country of such a sweeping alteration in the Representation was that made in the time of Cromwell. The close boroughs were then excluded, but the qualification was equal to 40*l.* of the present currency. He therefore considered that his proposition, which was more democratic than that of Cromwell, ought to be entertained.

Lord *Althorp* said, that a similar proposition to this had been made last Session, and that the opinion of the Committee was then expressed against it. He objected most decidedly to the principle of this amendment, going, as it did, to put some towns on such a different footing from others; and if he did not object to its principle, he should object most decidedly to its details. He could not see why, where the number of 10*l.* houses in a town amounted to 500, the hon. Member should be so much afraid of them as to propose to raise the franchise to 15*l.*, or why where they amounted to 1,000, he should go still further and propose to raise it to 20*l.* He was satisfied that if a higher qualification for voting should be established in the large towns than in the small towns, that such a measure would be by no means a final or a permanent one; and he was quite sure that the people of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, would not be satisfied with the right of voting at 20*l.* when in the smaller boroughs and towns the right of voting should be placed at 15*l.* and 10*l.* For these reasons he should vote against the amendment of the hon. Member; and he did not think it necessary at that late hour of the night to adduce any further arguments against it.

Mr. *Yates Peel* felt it to be his duty to support the amendment, because without it property would not have its proper influence in the elections for large towns. The effect of the clause would be ultimately to reduce the number of voters. In one borough, which had 500 scot-and-lot voters, that number would be reduced to 200. If the hon. Member pressed his Motion to a division he should support him.

Mr. *Baring* did not rise at that late hour to occupy much of the time of the Committee, but merely to express his intention of supporting the amendment. The first step, however, ought to be, to take the sense of the Committee as to the propriety of the principle of the mode of legislation proposed, without attempting to confine themselves to a particular number of Houses on a graduated scale, and without stating the *minimum* or *maximum*. Even in the Bill, democratic as it was, there was a provision of property. Then the question came, will you give the right of voting to the same nominal amount of property throughout when the real value is different in different places. Take the case of London and Westminster, suppose the House should be ultimately of opinion that the metropolitan districts should have the additional Members, as proposed by the Bill, was it legislating consistently, to say, that 10*l.* rent in the town of Horsham, shall be the criterion of the right of franchise, and that 10*l.* shall also determine the franchise in Marylebone? Was not that saying, that property should have considerable influence; and yet, by making the same criterion apply to small towns as to large—excluding, virtually, in the former case, several classes of persons, and concurrently, in the latter, giving the right of voting to another class not possessed of an equal amount of property? Not far from the neighbourhood of London there were persons perfectly respectable—he meant, persons having property, which is the qualification admitted by the Bill to be essential—and yet they did not live in houses of 10*l.* a-year rent; whereas, in this metropolis itself, and other large towns, the very lowest description of persons, possessed that qualification. In the small towns, the Bill went upon the basis of property being necessary to the qualification; but in large towns, it went upon the basis of no property. The authors of the Bill, therefore, did not follow up their own principle. Last year he took the liberty of stating that there were very few voters in Southwark under 20*l.* The noble Lord opposite contradicted him at the time, and, thinking that the noble Lord had better information on the subject than himself, he yielded; but he had since made careful inquiry, and found that he was correct in his statement. He asked the hon. member for Southwark, whether the right of voting did not descend in that borough sufficiently low for the people to have what they ought to have—a fair Representation of their interests and opinions? But would the boroughs of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, return such Members? Gentlemen might talk of the popularity of the Reform Bill, and certainly it was popular in those great towns now to be called upon to return Members to Parliament—places to which he had never objected giving Members, for he had supported the proposition that they should be directly represented, though he had the misfortune to disapprove of the sweeping measure now before the House; but admitting the popularity of the Bill in these towns, if those who supported it were to collect the opinions, not of the political unions, whether of Birmingham or of Westminster, but of the respectable shopkeepers of those very towns, they would find a very different result from what they might suppose to be the opinions generally entertained. If the noble Lords opposite were to collect these persons together, and ask them whether they thought that the 10*l.* voters would give the great and leading interests of those places a fair chance of being represented, and heard in this House, they would tell the noble Lords distinctly—No! True, they dared not say so openly—they could not call public meetings to declare that such was their opinion; but if the noble Lords would take these persons into their closets, and interrogate them, they would distinctly tell those noble Lords that the Representatives of such towns would be chosen by a class of persons whom he knew to be directly opposed to the great commercial and manufacturing interests of those places. The working classes of this country were in constant collision with their employers, and yet the House meant to give them such an influence by this Bill as would empower them exclusively, to choose the men who would hereafter have the controlling power over the great and varied interests of their masters. Though his views were unpopular, he begged to state, that the interests of the working classes were best consulted when the interests of those who give them bread were properly protected. He put it to the hon. member for Liverpool, whether he had consulted those persons among his own constituents who had some property to be protected, what their opinion was as to the probable effect that would be produced by the operation of the 10*l.* franchise in that town? Were the noble Lords to consult with them, they would tell those noble Lords that the Representation of such large places, by Members chosen by such a constituency, would not answer those useful purposes which it was intended to serve. He could not help observing that, in the progress of this Bill, his Majesty's Ministers, backed by their large majority, had not permitted one single amendment to be made by those who, though hostile to the general measure, nevertheless felt anxious to assist in making it as good as the nature of the Bill would allow. Whether or no all the wisdom of this assembly lay on one side of the House, he could not determine; but never had he seen a measure, affecting so many great interests, pressed onward with such haste, without any one who opposed it having a fair chance of being listened to, whatever suggestions he might offer; and yet some of those suggestions must be worthy of adoption. When a measure of this nature was under consideration—when the existing rights of so many persons were, by its operation, likely to be put in danger—and the proper protection of property weakened, if not destroyed—all feelings of party should be laid aside, and every one capable of assisting in its completion be consulted. But that rigid and inflexible determination, on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, not to admit of any amendment coming from the opposition side of the House, was not in the spirit with which a measure of this description should be conducted, or a means by which anything useful to the Bill was likely to be added to it in its progress. He begged to submit to the Committee, whether, in point of fact, the alteration now proposed was not likely to render this measure more acceptable to the respectable people; and whether, in reality, it would not give to the great towns more respectable and intelligent Representatives than they would otherwise obtain. He would advise the hon. Gentleman to adopt the alteration in his Motion which he had suggested, and to take the sense of the Committee upon the question, whether there should be any gradation in the qualification at all, or whether in both large towns and small, there should exist the same qualification.

Lord *Althorp* did not rise to speak on the amendment which had formerly been sufficiently discussed, but to repel the insinuation which had been thrown out by the hon. Member who spoke last. Certainly nothing could be more exemplary than the patient attention lent by Government, to every hon. Member's objections, whether in the previous stages of the Bill, or in the Committee. As to a precedent for the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers in rejecting any variation in their plan of Reform, he would just remind the hon. Member that the Catholic Relief Bill was exactly a case in point where the late Government felt it to be their duty not to permit any suggestion or amendment to be adopted.

Sir *James Scarlett* thought it was very desirable that nothing like party feeling should be evinced on a question of this important nature. It would be the greatest misfortune should it be made a party question, and he, therefore, was unwilling to say more on that subject. Many amendments were proposed last Session by Members on that side of the House, which had been adopted in the present Bill. With respect to the particular amendment before the Committee, he did not think the form was precisely what it should be. The principle was a good one, but the form was bad, for unless it be intended that the rent should be fixed by the rate paid by the present population of any place, it did not follow that the rent of the same place might not be 15*l.* this election, might sink down to 10*l.* the next. Approving of the principle, he should be happy to prepare a clause which should provide that in all the boroughs created by schedules C and D the qualification for voting should depend upon the valuation of the premises being 20*l.*, while in all the existing boroughs the franchise should depend upon the rent being either 10*l.*, or even lower, if he thought there was the least chance of such a clause being attended to. His reason was this—many persons, in small towns having considerable fortunes, lived in houses not so highly rented as 20*l.* a-year. In the town of Richmond, in Yorkshire, for example, there were many respectable persons and of good property, some of whom paid less than 10*l.* a-year rent, though they spent an income of 400*l.* a-year, derived from their landed property. But at Manchester, men paid out of their weekly wages a rent of 20*l.* a-year. On that account he did not like to disfranchise so many great interests, merely because the parties did not rent houses of 10*l.* or 15*l.* a-year. But he begged the Committee to observe, that they were acting on the largest scale. He would recommend a little caution in their proceedings. If it had been proposed to take one or two towns in order to try the experiment, he should not have objected; but to take all the large towns in England —many of them having a population of 10,000 persons—the experiment was too vast to be hazarded. The measure would throw a large majority of votes into the hands of a class by whom the property of the country must be ultimately overwhelmed. The noble Lord expressed his anxiety to give satisfaction to the working classes; but were they the only classes to whom he would give satisfaction? To many persons in the great towns it would give no satisfaction at all. A great majority of those who had property to lose, would be much better satisfied to have no Members at all. If the shopkeepers were generally canvassed through those towns, it would be found that the great bulk of them were against the measure. That was his opinion. If the Ministers chose to give the large towns the right of returning Members, at least, they ought to qualify that right so as to render property safe. He appealed to the Committee whether the experiment to be tried was not too vast; and whether to introduce a new constituency upon such a universal principle was not hazardous, especially in the great towns, where the persons who are to have franchise have no property. At Manchester, a large majority would be persons of that description: there would exist a majority in that town of 3,900 voter of the lowest qualification. Could such a right of voting work well for the great interests of the town of Manchester? It would throw the whole Representation into the hands of persons without education, or property of any kind. He should prefer confining the right of voting in all the new boroughs, to persons renting 20*l.* a-year; and that the numerous class of voters in the small towns should be qualified by paying a rent of 5*l.* He would support a motion of that description, but he could hardly support the amendment in its present form.

Lord *Milton* had no doubt householders of 50*l.* a-year would think that that was the precise rental which ought to give a vote, and no lower rent ought to be allowed one. That, however did not settle the question. He did not think that the proposed alteration would either satisfy, or benefit the large towns. He thought it desirable that the lowest classes, as well as the higher classes, should enjoy direct Representation, and that it should be given to them in such towns, as, from their number corruption would be impracticable.

Colonel *Davies* contended that the number of voters in the large towns would be inconveniently large under the 10*l*. qualification. From the returns presented last Session, it appeared there would be nearly 21,000 voters in Liverpool, and 16,000 at Manchester. One of two things must take place with such a mass of constituents. Either the lowest description of householders would alone be represented, or where houses in great numbers belonged to particular landlords, as was often the case in manufacturing towns, these, by combining together, would carry the election by the aid of their tenants, who would be driven up like cattle to the hustings.

Mr. *Heywood* said, the calculation of the hon. and gallant Colonel was not correct: by the returns it appeared that the number of persons assessed to the Poor-rates at Manchester under the amount of 10*l*. was 17,726, and those assessed at, and above that sum, was 8,026. Most of the operatives would not have votes. In one factory which employed 700 persons only 118 would possess the franchise from occupying houses of sufficient value. In another where 113 were employed, only seventeen would have votes, he, therefore, felt it his duty to resist the amendment.

Lord *Morpeth* was convinced, from the inquiries he had made while in Leeds, that the alteration of the qualification proposed would give great dissatisfaction.

Lord *Sandon* observed, that the clause proceeded upon a very fair principle; it would create constituencies too numerous and independent to be bribed, and yet not so large as to be unmanageable or tumultuous; he, therefore, must support the clause, and reject the amendment.

Mr. *Ewart* agreed with his noble colleague: he was bound, as the Representative of Liverpool to assert, that the clause gave satisfaction there, and that the number of the smaller descriptions of householders had been overrated, the number above 15*l*. exceeded those below it who would be entitled to the franchise.

Mr. *Wason* could not permit the statement of the hon. member for Liverpool to remain unanswered. So far from the clause giving general satisfaction, as he had asserted, a very opposite feeling existed. There was a large majority of all classes, including those who had always advocated Reform, who considered the qualification of 10*l*. was too low for Liverpool, and were fearful of the consequences likely to result from it. Indeed it would be surprising if any other feelings could prevail, when they had witnessed the disgraceful scenes that had recently taken place there, and he recommended hon. Members who thought a constituency of 5,000 too numerous to be bribed to remember those scenes. He must also dispute the accuracy of the hon. Members statistics. He had reason to believe the voters under 20*l*. per annum would far outnumber those above that sum. As to what the hon. member for Lancashire had said about there being but 8,000 rated inhabitants at Manchester above 10*l*., he would find that number doubled at elections, from the practice of letting houses out in floors, all the occupiers of which would claim a vote.

Mr. *Mackinnon*, at the suggestion of the hon. member for Thetford, withdrew his amendment. It was his intention to propose it in another shape.

Mr. *Praed* protested against pursuing that course.

Amendment withdrawn, and clause agreed to. House resumed.

Chairman reported progress, Committee to sit again.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.] Lord Althorp moved, that the House resolve itself into a Committee of Supply.

On the question being put that the Speaker do leave the Chair,

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* said, that he found himself under the necessity of troubling the House for a short time previous to its entering upon the Committee, as he had a question to propose to his Majesty's Ministers which it was wholly out of his power to defer. It was, he presumed, in their recollection, that a treaty had been laid on the Table in reference to the difference between Holland and Belgium. This treaty, he begged to premise, formed the basis of the question which he had to propose. He, indeed, regretted that at the moment of its presentation a question had not been put as to its contents, which were of the utmost importance in reference to the interests of Great Britain. As, however, that had not been done, he now found himself under the necessity, for the satisfaction of the country at large, of asking for information from his Majesty's Ministers, with a view of rendering clearly intelligible the nature of any obligations to which England might be bound by the document which had been laid before the House. It might be recollected that a few nights ago the noble Lord, the head of the Foreign Department, in reply to a question put to him respecting the progress of the treaty since the period when it had been first brought before the attention of Parliament in the Speech from the Throne, had stated, that only three of the Courts named in the preamble of that treaty—namely, Great Britain, France, and Belgium, had subscribed their ratification of its articles, but that the other three Courts likewise mentioned in the preamble had as yet not done so. He did not recollect whether on the occasion to which he alluded, the noble Lord said that the ratification of those three Powers—namely, Russia, Prussia, and Austria—States, which he begged to remark, were of no small importance or consideration in the balance of power, should any change in the tranquillity of Europe take place—was expected. This information it was extremely necessary to obtain, and a request to be put in possession of it would form one of the questions which he was about to propose. As he was on the subject, he would take the opportunity of remarking, that he believed it was hitherto deemed a very unusual course to mention the names of any powers in a treaty, until those powers had made themselves parties to such treaty by their ratification. Now, on this ground, he begged to remark, that he did not approve of the conduct of his Majesty's Administration. What had they done? They had placed before Parliament a document purporting to be a treaty entered into between the five Powers and Holland and Belgium, which was, in point of fact, only a treaty entered into by the three Powers of Great Britain, France, and Belgium. Until it was fully ratified it was not a treaty of the five Powers, but was to be considered only as a treaty of the powers who had signed it. Now he would beg to show in what point of view he deemed the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers in presenting this treaty to the House impolitic. If the noble Lord thought there were no hopes of the ratification by the other three Powers—and indeed it mattered little whether the noble Lord thought so or not—was it not, he begged to ask, inexpedient to bring their names before Parliament; and he would add, that it would be considered as a slight on those three Powers who had not ratified. At present he would not detain the House with any further comment on the subject, but would at once propose the questions which he desired to have answered. As to one of his questions, namely, whether hopes were entertained of the ratification by the three Powers—Russia, Prussia, and Austria, he confessed he anticipated the answer he should receive. He was sure the noble Lord would say, he expected every moment such ratification. As to the other question, he was not so confident as to what reply he was likely to receive. This was—whether it was the intention of his Majesty's Government and the French government, in the event of the king of the Netherlands acceding to the treaty which they had ratified, to guarantee to the king of the Netherlands all its articles in the same manner as they were guaranteed in the last treaty agreed upon by the five Powers? The motive which induced him to seek information on this topic arose from the allusion made in the Speech from the Throne on the first day of the present Session—an allusion which he begged to remark, had at the time much surprised him. He believed that it was altogether unusual to give notice in the Speech from the Throne of an unratified treaty. Now, the manner in which that allusion was made strongly impressed on his mind an opinion that England was to unite with the other powers to guarantee the articles of the treaty to the king of the Netherlands. The words of the Speech were 'A similar treaty has not been agreed 'to by the king of the Netherlands, but 'I trust the period is not distant when that 'sovereign will see the necessity of acceding to an arrangement in which the plenipotentiaries of the five Powers have 'unanimously concurred, and which has 'been framed with the most careful and 'impartial attention to all the interests 'concerned.' Now, from the tenor of this communication to Parliament he (Sir R. Vyvyan) laboured under an impression that all the articles of whatever treaty the Conference might agree to were to be guaranteed to the king of the Netherlands in the same manner as if he had signed it at first. He, therefore, deemed it expedient, if possible, to obtain some specific information on the subject, and with the intention of doing so, he would feel much obliged to the noble Lord for an answer to the queries which he had proposed—first, as to whether hopes were entertained of the eventual ratification of the treaty; and second, whether the guarantee to which he had alluded, was to be given.

Viscount *Palmerston* said, that the hon. Baronet had made several remarks on an informality in the presentation of this treaty, in the preamble of which several parties were mentioned, who had not yet ratified it. The hon. Baronet would, if he gave himself the trouble, easily discover that the informality of Government, if informality it was, was not quite so unprecedented as he supposed; for he would find that in the Treaty of Vienna, which was presented to the House in 1815, Spain was mentioned as a contracting power, when, in point of fact, she did not accede to it till two years afterwards. He would not, however, rest the grounds of his defence upon precedents; for if there were no precedents, this was the peculiar case in which a precedent ought to be established. For this treaty being ratified by the King of England, was full, complete, and binding on the King of England as far as this country is concerned; and he apprehended that it was not only usual for, but incumbent, on the advisers of his Majesty to advise him to communicate to Parliament any treaty which he might contract, as soon as it was completed. It was quite impossible for him to mutilate the treaty, or to omit matters which appeared on the face of the record, because the treaty was not ratified by the other Powers. He was, therefore, obliged to accompany the presentation of the treaty with a communication that Prussia, Russia, and Austria had refused to ratify it. The hon. Baronet had asked him whether he entertained hopes that the ratifications of those Powers would arrive. He entertained the strongest hopes that they would arrive. The different distance of those Courts from the seat of the Conference placed the communications with them on a different footing. The more early communications would naturally arrive from those Courts which were nearest; but his hopes were stronger in proportion to the proximity of the Courts by whom the ratifications were to be exchanged. The hon. Baronet had also asked him whether, if a similar treaty to that which we had concluded with the king of Belgium were concluded with the king of the Netherlands, we should insert in it a guarantee like that which we had inserted in our treaty with the king of Belgium. He trusted that the House would see that he was only doing his duty in refusing to give any answer to this question, for he could not pretend to declare the intentions of Government with regard to facts which had not yet occurred.

Mr. *Robinson* complained of the manner in which this treaty was drawn up. He wished to understand whether the guarantee of the five Powers was intended to apply to the payment of the Russian Dutch loan? With reference to this subject, he must beg leave to ask the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether, after all that had passed, he thought himself bound to continue the payments on account of that loan. If he received an assurance that that treaty did not want any such guarantee, he would move that no payments should be made hereafter on that account. He would not object to their going into a Committee of the whole House *pro formâ:* but unless he received a distinct assurance that Ministers would, at a future period, bring the whole subject of the Russian Dutch loan under the consideration of Parliament, he would never vote again one shilling of supply on any public occasion.

Viscount *Palmerston* said, that he did not conceive it possible that, under the construction of this treaty, the King of England would ever be called on to pay the interest of this Russian Dutch loan.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* said, that a treaty could not be considered perfect until it was ratified—at present this treaty was not the act of six Powers, but only of three, and he thought if these three Powers still continued to press upon the king of Holland the ratification of the treaty, they would be bound to guarantee to that sovereign the due performance of its several articles.

Mr. *Courtenay* said, there ought to be a note attached to the treaty, stating that it had only been partially ratified. It purported being a treaty entered into by six Powers, when, in fact, it was not so. Such a note as that he spoke of, was, if he remembered right, appended to the Treaty of Vienna.

Mr. *Baring* could not well understand the necessity for the very guarded answers which the noble Lord had given in reply to the questions of the hon. Baronet. The principal of these questions was, whether Holland would be entitled to the guarantee as well and as fully as if it had at once consented to ratify the treaty which was on the Table of the House? Now, the noble Lord had said to-day, that England was taking a responsibility in guaranteeing the articles of the treaty. That might be the case, and he (Mr. Baring) was not in a situation to deny it; but if it was so, and if the noble Lord put the interpretation on the treaty which he said he did, it was the most unfortunately-worded document that was ever presented to the public. The noble Lord said, that no guarantee was implied, but he could inform him that all those who read the treaty were of opinion that a guarantee was given. Perhaps those individuals might not understand the arcana of diplomatic negotiations, but such undoubtedly was the impression. He was of opinion that the sentiments of Parliament should be taken upon the subject; and he, therefore, wished to know, if it was intended by his Majesty's Government to seek a Resolution of the House in reference to the arrangements which had been made. He would thank the noble Lord to inform him on this point, as it would obviate the necessity of further prolonging the present discussion.

Viscount *Palmerston* begged to remind the House, that on the second question of the hon. Baronet, he had not given any answer, and that, therefore, those hon. Members who had just spoken argued on hypothesis. In reply to the question just put by the hon. Member, he begged to say, that it was not the intention of Government to propose any Resolution on the subject.

Mr. *Robinson*, in such case, felt it his duty to read to the House an extract from the treaty, which, if it was guaranteed by England, would render the country liable to a pecuniary responsibility. The hon. Gentleman then read the third section of the 13th article, which stated that "The payment of the above-mentioned sum of 8,400,000 Netherland florins of annual interest shall take place regularly every six months, either at Brussels, or at Antwerp, in ready money, without deduction of any kind whatsoever, either at present or in future." This formed a portion of the treaty, in the 25th article of which he found the following passage: "The Courts of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, guarantee to his Majesty the king of the Belgians the execution of all the preceding articles." Now, he would be glad to know, if Great Britain could be considered as not liable to the payment of the money mentioned in the 13th article?

Viscount *Palmerston* begged to remind the House that there was a material difference between guaranteeing and securing. The first of these terms only implied an agreement to use all possible means for effecting a certain object, while the latter not only included this agreement, but covenanted that, in the event of failing to effect such performance, the party securing would make good the loss sustained. If such were the meaning of the words, he could not see how England could be hereafter called upon to make good the sums of money alluded to in the 13th article.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* asked, if the noble Lord could fix any time when he could say, whether the three Powers would ratify or not?

Viscount *Palmerston* submitted that he should not be called upon to speak as to his future expectations or hopes; at all events he would not do so, as he might be liable to misconception.

BRAZILIAN CLAIMS.] Mr. *Dixon*, thinking that enough had been said about Belgium, would beg leave to ask the noble Lord if there was any prospect of a settlement of the English claims on the Brazilian Government?

Viscount *Palmerston* said, that he expected the Commissioners would soon finish their inquiries, and proceed to satisfy the claimants.

Lord *Sandon* begged to know, if the amount of the money set apart for the satisfaction of these claims would be sufficient to cover them?

Viscount *Palmerston* replied, that though large, it would not be sufficient to discharge all demands; but he entertained no doubt that the Brazilian government, in the spirit in which they had voted the sums already paid over, would agree to a further vote.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply.

Resolutions agreed to, and the House resumed.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, February 6, 1832.

MINUTES. Bills. Read a third time; Embezzlements Prevention. Read a second time; Court of Session (Scotland.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, February 6, 1832.

MINUTES.] New Writ ordered. For Ennis, in the room of the Right Hon. WILLIAM VESEY FITZGERALD, now Lord FITZGERALD.

Bill brought in. To Regulate the Irish Post Office.

Returns ordered. On the Motion of Mr. HUME, all Commissions granted by the Lord Register, since his Appointment, to Persons to be Deputy Keepers of the Signet; of all Commissions granted by such Deputy Keepers or Substitute Keepers or Assistants of the Signet, or others; an Account of the Gross Amount of Fees drawn at the Signet Office, Edinburgh, for each year since 1820, distinguishing to whom paid, and the Amount to each Person; and distinguishing specially the Sums paid to the Lord Register in each year:—On the Motion of Mr. BURGE, Copy of the Report made in 1822 by the House of Assembly, Jamaica, of the situation of the Sugar Planters; Copy of a Note presented to the Secretary of State by the Colonial Agents, praying for the abolition of the Two and a Half per Cent Duties; Copy of a Petition sent to his Majesty from the Virgin Islands:—On the Motion of Mr. WRIGHTSON, for the Names of all the Persons convicted of Offences against the Excise Laws in Scotland and Ireland, from the 5th of July, 1830, up to the present time:—On the Motion of Mr. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE, for an Account of Wheat, Corn, and other Grain Imported during the years 1830, and 1831.

Petitions presented. Against the General Registry Bill. By Mr. BURTON, from Beverley. By Mr. HANLEY, from Newark and its Neighbourhood. By Mr. STRICKLAND, from the Inhabitants of Wakefield. By Mr. BLAMIRE, from Workington, Keswick, Crosthwaite, Weatherall, Warwick, Hurworth, and Nesham. By Mr. BUCK, from Market Harborough, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Attornies and Solicitors of Exeter:—By Mr. TYRRELL, from the Ministers, Churchwardens, Farmers, and Tradesmen, of Wetherden, Elmswell, Tostock, and other places, for an alteration of the Sale of Beer Act:—By Mr. STRICKLAND, from Ripon, Boroughbridge, Batelybridge, and Ripley, to be joined with the Constituency of Ripon:—By Mr. WARBURTON, from a Gentleman who believed that he had discovered a means of ascertaining the Longitude at Sea:—By Mr. BUCK, from certain Individuals at Penrice, praying that place may send one Member to Parliament:—By Mr. VERNON SMITH, from Inhabitants of Northampton, Members of a Friendly Society, praying for a Repeal of Act 10th George 4th:—By Mr. WARBURTON, in favour of the Anatomy Bill, from Sheffield, and from the Surgical School, Windmill Street, Golden Square.

PETITIONS—PRIVILEGE.] Mr. *Strickland* said, he had to present a Petition from a person of the name of Smithson, a resident of the town of Leeds. The petitioner stated, that he was a poor man, who got his livelihood by his industry, and he complained of a speech which he had seen in the newspapers attributed to the hon. member for Preston, in which that hon. Member had represented him (the petitioner) as having been guilty, some time ago, of the atrocious offence of roasting the Bible. The petitioner was aware that he could not complain of what took place in that House, and he, therefore, merely meant to complain of what had been published as a part of its proceedings in the public prints.

The *Speaker*, interrupting the hon. Member, said, that he must be aware a petition complaining of any thing that had passed in that House, and the publication of which was a breach of privilege, could not be received. He must be aware that if the petitioner had to complain of the publication of any libel out of the House, that was not the place to come for redress, but that there were other tribunals open to him for the purpose.

Mr. *Strickland* said, he would withdraw the petition if—

The *Speaker:* It cannot be presented.

Mr. *Strickland:* I have only to say, that the information which I have received positively contradicts the statement of the hon. member for Preston.

ANATOMY BILL.] Mr. *Warburton* presented a Petition from the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, in favour of the Anatomy Bill. He would take that opportunity of correcting a mis-statement which had been made on a former evening by the hon. member for Preston, respecting the celebrated surgeon, John Hunter. That hon. Member said, that Mr. Hunter had the weakness to request, on his death bed, that his body should not be dissected. But the fact was, that he not only made no such request, but, on the contrary, expressly directed that his body should be dissected, and that certain parts should be prepared and deposited in the museum of the college.

Mr. *O'Connell* believed, that if some means were not taken to enable the Schools of Anatomy in Great Britain and Ireland to obtain subjects legally, surgical pupils would be obliged to go from these countries to prosecute their studies in France, where bodies could be procured for a few francs. He had been informed that three bodies, exhumed from a church-yard in Dublin, and exported to this country, yielded a profit of thirty-eight pounds, clear of all expenses. This was a sum so large as to hold out strong temptations to that profligate class of wretches, whose crimes had recently excited such horror in the public mind.

Mr. *Hunt* referred to some wax preparations of the human body that had been lately exhibited in London, and stated, that he was informed, that they might to a great extent, serve for the purpose of teaching anatomy. So much was that the case, that, in the College of Surgeons in Dublin, the professors had for several years lectured on artificial bodies. The same thing, he understood, had been for a long time done in Paris; and why should not the same be done here? He was informed that pupils, by the assistance of these ingenious models, were enabled by the dissection of one or two bodies, to acquire so much knowledge of the science as to require no further instruction. The imitations were so complete, that the most experienced eye could not detect the difference between the model and the real skeleton. It was a disgrace to the medical men of the metropolis, that they had not followed the example of their brethren in Dublin and Paris, but required human carcasses to be sold like pigs or sheep.

Mr. *Crampton* considered that the Bill introduced by the hon. member for Bridport was calculated to put an end to the horrid system of murder which had lately been resorted to for the supply of the schools. What the hon. member for Preston said respecting the means by which anatomy was studied in Dublin might, perhaps, be true of some college, in some other part of the world, but was certainly not true as to the College of Surgeons in that city. There were, in fact, at that moment, in London, three members of that College, who had come over here for the purpose of obtaining for Ireland a bill for regulating the Schools of Anatomy, similar to the English bill now in progress through the House. Those gentlemen believed that such a bill was necessary to prevent the schools in Dublin from being abandoned.

Mr. *Sheil* said, that the hon. member for Preston was right in stating that models in wax were made use of by the College of Surgeons in Dublin, in the teaching of Anatomy. But he was entirely mistaken in supposing that those models were a modern invention. In fact, they were used many years ago in Florence, where they were invented. But no surgeon ever imagined that the study of models, however perfect, could supersede the necessity of actual dissection. So much were bodies in demand in Dublin, that he could inform the hon. Member 20*l.* was given for one though formerly it might be had for 20*s.*

Mr. *Robinson* had no doubt that the practice of dissection was indispensable to the education of a surgeon; but he had great doubts that the bill of the hon. member for Bridport would be sufficient to remove the temptation to murder, the removal of which was one of its avowed objects.

Sir *Robert Inglis* thought that no time should be lost in passing a bill on the subject; although he could not say, that he approved of all the provisions of the Bill which had lately been introduced by the hon. Gentleman opposite.

Mr. *Warburton* did not believe that any experienced surgeon would say, that the most perfect of the models alluded to by the hon. member for Preston could supersede dissection. On the contrary, the ingenious foreigner who had invented the latest improvements in those models expressly stated in his pamphlet that they would serve as highly useful maps to guide the student in dissection.

Mr. *Shaw* concurred in what had fallen from other hon. Gentlemen respecting the necessity of a bill for Ireland similar to the Anatomy Bill introduced by the hon. Member for Bridport.

Mr. *Stephenson* thought that the sale of dead bodies ought to be prohibited altogether, and that there would be no more difficulty in obtaining a supply for the schools in this country than in France and Germany, where the schools were all supplied from the hospitals and prisons.

Mr. *Ruthven* hoped that the bill would be rendered unobjectionable, but, to make it so, it must not go forth to the public that a law was about to be passed under the provisions of which parents could legally sell the bodies of their children, or children those of their parents: such a proceeding in legislation would excite disgust in the public mind.

Mr. *Hunt* did not say, that artificial subjects would do away with the necessity of dissection, but that they would diminish the necessity for so many bodies.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, that the schools in Dublin had risen to their present eminence by the facilities which heretofore existed for obtaining subjects.

Petition to be printed.

POLITICAL UNIONS.] Mr. Warburton presented a Petition from Members of the Council of the National Political Union, praying that the qualification for exercising the elective franchise might not be made to depend on the payment of any rate or tax.

Lord *Stormont* said, that many persons had a serious objection to this class of societies, from which this petition proceeded, and in that number he was included. He conceived that it would not become the dignity of the House to receive a petition from a body of persons designating themselves the Members of the Council of a Political Union, after such societies had been denounced by a Royal proclamation as illegal and unconstitutional; and, upon that ground, he thought that the petition ought not to be received. If the petitioners had designated themselves householders of the city of Westminster, being members of such a society, he would have waved his objections to their petition being brought up, signing themselves Members of a Political Union, which was an illegal society, he should feel it his duty to oppose the motion for laying such a petition on the Table.

Mr. *Warburton* said, that the noble Lord had just informed him of what he really did not know before, viz., that a Royal proclamation had declared that similar associations to that from which this petition came were illegal. The proclamation to which the noble Lord alluded was directed only against such associations as, by their conduct, should bring themselves within the letter of certain penal Statutes. When the noble Lord, therefore, objected to this petition, upon the ground of its coming from an illegal body, it remained for him to prove that that body had so conducted itself as to come within the meaning of the penal enactments to which the proclamation related. That the proclamation itself was to be considered in the light of a Statute, that it should be supposed to have the force of a Statute, and that consequently it should be interpreted as having the power to render illegal what was not illegal before, he must altogether deny. The proclamation was founded upon the enactments of certain Statutes; it derived its force from those Statutes, and could be considered only in conjunction with them. The body from whom the petition emanated had never so conducted itself as to violate those Statutes, and, consequently, could not be regarded as illegal. He maintained, that the petition ought to be received.

Mr. *O'Connell* rose to support the reception of the petition. In the first place, he declared, that the society was not illegal; and in the next, it was plain that a Royal proclamation could not make any thing illegal which was not so by some previous law. It never had been said, that the King's proclamation should have the force of a Statute, except in a part of the reign of Henry 8th, or in Ireland, where violations of the Constitution had been the mode of government resorted to. He stood in that House, as a member of this Union, to defend its legality, and to declare its right to petition. He denied that there was any shadow of a foundation for charging the society with being illegal. He was a Member of the society; he had the honour, too, of being a lawyer. The noble Lord, he believed, did not pretend to be acquainted with the technicalities of English law, but if the noble Lord were, he defied him—he defied even themost captious lawyer—to shew that the society was guilty of a breach of any one law. He, for one, must denounce as most mischievous the assertion, that a proclamation could have the force of law; and knowing the utility of such societies he should support the petition. He considered it of much importance that these Unions should not be treated with any thing like contempt or haughtiness by either House of Parliament, so long as they conducted themselves properly. They consisted of Englishmen who thought and felt that there were great abuses in the system of Representation now existing, and it was neither proper nor becoming, that those who had shared the fruits of these abuses should be the parties to oppose the honest petitions of those who felt themselves aggrieved.

Mr. *Trevor* entirely concurred in the objections which had been taken by his noble friend near him to the reception of this petition. Had it proceeded from the same individuals, describing themselves as householders, no objection could possibly have been raised to it. But when it was signed by them in the exclusive capacity of members of a Political Union, against which a Royal proclamation had been issued, denouncing such Unions as illegal bodies, and for an illegal purpose, he thought it would not become that House to receive it. He considered such a petition to be an evasion of the practice of the House, which only received petitions from acknowledged corporations, or as containing the prayer of the individuals who signed them. Whatever course his noble friend might adopt, he should feel it to be his duty to give him his humble support.

Mr. *Hume* said, that, as a Member of this Political Union, he must protest against the language of the hon. Member for Durham. So far from Political Unions being illegal associations, it was the duty of every man to become a member of such associations. He would say of this Union, that it was a body as well entitled to address the House as any other set of men in the country, and if the noble Lord and the hon. Member had read its rules, they would speak of it with praise. He said the House was bound to receive the petition, provided the petitioners signed for themselves, which they did in this instance, as they did not profess to be delegates, or to sign for others. While there were evils, there would be Unions, and he hoped to see them in every parish in the kingdom, so long as there were grievances to be redressed. He would ask, were Englishmen to be told, that, no matter under what name they might come to this House, whether they were called free-and-easy societies, or by any other denomination they chose to assume, that therefore these petitions were to be rejected? No such thing; and to speak of proclamations as having the force of law, was only referring to the worst periods of our history, when truth was stifled by tyranny.

Mr. *Trevor* wished to ask the hon. member for Middlesex, of what avail was the Royal Proclamation, if the House were to continue to receive such petitions?

Mr. *Hume*: of no avail whatever. Proclamations cannot render such societies illegal.

Mr. *Hunt* supported the petition, although he was not a member of the society. The prayer of the petition was in his mind proper. The object of it was, that rent and taxes should not be the only qualification for voting under the Reform Bill. That had never yet been the law, and he, as well as they, wished that it never should be so. There was no law whatever to prevent persons from forming themselves into political associations. He would go further indeed than any one who had spoken, for he would ask whether, if parties had even been declared guilty of crime, and were suffering the sentence of the law, they were still to be debarred from their right of petitioning?

Sir *Robert Inglis* contended that these parties, petitioning as the council of a Political Union, came under the terms of the rules for rejecting petitions laid down repeatedly in the House.

Sir *Francis Burdett* said, that unless there appeared on the face of a petition some valid ground of objection, it ought to be received. There was none whatever here; for the designation those persons thought proper to bestow upon themselves did not justify the House in rejecting the petition; and this, as well as the petitions of all classes of the King's subjects, ought to be readily listened to.

Petition to be printed.

TREATY RELATIVE TO BELGIUM.] Lord Althorp moved the Order of the Day for receiving the Report of the Committee of Supply.

Sir *Richard Vyvyan* said, that before the report was brought up, he felt it necessary to refer for a moment to the discussion which had taken place between himself and the noble Viscount, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on Friday last, relative to a motion which he (Sir Richard Vyvyan) had stated it to be his intention to bring forward respecting the affairs of Belgium, and which he then postponed to the Tuesday following. It would be recollected that, in the conversation which then took place, he contended that it was wholly without precedent in the history of the country, that a treaty to which six Powers were contracting parties, which had received the signatures of the Plenipotentiaries of each of those Powers, but which had been ratified by three of them only, should be laid upon the Table of this House by a Minister of the Crown as a complete and binding instrument. The noble Viscount had then remarked, that he was mistaken, and had quoted the Treaty of Vienna as a precedent. The noble Viscount stated, that when that treaty was presented to Parliament, in the year 1815, it was ratified only by seven out of the eight Powers of which the Congress was composed. The reason, however, why the king of Spain refused to ratify the treaty was, that his Plenipotentiary had not signed it. That was the only precedent which the noble Lord had stated to the House in support of his own conduct. But, so far from that being a precedent in favour, he thought that it was a precedent against the noble Viscount's proceedings. The treaty of Vienna, which the Plenipotentiary of Spain did not sign, was not a treaty in which Spain was concerned. He believed, then, that he was perfectly correct in what he had stated the other night—that there was no precedent for the step which Ministers had taken in advising his Majesty to cause to be presented to his Parliament a treaty which, although ratified by himself, had not been ratified by three other Powers which were parties to it. The House, he felt, was placed in an awkward situation, by having a treaty laid on the Table which was an imperfect instrument. When he had first given notice of his Motion relative to the affairs of Belgium it was generally understood that the treaty relating to the settlement was to be ratified on the 15th of January; that ratification was afterwards postponed until the 31st of the same month, and had not yet even taken place. It appeared to him therefore, impossible to enter upon the discussion of a treaty which was yet incomplete, particularly as another Protocol had been issued, which still left hopes that the ratification might be expected. He begged leave, therefore, again to postpone his motion, which stood for to-morrow, until the 28th of February, with an express understanding, however, if the treaty was not then fully ratified, that he should feel it necessary to postpone his motion still further. The course that he intended to take would be to propose a vote of censure on his Majesty's Government, but he should be unwilling to propose that, till the treaty was complete.

Viscount *Palmerston* had only one remark to make upon the statement which had just fallen from the hon. Baronet. When he quoted the Treaty of Vienna as a precedent, on Friday, he believed he stated that there might be a doubt, whether in all respects it could be considered as similar to that which now related to Belgium. He conceived, however, that there were infinitely stronger grounds of objection to the manner in which the Treaty of Vienna came before that House than there could possibly be to the treaty upon which the hon. Baronet's Motion so much depended. In the Treaty of Vienna, not only had the Spanish government not ratified, but, although Spain was recited in the preamble as one of the contracting parties, her Plenipotentiary had not even attached his signature, and the treaty was laid before this House, signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the other powers only. In the present case, the Plenipotentiaries of all the powers had signed. He conceived, then, that the Treaty of Vienna was not only a precedent, but a much stronger case than the present. But, however that might be, the House would remember that on Friday last he had stated, that if there had been no precedent, it would have been indispensably necessary for Ministers to have made one. He repeated that he thought the treaty in its present state binding upon this country. He could not conceive it to be the less binding on the powers who had ratified because it had not been ratified by the three other powers who were parties to it. At all events, he maintained that the King of this country having been advised by his Ministers to ratify the treaty, it was the duty of those Ministers to lose no time in submitting it to Parliament; and the fact of the other powers not having ratified did not appear to him to be any reason why the treaty should not be presented to that House. The hon. Baronet had called the transaction incomplete. He begged to state that, as far as this country was concerned, it was not incomplete. All he should further say was, that the Ministers having laid the treaty before Parliament, they were prepared to defend it, and to vindicate their own conduct in the transaction, whenever it might suit the hon. Baronet, or any other Member, to call upon the House for an expression of its opinion upon the subject.

Mr. *Croker* begged to ask the noble Lord, whether, by his interpretation of the law of nations, a treaty entered into by six contracting parties, and ratified by three only, was binding upon those which had ratified?

Viscount *Palmerston*: To that question I answer distinctly, yes. I conceive that a treaty concluded between five parties on the one hand, and one party on the other, is equally binding on such of the five as may have ratified, whether the others have done so or not.

RUSSIAN-DUTCH LOAN.] Mr. *Robinson* felt it to be his duty to take that opportunity of reverting to a question which he had put to the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on Friday evening last, relative to the situation in which this country had been placed by his Majesty's Ministers with respect to the Russian-Dutch Loan. He did not wish to provoke discussion upon the merits of the case, but merely to deal with the facts as they appeared at present. The House would recollect that the Motion which the hon. member for Harwich had submitted upon the subject was to the effect that the payments which had taken place since the separation of the Belgic provinces from Holland were without warranty in law. The House negatived that proposition; but no step had since been taken, to shew that the payments were made by warrant of law. He apprehended, therefore, that the question remained precisely where it was; and that being the case, he begged, for one moment, to call the attention of the House to it. He, for one, contended that the Government, after the separation of Belgium from Holland, had no right to make any further payments on account of the Russian-Dutch loan without bringing the merits of the case before Parliament, and obtaining its opinion upon them. He stated this because, among the arguments which Ministers had set up in their defence, the noble Lord (the Paymaster of the Forces) had contended, that their conduct was justified by certain circumstances growing out of the negotiations of 1830 and 1831. If the Government could make out a sufficient case, he had so good an opinion of Parliament as to believe that it would sanction, if the matter were submitted to it, the making of those further payments which were required to complete the obligations of the Treaty of 1815. But reading that treaty literally and plainly, and strictly interpreting the words of the Act of Parliament which was founded upon it, he denied that the Government had the power to make any further payments without the sanction of Parliament. He begged to ask, therefore, whether the Government considered themselves warranted in making any further payment without bringing the subject under the consideration of Parliament? If the question, with all its details, were to be submitted to that House, he should be prepared to let it rest until brought forward by Ministers; but, if that were not the case, so convinced was he of the breach of the constitutional privileges of that House which would occur in any further payments, that, unless the hon. member for Harwich, who was much more competent to the task, would undertake to move a resolution upon the subject, he should undoubtedly feel it to be his duty to do so himself.

Lord *Althorp* did not expect, upon that occasion, to have been called upon to answer a question upon the subject of the Russian Dutch loan. The separation of Belgium from Holland had undoubtedly made a change in the circumstances; and, although he was prepared to maintain that that change did not absolve this country from the obligations into which it entered by the Treaty of 1815, yet, undoubtedly, in point of form, it rendered another convention necessary. That convention would of course be submitted to the House.

On the Motion being again put,

FINANCE—DEFICIENCY IN THE REVENUE.] Mr. *Goulburn* felt satisfied that it would not be necessary for him to make any apology to the House, or to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, for interrupting for a moment, by some financial observations, the progress of that measure to which, by a sort of common consent, the largest portion of their time had of late been devoted. On the contrary, he felt that if apology were due, it was from the Parliament to the country, for having so long omitted to direct its attention to the circumstances and the situation in which the nation then stood with regard to the finances; to direct its attention to that which it was more peculiarly its province to attend to—the state of the public purse; and to require from his Majesty's Government those explanations of the past, and such information with respect to the future, as might, in some degree, calm the apprehension which the present juncture of affairs was so well calculated to excite. The situation in which the country now stood with respect to its finances was one of an almost unprecedented character. We had gone through periods of war and peace—we had met the difficulties of the one, and the embarrassments of the other; but hitherto we had always found, at the termination of the year, that the arrangements of the Government had been such, either by one means or the other, as to have provided a fund adequate to the expenditure of the year. The present was the first occasion on which we had found ourselves with a large deficiency of income as compared with expenditure. The noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), in the statement he had made, when the supplies were granted predicted a surplus little short of 500,000*l.*; but now it was ascertained that, instead of a surplus, the noble Lord's arrangements had caused a deficiency of 700,000*l.* according to the financial accounts of last quarter, so that a change of no less than 1,200,000*l.* had been effected in the finances of the country within the short period of three months. If they calculated with reference to the brief space in which it had occurred, the deficiency was one which, he was sure, no Member of the House would regard as trifling or unimportant. Yet it was singular that no direct communication upon the subject had been made to Parliament. No Minister of the Crown had announced the fact to that House, much less had any of the explanations which were necessary been offered. It was only brought under the notice of the House by the presentation of a paper which he (Mr. Goulburn) had taken the liberty of moving for. It was not until the production of that document, anticipating as he had a right to do, a surplus of revenue, that he discovered that there was, in fact, a considerable deficiency. That circumstance very much changed the character of the financial discussions in which the House might have to engage. Formerly it had discussed the amount of the surplus which, in its opinion, it was necessary for the Minister to maintain, and the manner in which that surplus should be applied. Much difference of opinion had always existed upon the latter point. Some hon. Members were of one opinion—some of another; some were friendly to a sinking fund—others were hostile to it, but men of all parties, of all sentiments, and of all feelings in the country, had agreed upon this—that it was expedient to make such arrangements with respect to the finance of the country as to secure a surplus at the end of the year. But the House would henceforth have to embark upon the subjects of discussions to which he had alluded with a considerable deficiency, instead of a surplus. Such a state of things was calculated to excite great regret, and the more so because, if the resources of the country had been properly managed, he was convinced they would have been found fit for the emergency; and this was the more to be regretted at a period when it was peculiarly necessary that the finances of the country should appear in a healthful state. In October last, the noble Lord, in detailing the financial prospects of the country, stated, that, according to the best calculation he could make, there was every probability there would be a surplus of income over expenditure to the amount of nearly 500,000*l.* That calculation, however, was manifestly incorrect, as, at the end of the financial year, on the 5th of January, there was, in place of a surplus of 500,000*l.* a deficiency of 700,000*l.* When such a remarkable deficiency appeared in so short a time, the country had a right to ask, what caused it, and whether this was the end or the beginning of the deficiency. There had been nothing in the course of public events to cause such a falling off, and he, therefore, felt himself bound by his duty, as a Member of Parliament, to call for some explanation, or some statement which might revive the confidence of the country, and explain the causes of this deficiency; for it was a remarkable circumstance that this extraordinary falling off had taken place without any explanation hitherto on the part of Government. The greater part of the hon. Gentlemen who heard him must be aware, that in 1821, the House of Commons resolved, "that it is essentially necessary to the fulfilment of our duty, as guardians of the public purse, that the estimates should be laid on the Table of this House, with the least possible delay, after our assembling; that it is, therefore, expedient, that whenever Parliament assembles before Christmas, the army, navy, and other estimates should be presented previous to the 15th of January; and when it meets after Christmas, that the estimates shall be produced within ten days after the motion for going into a Committee of Supply." None of the Estimates, however, had yet been laid on the Table. And yet the necessity of the practice for which the Resolution provided had been advocated by one of the most distinguished Members of the party opposite to him, who had himself been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and who, therefore, had ample means of forming a sound opinion upon the subject. For ten years, under the various administrations which had conducted the affairs of the country, that Resolution had been strictly observed. But now, when in consequence of the deficiency which for the first time appeared in the income of the country, it became peculiarly necessary to know what the estimates of the year were: those estimates were not on the Table of the House; and, in their absence, the noble Lord opposite had not thought it necessary to give any explanation on the subject. But that was not all. On the 12th of December last the House came to a resolution, that the estimates for the year should be laid before the House without delay, yet the House was still without them, and no reason had been assigned for their non-production. He did not think, therefore, that it would be uncandid to attribute this delay to some reluctance, on the part of his Majesty's Government, to take the counsel of Parliament on the subject. The House and the country had a right to complain, and call for explanation. The noble Lord, therefore, could not blame him if he remarked upon such a glaring and improper course of proceeding. The explanation was the more necessary when the comparison of the state of the finances at the close of 1830 and of 1831 formed such a contrast. On the 5th of January, 1831, the surplus of income exceeded the expenditure by 2,900,000*l.* In stating the amount to be so great, however, it would be necessary to observe that some deductions might be required. He did not wish to keep out of sight those arrangements of the former year, which must necessarily lead to a diminution of that surplus from a million to a million and a half in amount. What was our situation, however, on the 5th of January 1832? That there was a deficiency of 700,000*l.*; the expenditure having exceeded the income by that amount, and having exceeded the calculation made three months before by the noble Lord to the amount of 1,200,000*l.* Under such circumstances, the country was naturally anxious to know what course was to be pursued. During the last year the noble Lord had made four financial statements, or rather four editions of statements, varying from the edition of other works on this point, which, instead of containing further materials, the materials in one edition after the other were retrenched and corrected. Under each of these arrangements, the noble Lord contemplated a surplus revenue; but he must congratulate the country that the Budget, as originally proposed by the noble Lord, was not persevered in. For the noble Lord and his colleagues, with a rashness and temerity which astonished not only him, but every sober man in the House, had, in the first instance, proposed a Budget, which, if it had been persisted in, would have occasioned a deficiency probably double or treble that which at present existed. If the noble Lord had succeeded in persuading Parliament, as he intimated by his first statement that there might be a reduction of 4,000,000*l.* with perfect safety, what would have been the consequence if, with a reduction of only 1,600,000*l.*, the deficiency at the end of one year was found to amount to 700,000*l.*? The noble Lord, as he had already stated, had brought forward our Budgets; by the first, he promised a surplus of 450,000*l.*; in the second, he made it amount to 600,000*l.*; in the third, it was reduced to 368,000*l.*; and in the fourth, it was increased again to 490,000*l.* The noble Lord, however, he trusted, would do him the justice to recollect that when he brought forward his final Budget, in October last, he (Mr. Goulburn) said, that he was persuaded it was founded on a very erroneous calculation, and that he was apprehensive the surplus would be very small, if indeed there was not a deficiency. The noble Lord's answer to that was, as might naturally be expected, satisfactory to the House; the noble Lord said, "I do not calculate like Chancellors of Exchequer in ordinary years, when they make up the Budget for the whole year, and have, consequently to take into account a long period, because I have to calculate for only one quarter, the other three quarters being already known; and on that account it is scarcely possible I can mistake." He was not deceived, however, though thinking it possible that he might have made some mistake in his calculation, he did not press the matter further. Subsequent circumstances, however, led him more than ever to believe that he was right. The House were probably aware of the view which had been taken of the state of our finances in another place by a noble Duke, who had been First Lord of the Treasury, and who expressed his apprehension that the calculations of his Majesty's present Government were not well founded, and that there would not be any surplus. That noble Duke, who was not more distinguished by foresight in his military character than for his power in civil affairs of anticipating the effect of any measures that came under his notice had, in a still, more marked manner, proved the defects of the calculation, and the risk to which the country was exposed by having such a small surplus. That noble Duke stated, in the other House, that the calculations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were not well founded, and that, instead of a surplus of 400,000*l.* there could not be more than 10,000*l.* But that statement of the noble Duke was met by the First Lord of the Treasury in terms which, if the House permitted him, he would read; taking for granted they were accurately reported; for he was very unwilling to incur the least danger of misrepresentation. The noble Earl's words were, in the report he alluded to [*] said to be—"The noble Duke has stated what was the amount of the expenses of the last year, and what were the means of meeting it; and he states, that a considerable surplus of revenue remained undisposed of, and has entered into calculations to show, that for the current year, the surplus will amount to no more than 10,000*l.* Now, my Lords, after making allowance for the loss sustained by the repeal of the Coal Tax, and every other loss peculiar to the year, I find that the surplus will amount to at least 493,000*l.*" Then came a striking paragraph—"The noble Duke finds fault with us, which is nothing more than he has always done. But, my Lords, we are now speaking after three-fourths of the year has elapsed. Well, we can speak with certainty as to the amount of revenue received during those three quarters; and as to the probable receipts during the quarter now running, we can speak with the same degree of certainty, in comparison with the other three quarters, and we know the amount of the services required during the year we are now in." In a subsequent passage the noble Earl repeated this statement in still stronger terms:—"Now, as to the expenditure, judging by the three quarters which have gone by, we are enabled to calculate pretty accurately what it will be for the whole year. The total expenditure for that year (comprehending the interest and management of the National Debt, funded and unfunded, and the expense of the Army, Navy, Ordnance, pensions, and all other charges) we estimate, in round numbers, at 46,756,000*l.*, which will leave a surplus of 493,000*l.*; so that your Lordships will perceive, that, estimating the receipts of the quarter yet to come, and the expenditure of the quarter yet to come, by the actual receipts and expenditure of the three-quarters already past—which I think is not an unfair mode of forming a judgment—we calculate with confidence that the surplus of revenue above expenditure on the year will amount to 493,000*l.*, instead of 10,000*l.*, as stated by the noble Duke. The calculations on which this conclusion has been come to, were taken under as unfavourable circumstances as they well could be taken. It might be possible for me to take credit for a much greater sum as surplus revenue, but I trust I have stated enough to convince your Lordships that the financial interests of the country have not been neglected, and that the country is not in a situation in which it ought to be considered as incapable of meeting any expenditure which has occurred, or which is at all likely."—Again "I hope that I have sufficiently shewn the result, founded on a knowledge of the receipts and expenditure of the three last quarters; that there is a surplus revenue of 493,000*l.* If I wished I might have stated the result more advantageously to myself, and made the excess appear greater." Now, he begged to ask, what must have been the anticipations of the country from such a speech as that made by the First Lord of the Treasury? Of course, it was expected that the noble Lord had made an accurate calculation, and that the surplus would be such as he had stated. At what period was the noble Earl's speech made? Not like that of the noble Lord opposite, seven days before the quarter day, when the accounts of the year were made up, but on the 17th of October, seven days after the accounts of the income and expenditure of the year had been actually made up at the Treasury. Shortly after the noble Earl's speech, appeared a notice in *The Gazette*, that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury having certified to the Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt, that the actual expenditure exceeded the surplus by the sum of 25,537*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.*, the Commissioners would apply no further sum account of the Sinking Fund. That notification was to him (Mr. Goulburn) a surprise; and surely it must have surprised the First Lord of the Treasury himself, who had declared that he had accurately weighed all the circumstances of the condition of the country, and expected a surplus of 493,000*l.*, to find that from accounts made up a week subsequently to his statement, so far from any surplus, it appeared that there was an actual deficiency of above 20,000*l.* He by no means charged the noble Earl with any intention to deceive the country, by making an exaggerated statement—he had the highest respect for the noble Earl's moral character, but he was driven, by the facts of the case, to charge the noble Earl with an utter neglect of the duties of his office, and he must recommend him to look into its details before he stated to Parliament, as the result of an examination, circumstances which turned out not to be facts. He was well aware that the noble Earl was in a situation in which he had high and laborious duties to fulfil, but he must also say, that of all those duties, no one was so important as a due attention to the finances of the country. It was true, the noble Earl might have been engaged in assisting the noble Paymaster to frame a new Constitution, or in assisting the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs in those Conferences in which he bore so distinguished a part, or in the disinterested distribution of patronage to the very numerous relatives and connections and friends of the First Lord of the Treasury; but he could not avoid thinking that the noble Earl would have best consulted his own character as a Statesman, and the interests of the country, if he had condescended to go down to the Treasury, and look a little into the accounts of his own particular department, so as to be able, when he appeared before the other House, to give statements which were not calculated to display a delusive advantage, and terminate in the disappointment and injury of the people. The statement he had alluded to, took place on the 17th of October. It declared a surplus, which it was afterwards necessary to contradict in *The Gazette.* And he thought the noble Earl had a right to complain of his colleagues in office for not informing him of the error into which he had been betrayed. Was it possible, that in such a Cabinet, there was no one capable of giving the noble Earl one word of salutary advice? Surely his noble friend (Lord Goderich) who had been bred up in a school wherein it was understood, that if you attempt to administer the finances of the country, you must at least read the accounts; surely he who had been so long himself a Chancellor of the Exchequer, could not possibly, if the accounts had been laid before the Cabinet after the same manner as in all preceding Administrations, he could not have stood by and permitted the noble Earl to fall into that mistake. Even the right hon. Secretary for the Treasury must have felt it his duty to inform the noble Earl that he was in error. But no, this could not be the case; for Parliament met again on the 18th, the 19th, and the 20th. And yet no member of the Administration—no supporter of the Government, ventured to insinuate a doubt of the accuracy of the statement. Again, there was not one word said on the subject in the Speech from the Throne, though Ministers seemed to be sadly puzzled to find topics to allude to. They heard a great deal of the Bankrupt Bill; the Game Bill was highly lauded, but the only passage relating to the revenue was this, 'The state 'of Europe has made it necessary to incur, 'in the various establishments of the public 'service, an increased expenditure, which it 'will be my earnest desire to reduce whenever it can be done with safety to the interests of the country. In the meantime 'I have the satisfaction of reflecting that 'these demands have been provided for without any material addition to the public 'burthens.'* He hoped the House would not condemn him for taking the first practical opportunity of calling attention to this subject, and of giving the noble Lord an opportunity of setting right his financial character, and removing those regrets and apprehensions which prevailed amongst the people. It would be extremely gratifying to him if the noble Lord could give a satisfactory explanation of the past; and still more so, if he could give them such information as to the future, as would relieve the apprehensions of the country as to the mode in which the financial affairs of the empire—which were, after all, the most important—were likely to be managed.

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[*] See also Hansard's Parl. Debates, vol. viii. pp. 844 5.

Lord *Althorp* could assure the right hon. Gentleman, that he felt it would be very absurd, were he to complain of his taking the first practical opportunity of bringing forward the complaint which he had just made. In answer to what had been urged by the right hon. Gentleman, it was his duty to give, in defence of himself and the First Lord of the Treasury, the grounds on which they had made the statements the right hon. Gentleman had alluded to. It would also be, he admitted, his duty to state what he hoped and believed the prospects of the Government were. The right hon. Gentleman had accused them of having deceived Parliament, by stating their expectations of a surplus of about 500,000*l.*, while, in fact, there was a deficiency of 700,000*l.* He trusted the House remembered that he frequently stated, that, in his opinion, a large surplus revenue, for the purpose of keeping up a Sinking Fund, for the discharge of the debt, was not desirable. At the same time he was always ready to admit, that a deficiency of revenue was a state of things much to be lamented. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman, therefore, that an actual excess of expenditure over income was a matter of regret, though he could not go so far with him as to say, that the excess had given rise to great public alarm. The right hon. Gentleman had correctly stated what fell from him in the early part of October last, with respect to the advantageous grounds which Ministers occupied in having the receipts and disbursements of three-quarters of the year before them when providing against the exigencies of the other quarter. But he had made this declaration, in answer to the right hon. Gentleman, in order to shew that in calculating on a higher surplus than he was disposed to anticipate, Ministers were proceeding on safe grounds. He merely meant that probable anticipations were less liable to error at that period of the year (October), than those hazarded in the beginning, inasmuch as the chances from time and accident were one-fourth less. The question, however, was, what were the grounds on which he, after deep consideration, and after the best calculation he could bestow upon the transaction, had arrived at the conclusion that we might confidently look forward to a surplus of income over expenditure? Being already in possession of the financial returns for the first three-quarters of the year, he called on all the heads of the several public departments respectively, for the purpose of ascertaining the probable amount of the returns for the remaining quarter, and on the information thus obtained, he stated to the House what he believed was likely to be the surplus revenue on the whole year. These were the grounds on which they proceeded; and in matters on which chance could have any share, they were as safe as any grounds could well be. It was upon these grounds he had stated the surplus of the revenue which he anticipated. He must admit, however, that on one part of these grounds his information had not been correct. In the last quarter of 1830, the beer duties expired, and no mention was made in the returns he received of any sum having been received on that quarter for beer duties. This led him, in making his calculations by the produce of that quarter, into an error as far as 350,000*l.* He did not wish to deceive the House. If they thought him in error, he was bound to suffer for it; but never would he attempt to deceive them, and certainly, on this occasion, he had been guilty of no deception. Besides, there was another error into which he had been led, but in which he must take the right hon. Gentleman as a *particeps criminis*—namely, the amount likely to accrue from the increased duty on spirits. The right hon. Gentleman calculated that at 450,000*l.*; and a large proportion of this was usually paid in during the last quarter. Notwithstanding the anticipations of the right hon. Gentleman, however, the additional duty produced no increase, but, on the contrary, there was a falling off of 100,000*l.* in the year. He did not blame the right hon. Gentleman; he only mentioned the circumstance to account for what the right hon. Gentleman called his mistakes. Again, if the income had fallen short of his expectations, the expenditure had exceeded them. A large demand, which he had not anticipated, occurred. A Bill had come in from Canada on account of the Rideau Canal, on which they had not at all calculated. The House must further consider, that in the last quarter there was a great stagnation of trade, and difficulty in carrying on business, which of itself was sufficient to account for a large falling-off in the revenue. He had stated the grounds of the calculations on which they had proceeded, and the reasons why these grounds had deceived them. The right hon. Gentleman said, that at the end of 1830, there was 2,900,000*l.* surplus revenue. This was true; but the arrangements made by the right hon. Gentleman were likely to affect the revenue of 1831, and, therefore, it could not be calculated, that because the surplus of 1830 had been 2,900,000*l.* the surplus of the last year should have been so great. He would next advert to the reduction of taxation, and first he would state the case in the way most unfavourable to himself. This was, to take solely into consideration the reductions which had been made by his advice. The amount of taxation taken off last year at his suggestion was 1,500,000*l.* By additional taxation he derived 100,000*l.*, which left a total reduction of 1,400,000*l.* With that reduction there was now a deficiency of 700,000*l.*; therefore, if he had done nothing in the way of reduction, there would still have been a surplus of 700,000*l.* This was putting the case in the way most unfavourable to himself. He would now take it the other way, and show the effect of the right hon. Gentleman's reduction of taxation in the last year. The amount of taxation reduced by the right hon. Gentleman was £2,794,000

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* Hansard's Parl. Debates, vol. viii. p. 928.

The loss by the duty on spirits was	100,000
The loss by the corn duties	250,000
Making a total of	£3,144,000
Which being deducted from 50,056,000*l.*, would leave £46,912,000 as revenue	
But the expenditure being	47,123,000
And the revenue only	46,912,000
There would have been a deficiency of	£211,000

He had first stated the case in a manner unfavourable to himself; he had now stated it in a manner unfavourable to the right hon. Gentleman. According to the first, there would be a surplus revenue of 700,000*l.*, and according to the other case, there would be a deficiency of 211,000*l.* He believed, however, that if he had not reduced the amount of taxation there would have been a surplus, but certainly not to the amount of 700,000*l.* The right hon. Gentleman said, he would not go into the Budget of last year, or attack him for the propositions he had made, and, he had added, that the country had a great escape in the fact of all these propositions not being adopted, or else the deficiency would have been much greater. But, in reply to this, he begged leave to remind the House, that all the propositions he had made for the increase of taxation had not been adopted; and some that were, from the lateness of the Session and other causes, came so recently into operation that they had little or no effect on the revenues of the year. Therefore he could not admit that the deficiency would have been even so great if all his propositions for increasing the taxation had been adopted. He had now stated his whole defence to the House for what had passed last year; and, he trusted hon. Gentlemen would believe, that in no statement which he had made had he any intention whatever of deceiving them. He had now stated the whole case, and would leave it to the House to form an opinion upon his conduct. But it certainly was more important to make a statement now of the effect of the measures taken with respect to the revenues of the present year. He was ready to admit his imprudence in bringing forward his statement last year at so early a period as he did. And certainly now, in making any statements, he was liable to inaccuracy from the early period of the present year. Nevertheless it seemed of some importance, though he spoke under a liability to err, to state, as far as he could ascertain it the present posture of the revenue. They might consider that—

The loss on Candles would be	£400,000
On Coals	75,000
On former reduction of Taxation &c..	698,000
Making, as a total, ...	1,173,000
On the other side, there was the Drawback on Printed Cottons abolished	£200,000
The Linen Bounties abolished	155,000
The Wine Duties on the Stock in hand.	157,000
Taxes beyond what was due last year upon Malt.	300,000

And here he might observe, that, whatever might be said, he thought that the Bills respecting malt and beer were exceedingly important; and from the Malt Duty an increased revenue would accrue. There were, besides, many duties which would this year come into full operation. The duties on wine might also be expected to increase, as in like manner, the importation of cotton. Well, then, for the additional duties on cotton he might calculate on 375,000*l.*; and for the additional duty on wine, supposing no increased consumption 150,000*l.*, which, with the item he had already mentioned, would amount to 1,337,000*l.*; and 1,173,000*l.* the amount of the repeal of taxation, which would come into operation, being deducted from it, would leave a surplus of 164,000*l.* He, of course, proceeded upon the supposition that the expenditure of this year would not be greater than last year; and he thought he might confidently anticipate this, as he knew the estimates for this year would be considerably less than for the last year; without, therefore, entering into further details, assuming that the expenditure would be the same as last year, he was calculating on the surplus he had just stated. Although he lamented the falling off in the revenue of the past year, he felt perfectly confident that the public might rely that they were prepared to meet the expenditure for the year which was to come.

Mr. *Attwood* said, his Majesty had confided the charge of the financial concerns of this country to the noble Lord opposite—concerns requiring either great previous knowledge and experience in finance, or, failing in those qualifications, a zealous, earnest, and rigid attention to the duties belonging to them, as, without these, it was impossible but that the public interest must suffer. Of the noble Lord's knowledge and experience in financial matters before his sudden elevation to his present office, he would say nothing, but the zeal and assiduity with which the noble Lord had applied to other duties than those connected with his office, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, the House had witnessed; and the result of this application to political rather than to financial views, had been what might have been expected—the memorable series of blunders and miscalculations of the past year. The noble Lord must give him leave to say, that when he undertook the management of the finances of the country, the preservation of public credit was that which all men expected. In February last, however, the noble Lord, in developing his financial views, stated, that he considered a surplus revenue of 450,000*l.* quite sufficient, and upon that contracted basis he was willing to risk the preservation of public credit. The noble Lord, indeed, was so nice in his calculations, that he admitted it might not be safe to risk it upon a surplus of 300,000*l.* only, but that with an expenditure of 50,000,000*l.* (half of which went to pay the interest of the debt), he thought a conjectural estimate of income of 50,450,000*l.* would be sufficient to provide for the discharge of all the engagements of the country. According to the statements of the noble Lord and of the noble Earl (at the head of the Treasury) the surplus of 450,000*l.* did not, in October last, rest upon conjecture, but was actually received. The expression used was, that the existence of this surplus "was no longer matter of prophecy, but of history. But now—whether it was matter of history or of prophecy in October, 1831—it no longer existed in any shape or form. If ever there was an occasion when, out of respect to their own characters, and to the interests of the country, Ministers should come forward, without being urged on by their opponents to state the true condition of the finances to Parliament, it existed at the present moment. The noble Lord told the House now, that the statement he made in October, founded upon figures placed in his hand by the officers of the Treasury, was erroneous, and accordingly he put forth another set of figures to falsify those former ones. No doubt there were, in the Government offices, many individuals always ready to supply such figures, facts, and documents, as they thought would be acceptable to their patrons, because they would support their particular views; but if the noble Lord did not receive such documents with a most vigilant suspicion, he must be often led into error. But when the noble Lord discovered that he had been deceived, why did he not come down and state that fact to Parliament? Why did he not fairly state, that he had been mistaken? Why did he not prevent the possibility of its being imputed to him that he had distorted and misrepresented the condition of the revenue to Parliament? He did not mean to charge the noble Lord with having any such intention; but, then, he must come to the conclusion that his Majesty's Ministers, in the discharge of their essential duties, had shewn their own utter and complete inefficiency. He would not derogate from the importance of the other duties in which they had been engaged—nor from that of discussions upon such questions as whether this borough should be put in schedule A, and that in schedule B, or another taken out of schedule B, and replaced in schedule A, but he would tell the noble Lord, that the public interest required him to abandon an office, the duties of which he did not efficiently discharge. Ought it to have been left to the right hon. Gentleman below him to call for information? Ought it to have been left from the 18th of January, for the noble Lord to give the "lame and impotent" explanation they had just heard? Was not other treatment due to the House of Commons—the guardians of the public purse? They had, however, had an explanation, such as it was, of matters which related to the past; but what the noble Lord meant to do for the future they had not heard. Did the noble Lord mean to re-impose the taxes which were last year repealed? That would be the only sound legitimate course open to him. The noble Lord told the House that there was an actual deficiency of 700,000*l.* Since he last year forgot one item of revenue which he was to lose, he would find that this year, in his haste, he had forgotten another. There was a deficiency of 500,000*l.* which would be occasioned by the loss of the candle duty, which had to be added to the 700,000*l.* Did the noble Lord mean to propose a loan as a means of covering this deficiency? If so, it would amount to saying to the public creditor—we have not the means of paying you your interest, and we are prevented by the necessities of the country from imposing new taxes; but if you will lend us the means, we shall be able to pay you interest with your own money. After a peace of fifteen years, such a course would be most destructive to public credit. There was, however, a third course, which was most likely to be adopted, whilst it was also more dreadful, more dangerous, than either of the other two. He was confirmed in this opinion by what the noble Lord had now said. His Majesty's Ministers would be content again to rely upon their ill-digested calculations—upon some new schemes or experiments—upon some new pamphlet on financial Reform, such as was proposed to the House in the Budget of February last—a Budget founded, in effect, on the little book of the right hon. Baronet behind him (Sir Henry Parnell), who, for the financial knowledge he therein displayed, got made Secretary at War. Had not the House prevented it, the credit of the country and public faith would have been exposed to all the shock of those experiments. The noble Lord said, that the Estimates for the present year would be considerably less than those of the last, and that the great principle on which the Government professed to rest was reduction in every department of the public expenditure. He (Mr. Attwood) knew of no other ground on which their pretensions to the confidence of the country rested. That was always the grand ground of squabble between them and their opponents, when they were out of office. Their continual cry was then, that with a Tory Ministry and an un-reformed House of Commons, the expenditure was enormously extravagant; and that in the correction of that expenditure, and the infusion of their virtue and economy in its administration, would be found great sources of relief to the distress of the country. He would now take the liberty of bringing those assertions to test, by shewing in what degree they had, during the twelve months they had been in office, reduced that extravagant expenditure, of which they so much complained. Any proposition to reduce the burthens of the country could not have its foundation in a mere previous reduction of taxation; it must be founded on a previous reduction of expenditure; for although temporary popularity might be acquired by a reduction of taxes, on erroneous grounds, no permanent relief could be derived from it. But what reduction of expenditure had his Majesty's Ministers effected? He would compare the last years of the Tory Administration, supported, as that was alleged to be, by vile, boroughmongering, extravagant principles, with the first year of the economical, and always-to-be-reducing Administration of the Whigs. The army, in the last year, of the Tory Government, cost the country 6,990,000*l.*; under the Whig Government of last year it cost 7,200,000*l.* What, then, became of the continued professions, on the part of the Whigs, of unsparing reduction in the public expenditure? In this one department—in the army alone—there was an increase exceeding 200,000*l.* He would not undertake to blame them for that specific increase, but he would say this, that their claims to confidence rested upon their continued assertions of the possibility of reducing the public expenditure; and yet now they were falsifying, by their acts, every assertion of their lives. Under the boroughmongering, profligate, Tory administration, the navy cost 5,209,000*l.* whilst under the pure Whig Administration—the economical Administration—the Administration whose accession to office had caused, the noble Lord said, the day of patronage to go by for ever—under this Administration, the expenses of the navy amounted to 5,680,000*l.*, being an addition to the burdens of the people, under this head, of nearly 480,000*l.* In the Ordnance department, there certainly was a reduction to the amount of 123,000*l.*—a feather, indeed, to counterbalance an increase of 700,000*l.* in other departments. Under the head of Miscellaneous, in 1830, during the corrupt, extravagant, Tory Government, there was an expenditure of only 1,950,000*l.*, whilst under the economical Whig Administration of 1831, it amounted to 2,850,000*l.*, being an increase of 900,000*l.* His right hon. friend opposite smiled at this statement; and perhaps he would say, the charges that used to come under other heads were now placed under the head of Miscellaneous. But, under what other heads came the items forming this vast difference between the miscellaneous expenses of 1830 and of 1831; for under none was there such a reduction as could account for that difference. They were told, at the advent of the Whig Administration to power, that the period had arrived at which there ought to be a reduction of the public burthens; but that the construction of the House of Commons was an obstacle to that reduction, which, if to be obtained, the House of Commons must first be reformed. He would ask those Members who were so earnest for Reform, if they would place confidence in their Reform leaders—when coming into a Reformed Parliament, they would tell them, as tell them they must, that it was not possible, by a reduction of expenditure, to reduce with safety the public burthens—burthens which, if reduced by a Reformed Parliament to any material extent, could be so only at the expense of the public creditor. It was a vain delusion to say to the people that with a Whig or with a Tory Administration, with a Reformed or an Unreformed House of Commons, there remained to the country resources from which those means could be realized, whereby any material reduction of the expenditure of the country could be effected. Indeed, it had been repeatedly avowed, that the great evil of an Unreformed Parliament was not that it did not now discharge its duty; but that there existed in former times—the noble Paymaster of the Forces said, that there had existed for half a century,—a profligate Administration, which engaged in unnecessary wars for boroughmongering objects; and that now the country was placed in a situation that even the patronage-despising Whig Government, as it professed to be, (though the manner in which it had hitherto distributed its patronage among its dependents rather contradicted the profession), that the country, he said, was placed in such a situation that even the Whig Government could not relieve it. They were told, that the war of America, the war of the French Revolution, were all consequences of boroughmongering Government; and that although the effects of them, which the country now felt could not be got rid of by a Whig Government, yet that such wars as should be necessary for the maintenance of the honour and interests of the country, would, by that Whig Government, be prevented in future. In the first year of Whig rule that had been done which had brought the country to the very verge of a bloody and expensive war. The noble Lord treated that assertion with derision; but unless his foreign policy was founded on more accurate bases than the Chancellor of the Exchequer's domestic calculations, it must lead to the most humiliating results. He did not judge of what had been the probability of war by the protocols which he (Lord Palmerston) had drawn up by the dozen, and which had afforded infinite amusement to all Europe, but by other circumstances which to him, as an Englishman, had been more indicative than those protocols of what was likely to have taken place. When he had seen the British fleet put forth its power—seen a naval armament threaten the towns and ports of the king of Holland, it required no study of protocols to tell him, that Europe had no security of peace for one hour. He could not believe in the insufferable degradation of the right arm of British power having really been put forth merely to bully the king of Holland—he could not believe that the orders given to the fleet were to do what could be done by way of intimidation, but not to strike—he could not believe that his Majesty's Ministers,

> "Willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike,"

sent the British fleet merely to intimidate the king of Holland. He knew the unconquerable firmness of the monarch of whom he spoke against that which was attempted, when the arts of diplomacy had failed, notwithstanding the skill of the noble Lord in putting them in motion—he knew how little likely it was that any attempt at intimidation would induce that heroic monarch to depart from any one point which he was justly entitled to abide by. It may have been thought, that to France and England united, the conquest of Holland would have been the affair of a few weeks, accomplished by a very small loan, and a very trifling addition of taxation. But did they take into the account the indomitable spirit and resolution with which the Dutch nation and the race of Nassau had always maintained their rights; a firmness to which the liberties of England were indebted in a greater degree than those of Holland? Did any man in this country believe that the spectacle which would have been offered to Europe, of Holland contending against France and England—against the faithless ally and open enemy, assisted by revolted subjects—would not have been one which would have called Austria, Russia, and the German Powers to her assistance? No man could believe that it would not have been a spectacle of this stirring description; and he was certain that his right hon. friend, the first Lord of the Admiralty, not now in his place, must have made up his mind to the necessary issue of sending an armament to threaten and insult the ports of Holland, or the Dutch fleet in the Scheldt; and must have calculated the probability of lighting up a war in Europe as extensive as any in which its various Powers had ever been engaged, and as likely to increase the debts of the country as any war that was ever entered into for alleged "boroughmongering purposes." He ought, perhaps, to apologise to the House for entering into these topics; but he owed no apology to the noble Lord opposite. All he had done had been to endeavour to dispel the illusions which had gone abroad with respect to the savings it was in the power of any Government to effect with a House of Parliament Reformed or Unreformed. He had tried to urge upon Ministers, as they valued their permanent popularity, and the true interests of the country, boldly to come forward and state, that it was a delusion to expect that any such reduction of our expenditure could at present be made as should give relief to the people. By pursuing such a course they might sacrifice temporary popularity, but they were sure of establishing their permanent reputation, and securing the welfare of the country. The support they now received from the people, on fallacious grounds, must end in that result which all Macchiavelian policy carried with it—popular odium. The idol of popular favour to-day would be its victim to-morrow. Those whose power now rested undeservedly and fallaciously on popular favour, would, in the long run, be the objects of popular hatred, as complete as their own elevation had been unjust.

Mr. *Poulett Thomson* agreed with the hon. Gentleman only in the concluding part of the speech he had just delivered, namely, that the greater part of that speech was not addressed to the question of finance before the House, but to the foreign politics of the Government and to Reform, with which the question had little, properly speaking, to do. He should not follow that hon. Member in his observations made on the subject of Reform, but with respect to those upon finance he must say, that the hon. Gentleman on this occasion seemed to have forgotten his favourite theory of not relying upon figures, and to have depended on them mainly for his statements. It must not, however, be supposed, that he was at all displeased with this change in the hon. Gentleman's mode of argument—on the contrary, he had always recommended the hon. Gentleman to have recourse to the aid of figures upon matters of finance, because such matters were usually best discussed by their aid, but then he wished also, that the figures stated should be correct, and correctly quoted, otherwise he must dispute the statement made upon their authority. The hon. Gentleman had a singular mode of comparison to decide on the merits of a Tory and a Whig Administration. When he met with an item in which the present expenditure was greater than under the Tories, he laid great stress upon it; when he came to a case in which the expenditure was less; he made light of it, exclaiming, it must be a set off of some kind or other. The hon. Gentleman had objected to the increase in the expenditure of the army; if that expenditure was not justified, why had not the hon. Member been in his place to oppose the estimates when they were moved? The hon. Gentleman also objected to the increase of the navy; why had he not done that at the proper time? [Mr. *Attwood:* I made no objections to them]. No, not directly; the hon. Gentleman had only contrasted the expenses of a borough-mongering Tory Administration, and a Reforming Whig Administration, for the purpose of shewing the former in a favourable light. But if the hon. Gentleman did not dislike the increase in the army, why reproach the Minister with having effected it? He should either have resisted the increase, or, if he approved of it, he should not now attack the Ministers. He was not surprised at the hon. Gentleman not liking figures. He said, that the Miscellaneous Estimates had been increased, but he had not gone into them to shew that his assertion was well founded. The hon. Member had never once alluded to the important circumstance, that nearly a half a million of money had been carried from the head of the Civil List to be placed under the head of Miscellaneous Expenditure. That was, in the hon. Member's opinion, a trifling circumstance, which might not improperly be overlooked, as it weighed nothing in argument. The hon. Gentleman carried his love of his own figures and his disregard of his opponents so far, that he listened not to the calculations he undertook to refute. Then the hon. Gentleman accused his noble friend of having forgotten the candle duty in his statement. Why, in the statement alluded to, his noble friend had debited himself with 400,000*l.* on account of the candle duty which had been taken off. The hon. Gentleman threw out of his view any future diminution of expenditure, though his noble friend stated that the estimates would shew a decrease. The estimates, instead of justifying the assertions of the hon. Gentleman, would shew that a large saving had been effected, and that a surplus would be left by means of those savings. But when the hon. Gentleman accused them of want of economy, how did he settle the account with his friends, the right hon. Gentlemen below him? If economy had not been sufficiently practised, whose fault was it? He would not generally go over the state of the country when the late Administration quitted office, nor would he speak of the increase of the military force having been rendered necessary by the conduct of their predecessors, nor would he say what the Government had been obliged to do in consequence of the extravagance and carelessness manifest in the expenditure of the Government that had preceded them. He would not ask, what had been the expenditure they found the Government engaged in with respect to the building of Palaces, which it was yet doubtful whether it would not be better to pull down than complete. He would not advert to the extravagance to which the former Government had become a party in such cases as that of the Rideau Canal; but he had a right to say, that a large proportion, if not the whole of the deficiency, of which so much had been said, would not have existed but for claims of the description to which he had referred. He, therefore, would recommend the hon. Gentleman, the next time he entered into details of figures, not to omit the sums he ought to add, and not to leave out these he ought to substract. By doing that, undoubtedly, a favourable balance might always be obtained, but he must carefully exclude every person from examining his calculations. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had set the hon. Gentleman the example of making these charges against the present Government. That right hon. Gentleman had stated, with an air of absolute horror, that, for the first time in the history of this country, [Mr. Goulburn dissented]—he wished not to misrepresent the right hon. Gentleman; perhaps, he said it was the first time for several years past—he had observed a deficiency in the public revenue—the first time for years past that he had seen the expenditure exceeding the revenue. The House should soon see whether that assertion was correct. He had at first felt surprised at that assertion, but he afterwards doubted whether he ought to be surprised at anything which fell from the right hon. Gentleman, when he heard him sneer at the noble Earl at the head of the Administration for distributing Government patronage among the members of his family. He had heard an imputation of that kind before, but he treated it with scorn, because the character of his noble friend stood too high to be reached by such attacks; but when the right hon. Gentleman spoke as he had done of the noble Earl at the head of the Government—of that noble Earl's desire to provide his relations with places—when he spoke in that manner, did he forget, that when he was a Member of the last Administration, he endeavoured, but just before that Administration quitted office, to quarter on the Pension List of this country the sons of two Cabinet Ministers? To be sure the attempt was defeated; but the defeat was owing to the House of Commons, not to the forbearance of the right hon. Gentleman. He should now refer to the other charge of the right hon. Gentleman—as to the deficiency of the public revenue. When the right hon. Gentleman spoke in terms of such horror of the deficiency, he must have known that deficiencies of a greater extent had not been unknown in the late and flourishing times of a Tory Administration [*cheers*]. He did not know whether the cheers of the right hon. Gentleman indicated his assent or dissent, but the proof of the fact was easy. He could take any year from 1823. He would not go further back, but would begin from that year, because it was to be recollected, that the Parliament had then pledged itself, by a distinct Resolution, that there should be an efficient Sinking Fund of 5,000,000*l.*, which might be considered as a portion of the public expenditure. He should not take it as a portion of the public expenditure, and yet there would be found to be a deficiency. The deficiency in the account of 1823, including the advance for naval purposes, was 2,994,000*l.*; in 1824, the deficiency was 1,007,000*l.*; in 1825, it was 2,125,000*l.*; in 1826, 6,747,000*l.* To that sum he particularly wished to call the attention of the House, as the amount exceeded that supposed to be appropriated by the Sinking Fund for the reduction of the Public Debt. In 1827, it was 6,603,000*l.*; in 1828, it had fallen to 959,000*l.*; in 1829, it had fallen to 807,000*l.*; and in 1830, he would do the right hon. Gentleman the justice to say, that there was a balance of 978,000*l.* the other way. The statement he had just read proved, however, that deficiencies in the public revenue, as compared with the public expenditure, were not quite so new as the right hon. Gentleman had seemed to imagine. But if that statement did not satisfy the right hon. Gentleman, he would quote the words of the right hon. member for Harwich, in his evidence before the Finance Committee. That right hon. Member had said, "The sum payable for Life Annuities should be added to the 49,750,000*l.*, before the balance was struck, and that would give a total of 50,368,000*l.*, leaving a deficiency of 127,000*l.* upon the whole expenditure." What was done with the right hon. Gentleman's indignation in those years, he did not know, but certainly the House never heard of it. He deplored the deficiency in the revenue of this year; but such a deficiency was not unheard of in the history of this country: and the difference between the present and the former state of things was, that there was now no concealment. The accounts were now stated plainly and fairly; there was an end to mystification and humbug: every thing was plainly and fairly put before the public; and the desire of the present Government was, that the people should be acquainted with the real state of the public finances. The present Ministers did not borrow money, that they might use it in appearing to pay off a part of the National Debt; they did not take money, borrowed from the Bank, and secured at a heavy interest, upon what were called Long Annuities, and then put it down in their accounts as part of the income received, and applicable to the discharge of debts and expenses; they did not attempt any mystification; they desired that every thing should be plain and intelligible, and they were willing to abide by the result. But, the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think great credit was due to him for having left so flourishing a Treasury. Was the Exchequer so full? Were the finances so flourishing? If the right hon. Gentleman had had to make a financial statement in February last, how would he have stood? The right hon. Gentleman had admitted, indeed, what he could not deny, that, not having taken off the taxes on beer, on cider, and on leather, till late in the year 1830, the excess of revenue of that year could not be taken as evidence of what would have been its condition in 1831. But he had touched this point most delicately, and had acted prudently; for what was the fact? Why, as had been shewn by his noble friend, instead of a surplus, he would actually have left a deficiency of 211,000*l.* It might have been diminished, by the increased productiveness of remaining taxes, but for that his noble friend had an equal claim. But if such was the condition of the finances when the right hon. Gentleman left the Exchequer, upon what grounds was he entitled to pour forth his unmitigated censure on his noble friend's operations? The right hon. Gentleman had talked of the miscalculations of his noble friend. Let him ask the right hon. Gentleman whether miscalculation had not sometimes happened to the right hon Gentleman? In the middle of the year 1830, did not the right hon. Gentleman come down to that House, and say, that he expected 400,000*l.* from an increase of the consumption of spirits? Had not the right hon. Gentleman made some miscalculation on that point? There had been a deficiency of no less than 100,000*l.* instead of there being a gain of 400,000*l.* But if there was a deficiency, which he lamented, though he did not think it a matter of such despondency; how, he would ask, did it arise? Was it from a diminution of our resources, a falling off in the produce of taxation; was it caused by unworthy extravagance, or lavish expenditure? No such thing. If it had been, it might have been a matter of deep regret. It was occasioned neither by unworthy extravagance, nor by diminished resources, but the Government abstaining from demanding so much from the people. It was not money wasted, nor money lost. It remained in the pockets of the people, to be drawn thence if the necessities of the State should require it. Perhaps, however, it would have been more gratifying to the right hon. Gentleman had there been a surplus, even though that surplus had been wrung from the people by a larger and heavier taxation. He was happy to say, that it remained in their pockets, there to fructify by use, to stimulate the efforts of their industry, and to add to the resources of the State. He asked those who smiled at that statement, where would have been the benefit to have extracted that money from the pockets of the people, with the mere view of making a surplus, instead of allowing a deficiency? Perhaps it might be said, that public credit had suffered by the deficiency. He was aware of that argument, and he was aware that, generally speaking, it was the duty of the Government to take care that there should be in the Treasury a sufficient sum to meet the public charges. But in this instance he was happy to be able to assert, most positively, that public credit had not suffered in the least degree. There had been no indication in the public funds that, by this deficiency of 600,000*l.*, public credit had suffered. But supposing the noble Lord had had the prescience which the right hon. Gentleman assumed to possess, would he have been justified in refusing to the people the promised benefit of the reduction of the coal duties and of the duties on cotton? He asked those Gentlemen who represented that part of the country, which has received so much benefit from the repeal of the duty on coals —he asked those who represented districts along the coast which paid that tax—whether their constituents would willingly have seen his noble friend re-impose that tax? He asked the hon. member for Lancashire, whether the manufacturers of printed cottons would willingly have seen the duty re-imposed upon their manufacture when they had found that its repeal operated so admirably, giving their manufacture an impetus which the peculiar state of the north of Europe rendered necessary? Had they been asked those questions, they would have said, "Do not disappoint the hopes of our constituents till you have seen whether, according to your own system, an increase of consumption does not benefit you, and your new duties, and your savings yield you sufficient to enable you to dispense with these burthensome taxes." His noble friend anticipated that answer, and acted accordingly. Then the right hon. Gentleman had talked of the frequent changes made by the present Government in the taxes they had determined to retain or to remove, and he accused them of blunders. What! had the right hon. Gentleman made no blunders? Had the right hon. Gentleman forgotten the year 1830—had he not then changed the duties on spirits no less than three times? Had he not, in like manner, changed the duties on rum and sugar?—had he forgotten that Sugar Bill which was universally, and not inaptly, designated by the appellation of "the

Unintelligible Sugar Bill?" He did not say these things in the way of blame to the right hon. Gentleman, any more than what the right hon. Gentleman had said had been uttered in blame of the noble Lord. The right hon. Gentleman had talked of consistency. What was the conduct of the late Opposition and of the present Opposition upon this question of inconsistency? It had been the duty of the present Ministry to defend, in office, the system of free trade, which they had advocated before they came into office, and they had done so consistently. When the late Ministers had taken the initiative in the introduction of measures of free trade, the late Opposition had supported them in it; but what did he find now—did they receive support from the present Opposition in pursuing those very measures which the present Opposition, when in office, had commenced? Were there no party motives which influenced their conduct? Was there no going away when consistency required that they should stay and support their formerly declared opinions? He alluded to the questions that had lately been brought before them. He did not allude to the timber question, for they had been told that it was possible to wipe off the difficulty with respect to that question by the somewhat nice difference between a financial and a commercial measure. But that was not the case with the glove trade, nor with the silk trade. On those questions, the same principles, if not the same measures, were pursued; at least measures founded on the same principles as those which had before been adopted by the late Ministry, came into discussion, and, strange to say, the authors of those measures—those who had been too happy when his right hon. friend, the late Mr. Huskisson, brought the questions before the House, to unite with, to follow in his train—with him

"To share the triumph, and partake the gale,"

immediately that the present Ministers endeavoured to follow up his plans and support his system, held back and tried to deprive them of the honour and triumph which they had justly earned a right to share. He did not blame the right hon. Gentleman for this. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman had good and weighty reasons for doing so, and likewise for opposing him, when it fell to his duty to introduce the Sugar Bill. There was no change in the principle of the Bill. He repeated it, there was no change in the principle of the Bill, and he challenged any one to shew that there was any change whatever in it. But if it was insisted that there was any change in one bill, or any measure (which he denied), there could not be a change in all, yet the conduct of the Opposition had been the same with respect to the Sugar Bill—to the Timber question—to the Duty on Gloves—and yet, on all these he had met with exactly the same results, and the same admirable proofs of consistency in the right hon. Gentlemen opposite. Of course he should not impute to them unworthy motives for such conduct; but he should do all that he was permitted to do; he should express his doubts of the consistency of their opinions, and of the value of their authority. A man might change his opinion, from further examination of a great subject, but if he changed it under particular circumstances, he ceased to be an authority on such subjects. He had said so much on this subject, in reply to the observations that had been made on the statement of his noble friend, a statement which would, he was sure, be found quite satisfactory to the country. The public would do justice to the purity of his intentions, and to the manliness and candour of his statements. His predictions would be received in the spirit in which they had been made, and the noble Lord would be able to make up the present deficiency, and yet to preserve himself from the necessity of imposing fresh burthens on the people.

Mr. *Dawson* spoke to the following effect: I must say, Sir, that I have seldom heard a speech more full of inconsistencies—that more diverged from the subject under consideration, or that was more full of wandering statements, than that which the right hon. Gentleman has just delivered. When I heard the eloquent speech of my right hon. friend (Mr. Goulburn), and heard the answer attempted to be given to it by the noble Lord, however great was the respect I felt for the noble Lord, I could not but pity the figure which the noble Lord made. It was visible to the House that the noble Lord felt he could not answer the eloquent speech (a more eloquent speech I hardly ever heard), and, therefore, he did not make the attempt. He avoided the attack, to which he felt he could give no answer, and contented himself with making an appeal to the House on his motives, and on the honesty of his intentions. The noble Lord frequently makes appeals of this sort, and they seldom fail of producing a considerable effect. But these appeals, from the common sense of the House to his honesty, must at last fail him; and he will find that to be the case, when, perhaps, he least expects it. I do not doubt his honesty, but I doubt his capacity for business; and I think that the proof of that incapacity has been much increased by the noble Lord's statement of this evening. The right hon. Gentleman, however, has taken a different course; for, feeling the impossibility of defending the measures of the noble Lord by argument, he has carried the war into the enemy's camp, and accused us, who sit on this side of the House, of inconsistency; but in taking this course, it seems to me that he quite forgot that many of those who now have seats in the Cabinet were actually Members of the then Cabinet which had the conduct of these very measures. When, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman accuses us of waste with respect to the expenditure of Buckingham Palace, his censure does not fall on my right hon. friend, but on Lord Goderich, who was at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer, and who is now a Member of the Cabinet with which the right hon. Gentleman is connected. But I can, in a great measure, understand the uneasiness which the right hon. Gentleman has shown; I can understand the sympathy which he has expressed for the distress of the noble Lord, I can imagine why he feels hurt by the expressions of ridicule which have been thrown by my right hon. friend on the first and second budgets of the noble Lord; and God knows, that however strong those expressions may be, they fall far short of the real merits of the subject. I say, that if the right hon. Gentleman has felt annoyed by these expressions, I can account for it; for, if report speaks true, he himself was the real parent—the too lately proclaimed father—of those unfortunate budgets. It is, therefore, no matter of surprise to me that the right hon. Gentleman should have shown such a feeling on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman, in expressing that feeling, took occasion to enter upon a tirade against my right hon. friend, and accused him of having dealt in great looseness of figures. Now, I think that I shall be able to show that this attack on my right hon. friend is altogether unfounded. The broad statement on which my right hon. friend went was, that the Estimates of 1831 were greater in amount than the Estimates of 1830. In proof of this statement he went through those Estimates item by item. He showed that the Navy Estimates were greater, and the Military Estimates were greater; the Ordnance, I believe, were smaller. But the grand effect of the right hon. Gentleman's indignation rested on the Miscellaneous Estimates; and because my right hon. friend did not at the moment happen to recollect the particular circumstances connected with those Estimates, the hon. Gentleman indulged in all the powers of ridicule that he was able to muster on the occasion. The right hon. Gentleman, however, must have known, that, in thus directing his argument, he was resorting to a mere subterfuge, for the purpose of diverting the attention of the House from the real fact, that the Estimates of the present Whig Government were in fact larger than those of the previous Tory Government in 1830. I believe that the right hon. Gentleman cannot deny that this is the case by something between 300,000*l.* and 400,000*l.* The right hon. Gentleman then went on to load the Members on this side of the House with abuse, for the manner in which they had conducted their patronage when they were in office; and he taunted them with having, as the last act of their Government, proposed the giving retiring pensions to two sons of Cabinet Ministers. But does the right hon. Gentleman forget the attempt that has been made, within the last year, to palm a much grosser scheme of patronage on the public under the pretence of saving and reformation? It was only the other day that a bill was introduced to this House (and which bill is now actually on the table of the House), which purposes to give a salary of 2,000*l.* a-year to Mr. Abercrombie, as a superannuation allowance for having been a Judge in one of the Courts of Scotland. And for what was this 2,000*l.* a-year to be given? For having performed eighteen months' duty. After this job was stopped last year by the prorogation of Parliament—after it had been shown that Mr. Abercrombie might be more judiciously provided for by making him Chief Commissioner in the Bankruptcy Court of England, care has actually been taken to fill up that very office, so that now, on the renewal of the bill, the proposition suggested last year can no longer be followed up by this House, which, I have no doubt, would have been the case, had the office remained open. After this, I ask whether the superannuation allowances to which the right hon. Gentleman alluded are to be compared to this job, which has been got up under the sanction of the present Government? Surely they sink into insignificance when put in comparison with such a job as that which I have just described. Let me also ask in this place, whether the Bankruptcy Court itself is so deserving of the wonderful praise that some would bestow on it? Is there nothing like partiality shown in that Court? However, I will not on this occasion, say more upon this subject, as not many weeks can elapse before the House will have an opportunity of forming its judgment upon it. Neither will I go through all the topics that have been urged by the right hon. Gentleman, believing that I have said enough to show, that, however deserving of reprehension the late Government may have been, they have been most religiously followed in all that they can be accused of having done of evil by the present Government. There is one point, however, in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, on which I must enlarge somewhat more fully. I allude to the statement that he has made with respect to surplus. The right hon. Gentleman, in a most sweeping manner, declared, that there had been no surplus since the year 1823; and made this statement on the strength of some figures that he brought down with him. But I beg to observe, that none of these figures are before the House; they proceed from a mere private calculation of the right hon. Gentleman; and can, therefore, only be taken *quantum valeat*. But, if a regular return on this subject were called for, I am sure that the calculation of the right hon. Gentleman would prove to be totally unfounded. But as the case stands already, there is a paper on the table of the House, signed "Thomas Spring Rice," and dated on the 15th December, 1831, and from that very document it appears that the right hon. Gentleman's statement is altogether incorrect. Now, of course, I do not undertake to answer for the accuracy of the hon. member for Limerick's statement; but, as we are arguing on the figures of the right hon. Gentleman, I have, at all events, a right to set the one statement against the other. I will state from that paper the whole of the income and the whole of the expenditure of the country, from the year 1827 to the year 1830. In the year 1827, the income was 55,285,626*l.*, and the expenditure 55,734,000*l*, So far, then, the right hon. Gentleman is right. There is a deficiency in that year. But, then, please to observe, that the Government was in the hands of the late Mr. Canning and of the noble Lord (Palmerston) opposite; and, therefore, whatever deficiency there may have been that year, the right hon. Gentleman must settle the matter with the noble Foreign Secretary, who sits next him. But I very well remember that Mr. Canning fully explained at the time the deficiency to the House, and, unlike the noble Lord, came down before hand, and told the House that there would be a deficiency. It is, however, to the years 1828, 1829, and 1830, that I shall more particularly allude, because those were the years that my right hon. friend was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that I had the honour of holding an office under him, for which reason I feel a peculiar interest in those years, and really believe that I shall be able to show, that so far from any deficiency, there was a considerable surplus. In the year 1828, the income was 57,485,000*l.*, and the expenditure 54,836,000*l.*, making a surplus of 2,648,000*l.* In the year 1829, the income was 55,824,000*l.* and the expenditure 54,348,000*l.*, making a surplus of 1,475,000*l.* In the year 1830, the income was 54,840,000*l* and the expenditure 53,011,000*l.*, giving a surplus of 1,828,000*l.* After having made these statements, I think that I may very well place this signed paper by the side of the right hon. Gentleman's private calculations, and leave the two to speak for themselves. As the right hon. Gentleman has told the House what has been done since the present Government came into office, I will tell him what was done before that event took place. Between the years, 1828 and 1830, inclusive, a reduction was effected in the Estimates of 2,096,000*l.*; at the same time a reduction of the interest of the debt was also effected—725,000*l.* on the Funded Debt, and 128,000*l.* on the Unfunded; in addition to this, there was a reduction of taxes to the amount of 3,500,000*l.*, including the taxes on beer, leather, and other smaller burdens; and, notwithstanding these reductions in the Estimates, the National Debt, and the taxes, my right hon. friend was lucky enough and skilful enough to leave, according to the paper which I have just quoted, a surplus of 1,800,000*l.* And now, what is the condition of the year 1831? The Estimates have been increased by three or four millions. Of the taxes, some certainly have been reduced, but then others have been increased; and so unskilfully have the two been blended together, that it is impossible to state whether they are productive or unproductive. As to surplus, I think that the statement of the noble Lord may teach the House and the country that no such thing is likely to result from his way of managing matters; and, in fact, on the face of that very statement, it appears, that there is no reduction of the debt—that there is no surplus revenue; but that, on the contrary, there is a gross deficiency of 700,000*l.* And this, in a very few words, is the contrast between the financial operations of the two Governments. But the real question, after all, that is now before the House is not the comparative merits of the two Administrations; the question that we have now to consider is, what is the reason of the defalcation in the revenue, and the total disappointment that has taken place in all the calculations of the noble Lord? My right hon. friend has referred to the speech of the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government; and, in like manner, I could read to the House the speech of the noble Lord on a similar occasion, and which contains language quite as strong as that of the noble Earl. The speech of the noble Lord, which was made after three quarters of the year were over, spoke with the greatest confidence of the calculations he was putting forth. And yet, with all this strong language, all the predictions of the noble Lord were falsified—and all his most sanguine anticipations were disappointed: for which reason I ask those hon. Gentlemen who are so fond of cheering all that falls from the other side of the House, whether we must not pronounce that the noble Lord's confidence was without caution—whether his boldness was not without judgment—and whether his assurances were not without reasonable foundation? To shew how ignorant the noble Lord is of the details of office, it is only necessary to refer to his speech. It is only necessary to recur to that to shew that he was wrong in his calculations of both income and expenditure. According to the statement which he put forth on the 3rd of October, he set the amount of Customs at 16,750,000*l.*, which, in the end, only produced 16,568,000*l.*, being a deficiency of 233,700*l.* The Excise was stated at 16,800,000*l.*, but its produce was only 16,303,000*l.*, being a deficiency of 496,000*l.* In the Stamps, for a wonder, the noble Lord was right, he having set the amount at 6,850,000*l*, and the produce being 6,947,000*l* giving an overplus of 97,830*l.*, in favour of the noble Lord. In the Post-office he was also right, the amount being stated at 1,500,000*l.*, and producing 1,530,000*l.*, leaving 30,000*l.* overplus. But in the Assessed Taxes, again, he was wrong, for he placed the amount at 5,000,000*l.*, while the produce was only 4,864,000*l.*, giving a balance of 135,000*l.* against the noble Lord. The miscellaneous sources of income were equally incorrect, for they were placed at 350,000*l.*, and produced only 262,000*l.*, giving a result of 87,000*l.* *contra.* The total result of all which was, that while the noble Lord anticipated a revenue of 47,250,000*l.*, the actual produce only amounted to 46,434,000*l.*, from which it appeared, that although the noble Lord had the advantage of making his calculations as late as October, the balance was 825,000*l.* less than he had anticipated. Nor had the noble Lord any right to allege the variation of contingencies as an excuse; for, having had the advantage of consulting all the officers of the Treasury on the subject, the result proved either gross incapacity or gross neglect in the formation of the calculations. But having thus shown how the noble Lord erred in his anticipation of the revenue, I now come to point out the blunders in his calculation of the expenditure. The noble Lord set the amount of the expenditure at 46,756,000*l.*, but it afterwards turned out that the actual expenditure was 47,123,000*l.*; so that here again there was a mistake of 367,000*l.*; and by putting the two errors together—that in the revenue, and that in the expenditure—there was no less a mistake than 1,200,000*l.* in the calculations of the noble Lord for that year. Again, I say, the noble Lord must not shift the blame of this from his own shoulders to those of the Excise and Custom Offices.

Lord *Althorp:* I do not blame them:

Mr. *Dawson:* The noble Lord says, that he does not blame others; and I say that I think the blame rests on him; and I further say, that these are the real points that call for answer, and to which the right hon. Gentleman has attempted to give no answer whatever. It is no answer for us to sit and hear the right hon. Gentleman declaim against my right hon. friend on the subject of the sugar duties. The result of the endeavours of my right hon. friend was to put the finances of the country in a flourishing condition; but the result of the endeavours of the noble Lord has been to put them in a most deplorable state, to which may be added his futile attempt to mystify them at the same time. I say that there has been an attempt at mystification, because he has endeavoured to call away the attention of the House from the deficiency of 750,000*l.* this year, by talking of his anticipation of a surplus revenue for the next year. But thus early, I beg to enter my *caveat* against the calculations of the noble Lord. The gist of those calculations seems to be, that he has an expectancy of 1,300,000*l.* as a set-off against the present losses; but unless the House can make up its mind to have a very good opinion of the noble Lord's financial skill, I think that it will be much safer for it to come at once to the conclusion, that the expectancy thus set forth is worth nothing at all. Another point to which there has been no answer given, is the charge, that this subject had never been properly brought before the House of Commons until it was forced forward by the Gentlemen who sit on this side of the House. But it is observable, that whenever the Government wishes to get rid of any unpleasant responsibility (in illustration of which, I may particularly cite the case of the Committee on the Civil List), they always cloak their dread of the danger under the pretence of coming to the House for advice. But, in my opinion, the duty of a Government is to come down to this House with their own plan. So, likewise, in the case of the salaries of civil officers, and in that of the tithes of Ireland, the same unwillingness of responsibility has been evinced; and the same call for assistance has been made upon this House. But while this line of conduct has been pursued in these instances, they have been ready enough in others to act for themselves: witness the little reluctance they displayed in saddling on the people of this country the payment of five millions and a half when it was to serve as a bribe to a foreign prince to accede to the object that they had in view. The House has now been sitting for three weeks, and not one word had it, previously to this evening, heard respecting the state of the finances of the country; and it is only in consequence of their having been forced by my right hon. friend to enter into the subject, that we now have it before the House; from which I think it appears that these Whig Ministers, who make a pretence of applying to Parliament on every subject, are in fact the most unconstitutional Ministers that ever held the reins of Government in this country. When they have a popular vote to catch, or a little show to make or boast of, they find it convenient to come to Parliament; but when the matter is a real subject of difficulty, they keep away altogether. They are afraid to meet the discussions of this House; and the proceedings of this evening form one of those instances in which the Government has shrunk from the fair and proper responsibility of debate.

Mr. *Spring Rice* said, that he would not have obtruded himself on the attention of the House if it had not been for some observations which fell from his right hon. friend who had last addressed it. He should endeavour to reply to those observations with as much brevity as possible, and he therefore hoped for all the indulgence which might fairly be expected for an individual so little calculated to command attention. He should not permit any of those little conciliatory words, which his right hon. friend knew so well how to embody in a parenthesis, to seduce him to indulge in personal observation, unsuited to the gravity and importance of the subject. He was well aware of the kindness of his right hon. friend's disposition; but it did so happen that, to his right hon. friend the description was peculiarly applicable of being "the best-natured man, with the worst-natured muse." He should not be seduced, however, by what had fallen from his right hon. friend, to follow his example. At the close of his speech, his right hon. friend had been guilty of the most marvellous inconsistency. He had charged the present Government with shrinking from the responsibility which belonged to a Government, and throwing that responsibility on Parliament; and, at the same moment, and in the same breath, he charged the Government with an undue apprehension of discussions in that House. All he asked, on the part of the present Government, was, to compare their acts with those of former Governments, and from that comparison, to judge whether there had been a greater disposition on their parts to shrink from responsibility. His right hon. friend had alluded to the course taken by Government with respect to the salaries of the officers of the Crown. Now, he put it to the House, whether that was not a peculiar case? The Ministers of the Crown were ready to take upon themselves the responsibility of recommending reductions in other instances, but, with respect to themselves, and their own salaries, they referred the matter to the Representatives of the people, and, having granted that committee of inquiry long sought for in vain under former Administrations, they pledged themselves to carry into effect whatever reductions that Committee recommended.

The fact was, that the Treasury had carried into effect every economical recommendation with respect to the salaries of the officers of the Crown. As to the Civil List, the Ministers stood pledged to institute an inquiry, and yet it was now made a charge against them that they had submitted the Civil List to an inquiry up stairs. If they had declined doing so, he was satisfied that his right hon. friend would have been one of the first to say, "When you were out of office, you asked for a Committee on the Civil List, and now you are in, you refuse to grant it." In such a case his right hon. friend might justly have brought forward a charge of inconsistency and abandonment of principle against his Majesty's Ministers. His right hon. friend, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, had been charged with making a desultory speech; but he begged to remind the House, that his right hon. friend's speech was a reply to the speech of the hon. member for Boroughbridge, whose desultory remarks he was obliged to follow. It was not his right hon. friend (the Vice-President of the Board of Trade) who introduced the question of foreign politics into the discussion, though, when it was introduced, he was driven to the necessity of replying. Neither had his noble friend (Lord Althorp), introduced the subject, but, when it was brought forward and commented on by those at the other side, it necessarily compelled the Ministers to meet the charges that were advanced. The Protocols of the Conference of London, were first alluded to by the hon. member for Boroughbridge (Mr. Attwood), and that was the only issue of paper that he ever knew the hon. Gentleman to object to. What said the hon. Gentleman?—"You inconsistent Whigs, look to the Estimates. Do they not show that you have abandoned all your economical principles?" The amount of the Estimates had been objected to, not because it was wrong in itself, but because it was wrong in the parties who proposed it. It was the *argumentum ad homines;* for it went to prove, that, even if the Estimates were good themselves, they were wrong when proposed by the present Ministry. The Estimates of 1831 were larger than those of the preceding year, he admitted; but would any one say, that the condition of the country had been the same in 1831, and when the Estimates for the former year were framed? If the altered condition of the country was sufficient to justify the increase, no imputation of inconsistency could be justly founded on that increase. In the months of November and December, in the year 1830, every one knew that, night after night, the Members of that House asked and obtained leave of absence from their parliamentary duties, in consequence of the disturbed state of the country. At that time an hon. friend of his considered the state of the country so distressing and so urgent that he had observed "the country may still be saved—but, if an effort be not promptly made, I tremble for the result, and great will be the responsibility of Ministers." It appeared from the Journals of the House that, at that period, no fewer than forty-two Members applied for, and obtained, leave of absence from that House, in consequence of the disturbed state of their neighbourhoods; and he begged to ask whether there was any example in our times of a similar description? In such a case, no man would say, that the Government ought not to have provided for such an emergency, even at the expense of a considerable increase of the Estimates. He also put it to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, whether the foreign relations of the country were placed on such a footing, during the last year, that the Government could have done otherwise than had been done with respect to the army and navy. The Estimates for the military and naval service had been augmented, not, he contended, for the purpose of "bullying" foreign powers. He had regretted to hear this word, and others equally objectionable, from Members on the other side. The House had heard it said, that the Government of England was disposed to "bully" other Governments; and that a foreign Government had consented to be "bribed" by Great Britain; and he must be allowed to say, that, in his opinion, those words were not decorous, whether applied to a foreign Government or to our own. It would have been inconsistent with the dignity and honour of this country not to have maintained the establishments which had been maintained, which, he considered, a complete justification of his Majesty's Government on that point. He would now apply himself to what had been said on the subject of the Miscellaneous Estimates, which was a branch of the expenditure with which he (Mr. Rice) was more particularly acquainted, and on which he thought he might add something to the explanation given by his right hon. friend (Mr. P. Thomson). He could very soon give the House the real clue to the apparent increase in this branch of the public expenditure. When the present Government came into office, wherever they found a debt, the amount of which had been ascertained, instead of leaving the debt to be paid off hereafter, they had come forward, stated the whole case, and called upon the House to pay off the entire debt. He felt bound to state this, and to go a little into detail, when the present Government was charged with having increased the debt on the miscellaneous estimates to the amount of 600,000*l.* In the first place, he begged to remind the House, that the present Government had paid 336,750*l.* for the Rideau Canal; and, without taking upon himself to say whether the expense was right or wrong, it certainly was not an expense which originated with the present Government. The sum of 162,000*l.* was also expended for the repairs and improvement of Windsor Castle and Buckingham House, and the sum of 438,000*l.* was paid for the charges of the Civil Government. The next item in the list was the expense of the Coronation; and on this he wished to offer a few words in explanation. The House had confided 50,000*l.* to Ministers for defraying the expenses of the Coronation, being only one-fifth of the sum expended on a former occasion. Some hon. Gentlemen opposite were afraid that the smallness of the sum voted for the expenses of the Coronation might lead to the performance of the ceremonial in a manner unbecoming the dignity of the country, and unworthy of the illustrious personages who were more particularly engaged in it. Other hon. Members, who were professedly and sincerely economists considered the sum proposed by Ministers would be wholly insufficient, and that it would have been more expedient, in the first instance, to propose a vote of credit for a larger amount. Those who attended the Coronation, however, were aware that the ceremonial was, in all respects, worthy of the Sovereign, and the dignity of the country, and in no respect unbecoming to either. He had the pleasure, however, to add, that, upon the sum voted, there had been a saving of 7,000*l.*, the whole expenditure of the Coronation not having exceeded 43,000*l.* He had stated all this by way of parenthesis, but he hoped the House would not feel that it had been improperly introduced, inasmuch as the expense of the Coronation was one of the items in the Miscellaneous Estimates of the last year. In addition to the items he had already stated, there was a payment for arrears of law charges in Ireland, amounting to 27,000*l.*, and a sum of 16,000*l.* paid as compensation to Messrs. Lecesne and Escoffery, which could not take place again. From this plain statement it fully appeared that whilst the Government was accused of increasing the Miscellaneous Estimates by a sum of 600,000*l.*, that 1,030,000*l.* was charged on those estimates which did not properly belong to the ordinary expenditure, and with the greater part of which the present Government had nothing to do. The extravagance with which the present Government was charged was for the payment of debts contracted, not by Ministers, but by former Governments. All the items he had enumerated were new or extraordinary charges, and, to make a fair comparison between the Miscellaneous Estimates of the present and of the last Government, this sum of 1,030,000*l.* ought to be deducted, which would show, instead of an excess of 600,000*l.* a diminution of 430,000*l.* on the Estimates of the present year. When Ministers were charged with abandoning the principles of economy, it was only just that they should lay before the House an exact statement of what had been done in support of those principles since they took office. Ministers owed this explanation to the country and to those who supported them. It was only right that those who had constituents, when they returned to those constituents, should be able to answer the question, whether Ministers had been faithful to their pledges of economy. On this point, as on every other point involving the character of the present Ministry, he must request hon. Members not to take the character of the Government from the statements of his right hon. friend (Mr. Dawson). His right hon. friend, he was confident, would not willingly misrepresent any thing; but there was a kind of prismatic mind which shed a variety of colours; and his right hon. friend saw the acts of the present Ministry in every colour but the true one. When he begged hon. Members not to be led away by the statement of his right hon. friend, he did not arrogate to himself any power of swaying their opinions. All he asked of hon. Members was, that they would use their own eyes and ears, and judge for themselves. His right hon. friend had represented the present Ministry as mere gleaners in the field of economy, the harvest having been taken off by the Government with which the right hon. Gentleman was connected.

The reductions made by the former Government, certainly made it more difficult for any succeeding Government to make considerable retrenchments, as the field was more limited, but when the amount of reductions made by the present Government was considered, it would not be found so trifling, nor the savings so immaterial, as his right hon. friend seemed to think. Ministers carried retrenchment into a great variety of departments, and had even not spared parliamentary offices. They had reduced four important officers of that character, namely, the Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, the Clerk of Deliveries in the Ordnance, and the Postmaster-General of Ireland. The abolition of those offices not only reduced the public expenditure, but it also reduced the influence of the Crown in that House—a principle which the Government was anxious to carry into effect as far as might be done with propriety. The four parliamentary situations, which he had just referred to, were all reduced within a week after the present Ministry took office, so that the gleaners found something to remove. But this did not satisfy them. Ministers, carrying into effect their favourite principle, began with the heads of departments, instead of applying the system of economy exclusively to subordinate offices. He admitted that economy ought not to be circumscribed to the heads of departments; but reductions in the lower offices could be made with a stronger feeling of justice, when they were accompanied with a corresponding reduction in the higher offices. The reduction of subordinate offices to an extent which diminished the effective character of the department, every one admitted, was false economy. Without making any reductions injurious to the public service, the present Ministry had applied the principle of economy in a variety of departments, as the long list of reductions which he held in his hand amply testified. For the satisfaction of those hon. Members who had constituents to whom they must answer, if it did not fatigue the House, he should briefly recapitulate some of the officers reduced by the present ministry. In addition to the reductions he had already named, he had to add the reductions of the Auditor of the Civil List, the Treasurer of the Military College, the Treasurer of the Military Asylum, the President, and sixty other smaller officers in the Post Office department.—the office of King's Stationer in Ireland, two Commissioners of the Navy Board, two Commissioners of the Victualling Department, the Superintendant of Transports, the Paymaster of Marines, seventy-one clerks, and two commissioners of the dock-yards,—Inspector of Stamps at Manchester,—Inspector of Stamps in Cumberland, the Receiver-General in Scotland, forty-six Receivers in England,—in all 210 places were reduced before the month of January, the Ministry having come into office in the preceding November. The next branch to which he should allude was the salaries of the Ministers and high Officers of the Crown. The salaries of those Officers were referred to a Committee, and out of a sum of 140,000*l.*, the amount of the salaries of the various Officers of the Treasury, the Secretaries of State, and the immediate Officers of the Government, a reduction was made of 21,000*l.*, being one seventh part of the whole. He hoped his right hon. friend would say "Well done gleaners, again." He did not quarrel with the predecessors of the present Ministry for what they had omitted to do, but he asked the House and the country to give the present Ministry credit for what they had done. In the diplomatic charges a considerable reduction had been effected.

French Embassy, a reduction of ..	£1,100
Russian Embassy	1,100
Embassy to the Netherlands	600
Ditto to Portugal	1,800
Ditto to Turkey	500

In the diplomatic expenses there was a total reduction of 7,200*l.*, in addition to a saving of 5,000*l.* in the Consular department. There were many offices with small salaries abolished or reduced. In accordance with the Report of the Committee which had sat on the civil charges, the salaries of the Law Officers of the Crown had been reduced, namely, the salaries of the Masters in Chancery, the Attorney and Solicitor-General. [Sir *Charles Wetherell*: About 15*l.* a-year each.] The Government had in this case followed the Report of the Committee. The salary of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland was reduced to the amount of 2,000*l.* per annum; and seven offices in the household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland were abolished, and the salaries of several others reduced. There were eight offices abolished in Scotland; two of the Commissioners of Customs, and two of the Commissioners of Excise were abolished; and all the salaries of those officers who remained were reduced to the extent of 200*l.* per annum. In consequence of a bill introduced in the last Session of Parliament, the Commissioners of Hackney Coaches were abolished, by which a saving was effected to the amount of 5,475*l.*, and a saving of 6,400*l.* was effected in the Colonial Office, which none of those hon. Members who appeared as the advocates of the colonial interest would value the less when it was stated that the colonies, rather than the mother country, would obtain the immediate benefit of this reduction. He might add that a saving of 3,000*l.* had been effected in the salaries of persons employed in the long room of the Custom House, and 3,000*l.* in the Excise Department in Ireland. A saving of 1,200*l.* a-year had been effected in the salary of the Clerk of the Council. The Office of the Board of Works was to be consolidated with that of the Woods and Forests, by which a considerable saving would also be effected. Considerable reductions were to be made in the expenditure connected with the Yeomanry in Ireland, and the Brigade-majors in that country had been reduced. One circumstance his hon. friend (the member for Cricklade) would no doubt hear with great exultation—namely, that steps had been taken for doing away with the office of Governor of Dartmouth Castle. There were also large reductions to be made in the department of his right hon. friend the Secretary for Ireland. Both in the Irish Office in London, and in the Chief Secretary's Office in Dublin, it was intended to introduce changes which would have very beneficial effects on the score of economy, while, at the same time, they would not occasion the slightest risk of impairing the efficiency of the public service. The details of these various retrenchments would be found in the Estimates when they came before the House, and then would be the proper time to enter fully into the subject. He trusted that he had now convinced hon. Gentlemen, even at the risk of trying their patience, that the present Government had not shown themselves regardless of their pledges of retrenchment, and that, as something had undoubtedly been left to be done, that something had been done by them. But he did not say that what had been effected was sufficient to satisfy that House or the country, or to justify his noble friends in now ceasing to exert themselves. He acknowledged that, while any thing remained to be done, it was the duty of his Majesty's Government to persevere in their work of economy, but he said that what they had done furnished a security that more would be done. They were told, however, that various subjects of great importance had not received that consideration which they merited. To that he would answer, that sufficient time had not been allowed to the Government. The Reform Bill had been ten weeks in the Committee last Session, and would any Gentleman say, that the purposes proposed by the hon. Gentlemen opposite could not have been as well accomplished in three weeks. He said that, unless the desire of Gentlemen opposite had been to weary out the patience of the Government, of the House, and of the country, he could not conceive that their objects might not have been answered without occupying so much time. His noble friend was charged with having attempted to mistify the accounts. Of all the accusations that could be made this was the most preposterous, or, at least, he would say, the most singular to proceed from the right hon. Gentleman opposite. It was true his noble friend admitted that the expenditure exceeded the revenue by 700,000*l.* But his noble friend said, that he hoped, by strict economy, severe retrenchment, and a uniform restriction of expenditure, to be able to supply this deficiency without resorting to any increase of taxation. The deficiency of last year was only 165,000*l.* greater than that which the right hon. Gentleman opposite claimed in the balance which he struck, and he contended that, to refer to nothing else than the repeal of the duty on tallow candles, the Government would have been justified in the course they took, even had they been aware that such a deficiency would ensue. If it went forth to the country that there was a deficiency, let it also go forth that it was caused by the exertions of Government to relieve the people of England from the pressure of the most indefensible and impolitic description of taxation that one Government ever proposed or another Government succeeded to. Confident of the rectitude of their intentions, and confident that no proper exertions had been spared, the Ministers could fearlessly appeal to the good sense of the country.

Mr. *Baring* thought that the right hon. Gentleman who had read a lecture to the House on the subject of its conduct with respect to the Reform Bill, would do well to move for a Committee to inquire whose amendments, and whose suggestions and alterations had produced the delays of which he complained, and which had stopped the full career of economy and retrenchment. With respect to the comparative economy of the two Administrations, on which the right hon. Gentleman had dwelt so much, he thought it unnecessary to enter into the question of which was the most economical; but, giving all praise to the present Government, which seemed to have amply fulfilled its duty to the public in that respect, he would merely remind the House, without entering into details, that the Government of the Duke of Wellington had either reduced or abolished above 4,000 offices during the time it remained in power. It must be known to every man acquainted with such matters, that extensive reductions in an expenditure extending through so many branches were not to be carried into effect in a day, and that, therefore, very considerable gleanings were necessarily left to the noble Duke's successors. He would here observe, that as in the case of Reform so in retrenchment, it might be a question whether there was not a danger of its being carried too far. He was not at present aware of any instance of this description, but certainly such must arise if it were expected that every succeeding Government should retrench more closely than that which had preceded it. The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to the recommendations of the Committee on civil charges, of which he was Chairman. He would only say, that many of the reductions which had now been carried into effect, were at the recommendation of that Committee, and that if all their suggestions had been attended to, he thought there would not be at the present moment a single Government servant overpaid or unnecessarily retained. He trusted that the Members of the New Reformed Parliament, which would, he hoped, be composed of many of those he saw around him, would have the manliness to do justice to the labours and intentions of their predecessors. While, however, the Government took so much credit for its reductions, it was strange to see it give away 5,000,000*l.* for the Russian Dutch loan, with scarcely the shadow of a consideration. He was quite sure when the noble Lord at the head of the Treasury came to look calmly and impartially at the unconstitutional nature of the proceedings with respect to that payment, that he would see the propriety of a revision of the whole matter, even although he might be upheld by a still larger majority than any which that House had shown itself willing to muster for the advancement of the views of the Government. To the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he gave every credit for clearness and candour, and he would not cast any imputation upon him, because of a few blunders necessarily incidental to the course of public business. To the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Board of Trade, he must however object. He had never heard a speech in that House from any Gentleman holding the same situation, in which there was such a deficiency of those facts and figures which one naturally looked for from the head of the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman had made the better part of his speech an attack upon his opponents, instead of confining himself to those matters of business which more particularly formed the subject of discussion; and he must say, that he thought the right hon. Gentleman might as well have left his squibs and his jokes for any body else, in whose mouth they would be better than in that of the Vice President of the Board of Trade on such an occasion. He had, in truth, never heard in that House anything more loose than the business part of the right hon. Gentleman's statement. The noble Lord (Althorp) stated, if he understood him aright, that the total deficiency in the revenue of the year was 700,000*l.* and judging of 1832 by 1831, there would be a further deficiency next year. There would be a deficit of 400,000*l.* in the duty on candles, and 70,000*l.* on coals. Any person might presume to build upon the taxes on wine and cotton wool, and malt, for making up the deficiency. No doubt the noble Lord believed that they would make it up. But he doubted whether the duty on the whole of the cotton wool and sheep's wool imported during the year would, taking both together, amount to 482,000*l.* The tax on cotton wool was, in his opinion, a most objectionable tax, and he, therefore, did not look with any great satisfaction to the prospect of raising 375,000*l.* through the medium of its operation. Neither could he feel any satisfaction at the removal of the tax from printed cottons, when it was laid upon the raw material. This tax he considered a most objectionable one, and calculated to be mischievous to our manufactures. The consequence was, that the Americans were rapidly gaining on our manufacture of coarse cloths where printing and pattern were out of the question; and he understood from good authority, that they were already competing with us in many of the ports of the Mediterranean. He would suggest to the noble Lord the propriety of allowing a drawback, calculated by weight, on the exportation of the manufactured article, if he was determined to retain his duty on the raw material. The tax raised on the home consumption was not felt, and was much the least injurious method of raising the revenue. In addition, however, to other sources of increased revenue, the noble Lord might in a year or two anticipate much advantage, looking at the value of money, by making a bargain with the Bank on the renewal of its Charter. He did not wish to drive a hard bargain, but he thought if the noble Lord was to move for a Committee now, he would be in a better condition to realize his views and fulfil his promises to the country. The purpose, however, for which he rose was, to protest against the manner in which the financial affairs of this country had been conducted since the peace. First, they had a Sinking Fund of 8,000,000*l.* then it fell to five, to four, to three, and now they had none at all; but, on the contrary, a deficiency of 700,000*l.* which the hon. member for Middlesex wished might soon be a million; and if things went on as they had done, the hon. Member was likely to see his wish realized. He trusted that some time or other the country would have a Government bold and honest enough to take a manly tone on the subject of the National Debt, with a view of providing some means for the peaceable and effectual redemption of the people from its weight. He hoped to see a Government which would adopt that honest and straightforward course, in preference to the skulking, cowardly, and disgraceful plan, followed by all Governments since the peace, of establishing their reputation on petty reductions and miserable expedients, instead of trying to master the Debt. He entertained not the slightest doubt, that if the Parliament and the people of this country could have imposed upon themselves even a moderate degree of self-restraint, the debt, instead of being of its present enormous amount, would have been in a fair and promising course of reduction. If the Sinking Fund, so judiciously created for the liquidation of the public debt, had only been preserved till the present moment, we might have looked forward at no distant time, to see a considerable portion of the debt reduced, instead of being as they were, in utter despair of any approximation to such a state of things. Had that degree of self-restraint been exercised which our circumstances called for, the debt would now have been assuming the shape of a terminable annuity; but it was at present nothing less than a perpetual annuity. In making these observations, he begged it to be understood that he meant not to cast any special or individual blame upon the present Administration; for every successive Government but yielded itself too readily to the unreasonable demands which put a stop to the progress of the Sinking Fund. Each party which succeeded to power, but too readily gave the desired answer to the question, "What will you do for the people?" which meant in other words—"What taxes shall we repeal to get rid of their clamour?" No person who came into the Councils of the King seemed able, for a moment, to resist that demand—no Government could withstand it. How gross was such an error! Nothing could be more obvious than that the people were as much interested in an efficient Sinking Fund, which would remove decisively and permanently the weight of taxation, as they could possibly be in the removal of immediate and temporary pressure. The example of the government of the United States ought to be kept before their eyes, which, by a perseverance in the system that we unthinkingly and improvidently rejected, were now in a situation which presented the near prospect of the total removal of debt which a few years before amounted to the sum of 140,000,000*l.* He was perfectly aware that the sentiments he was expressing were unwelcome in that House, and unpopular out of doors; but, he trusted, the House would recollect that he had ever been consistent; that he had seldom supported the repeal of any tax, for there was scarcely any instance in which he thought the circumstances of the country could at all justify such measures. In his judgment, the first duty of the House and of the Government was, at all hazards, to support the credit of the country; and the most effectual mode of doing that was, to continue the existence of an efficient Sinking Fund.

Mr. *Duncombe* expressed his amazement at the extraordinary lecture which the hon. member for Thetford had just read to Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House, on account of the vote which they had given on a former evening in favour of his Majesty's Ministers. If it were to be supposed that the independent members of that House, in supporting Ministers in the division on the Russian-Dutch loan, had committed a violence upon common sense and reason—[*a loud cheer*]. He begged pardon; he did not accuse the hon. Member who was so loud in his cheers, and so silent in his votes, either of reason or of common sense. But if it should get abroad that the independent Members of that House listened to such taunts without reply, it would get abroad that they tacitly admitted that they had betrayed the interests of their constituents, and violated the respect which they owed to their own consciences. Now, he had denied that they had done either the one or the other. The motion of the other night had been cunningly put forward as a motion of economy. The right hon. member for Harwich had brought it forward with great dexterity. It was a deep-laid plan, whoever had concocted it, and he was sorry to see that many of his hon. friends, who were also friends of Reform, had been entrapped by the astuteness of their adversaries into a vote, of which the object was nothing more or less than to trip up the Government. With regard to economy, he would tell the hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, that though they might now have it on their lips, their past conduct proved that it was far, very far, from their hearts. They came forward with the Russian-Dutch loan in their hands, but it was the dread of schedule A that they had before their eyes. There were various other points on which Gentlemen on his side of the House were prepared to defend the view which they had taken of the proposition of the right hon. member for Harwich. By the vote which they had then given, they had supported the national honour, and had preserved the country in that high situation among the nations of Europe which she had long enjoyed, and which, he trusted, she would long continue to merit. On these grounds, he was ready to justify the vote which he had then given at any time, or in any place, here or elsewhere, in that House, or before his constituents. There was no vote which he had given in support of the present advisers of the Crown which it was not in his power to look back upon with pleasure. With regard to the discussion then before the House, there was no man who could complain of the honourable manner in which the right hon. Gentleman opposite had brought it forward. He had brought it forward in an honourable feeling—the honourable feeling of party hostility. Of all men in the world, his noble friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had the least cause to complain of it, for it had enabled him to make one of his clear and straight forward statements, which was no less honorable to himself than it would be satisfactory to the country.

Mr. *Hunt* said, he was one of the persons who had fallen into the trap which the hon. Member had described. He, therefore, just rose to say for himself that he had read the Act of Parliament, and as he did hope that he had some small share of common sense and common honesty, these qualities induced him to vote, as he had done against continuing the payment to Russia. He also rose for the purpose of saying a word or two to the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary for the Treasury, who had given them a lecture respecting what hon. Members must say to their constituents (if they have any) when they return to them. He had a few constituents who, when they had the pleasure of seeing him again, would expect that he should say something to them; and suppose he were to tell them all that the right hon. Secretary for the Treasury had said—suppose he were to tell these persons—8,000 in number—who consist of the humblest classes of society, and who work hard from morning to night for 4*s.* or 5*s.* a week, of the extraordinary savings of which we have heard to-night, what would be the consequence? Why, after he had gone through the whole history, some honest weaver or other would get up and say—"Ah, ah, Master Hunt, that is all very true; I dare say Ministers have done all this, but just be good enough to explain to us, will you, how it happens, that after all these great savings, innumerable reductions, and vast retrenchments, that the expenditure of the country last year was greater than it was the year before." Then he should be obliged to tell them that there had been a few little things left undone:—in the first place, that the Civil List had not been reduced; and in the next place, that a great deal of money had been paid away to Russia. He should be obliged to give them some such answer, or if he did not, and turn his back upon them, they would turn their backs upon him, and send him packing. The right hon. Secretary to the Treasury told the house, that Government had effected a saving of something like 20,000*l.* a-year. He should, however, be obliged to tell his constituents, notwithstanding, that the expenditure had increased, and he should not labour under the imputations that the right hon. Gentleman cast upon some hon.

Members, namely, that they did not divide the House upon the Estimates, because he divided upon the proposed increase to the army of 10,000 men. He should be under the necessity of telling his constituents, that there was a new Bankruptcy Court, with new Judges, and new Law Officers, and something like an expense of 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* a-year. He should, therefore, be much obliged to the hon. Gentleman opposite if he would give him some explanation; because, if he understood the noble Lord, instead of there being any diminution in the expenditure of the country, it had increased very considerably. The hon. member for Thetford said, that we ought to have followed the example of the Americans, and that we should not have been so cowardly as to reduce the taxation of the country. The hon. Member boasted that he had resisted every attempt to reduce it, but he had not told the House how a starving people could be made to pay taxes. Did the hon. Gentleman think, that if large masses of the people of America were living, or rather starving, on 4*s.* or 5*s.* a week, that Government would have resisted every attempt to reduce the taxation of the country? There was one cowardly act on the part of Government, certainly: it was cowardly to take off the property-tax, that fell upon the aristocracy, the landed interest, and the general wealth and property of the country. He wished the hon. member for Thetford, or any other hon. Gentleman, would tell him how the country could be relieved without imposing a property-tax. The interest of the debt could not be paid without a gross plunder and robbery of the people, and there must be a property-tax which should fall on the pockets of the rich. With regard to the tax on printed cottons, every one approved of the noble Lord's conduct in taking it off; it was a heavy and oppressive burden, falling most heavily upon those who were compelled to wear coarse cotton—they paying twenty-five per cent, while people who wore fine cottons, paid only two-and a-half per cent. As to falling into a trap the other night, he should be much disposed to fall into another of the same description, not having found the former inconvenient. Indeed, the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, seemed to like it, for he was setting another in the shape of a new arrangement of the Russian-Dutch loan, into which he might enter himself.

Mr. *Robinson* would trouble the House with but very few observations; in the first place, he would merely observe, that the right hon. Gentleman who introduced this discussion, had received no explanation whatever from the right hon. Gentleman opposite on the point to which his observations were principally directed. After so many statements of the prosperous condition of the country, it was matter of the deepest regret that, at the end of sixteen years of peace, we had arrived at the condition described by the noble Lord—having now a deficit of 700,000*l.* below the expenditure. The right hon. Gentleman had entirely overlooked the obvious distinction between a deficit with a Sinking Fund, and a deficit without any Sinking Fund. When those deficiencies had existed, of which he had spoken, there was, in fact, an annual sum appropriated to pay off the debt, and consequently, no real deficit. He was surprised to hear the hon. member for Thetford, who is generally considered a sort of authority on subjects of this nature, declare against the reduction of taxation. The hon. Member also said, that, if we had acted on the principle of the American government, we might have paid off a great portion of our debt, but he forgot that the taxes which had been repealed by successive Governments up to the time of the present Administration, had not been taken off as concessions to popular clamour, but because it was found impossible to raise them any longer. It did not require the slightest argument to show that the two cases were not in the least degree analogous. The right hon. the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, said, that there was this distinction between the plan proposed by the present Administration, and that on which former Governments proceeded, namely, that if there be a deficit in our revenue, the money remained in the pockets of the people, increasing so as to add to the resources of the state. He doubted, however, whether the right hon. Gentleman, or the noble Lord would be able to get any of it out of their pockets, for it would be utterly impossible for any of them to propose any duty whatever, except a property-tax. The House was told, very justly, by the Government, that it had made all the retrenchments possible without impairing the efficiency of the public service. He gave credit to the late Administration for the reductions which it had effected, and also to the present Administration for those which the Secretary for the Treasury had stated. He was afraid, however, that it would be no consolation to the people to learn that the country was now in a situation in which it could neither raise the required revenue nor decrease the expenditure. It was said, that the policy of the present Government had prevented a ruinous war, which would have increased the amount of our encumbrances. But could we be sure that we were not at that moment actually in danger of a general war in Europe? When he looked to the treaty concluded with Belgium, and reflected that this country was the guarantee for its performance, it certainly appeared to him that the peace of Europe did not depend upon England, but on Austria, Russia, and Prussia. And even if those three Powers consented to the treaty, could we hope that it would be a permanent settlement? What did the king of Belgium—on whose behalf that treaty had been concluded—say? What did his Majesty's Ministers? what did the French government say? When he looked to the opinions which had emanated from these Powers, he had very little hope of that treaty being carried into execution. The discussion of that night, which had ended in a party squabble, would give very little satisfaction to the country at large. The finances of the State were acknowledged to be in a most deplorable condition, and although the noble Lord looked with confidence to the future, he could not participate in those sanguine expectations.

Sir Robert Peel and Sir Charles Wetherell rose at the same moment, but

Sir *Charles Wetherell* was left in possession of the House. He just wished, he said, to interpose a parenthesis between the speech of the hon. member for Worcester and the speech of his right hon. friend, the member for Tamworth. He wished to say a few words in reply to the observations of the hon. member for Hertford—his hon. friend, he hoped he might say, for there was no gentleman for whom he professed a higher esteem. His hon. friend, then, had said that his other hon. friend, the member for Thetford, had read the Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House a very strange and unnecessary lecture. Now, he (Sir Charles Wetherell) would not presume to read any man a lecture; but as a lecture had been read to the Gentlemen opposite, he, as a critic who had heard it, would ask permission to say, that a more just and necessary lecture he never heard pronounced in the whole course of his life. Even the noble Lord on the other side had concurred in the propriety of the censure which had been passed upon the gleaning of votes, the fasciculus of suffrages, by which he had been supported: for the noble Lord had that night told the House, that he would bring in a Bill to legalize the payment of the interest of the Russian Dutch loan. Now, if the payment was legal already, what need was there to introduce such a Bill? And if it was not legal, how would hon. Gentlemen, who had been dragged through the mire in supporting it as legal, look at each other, when they were called upon to legalize that which they had already declared to be legal? No human ingenuity could reconcile the discrepancies in two such opposite votes. Talk of traps laid for the Ministry! Why here was a trap, into which Ministers were knowingly leading their friends, when they called upon them to blow hot and cold on the same question. But, with all deference to the noble Lord, he must put to him one or two interrogatories. Did the noble Lord intend to bring in one Bill or two? Did he intend to bring in a Bill of indemnity to protect him in the payments which he had already made on this loan, and another Bill to legalize the payment which he might make in future? If so, he should look carefully into the Bill of indemnity for an explanation of the grounds on which it rested. Surely the Law Officers of the Crown would never have the face to draw up such Bills, for the very preamble of them would compel them to eat their former opinions. The noble Lord could never mean to treat the Law Officers of the Crown in that manner. The noble Lord's majority had been dragged through the dirt and mire. The noble Lord shook his head; possibly he might not agree with him; but certainly other hon. Gentlemen would agree with him, and possibly the public might agree with him, that the Government had acted disgracefully when, at one time, it had compelled its majority to say that an act of indemnity was not necessary; and, at another time, to vote the contrary way, that an Act of Parliament was necessary. He considered that his right hon. friend (Mr. Goulburn) had made out a clear case, and distinctly proved that Ministers were incapable of conducting the financial concerns of the country.

Lord *Althorp,* in explanation, stated, that what he had said was, that under the present Treaty of 1815, the country was bound to pay the money to Russia; but in consequence of the separation of Belgium and Holland, when the treaty of separation was ratified by Russia, it would be desirable and necessary to change the form of the arrangement by a new Convention. He had said nothing about a new Act legalizing the future payment, or providing an indemnity for having made the past.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that in the few observations he proposed to address to the House, he should confine himself to the statement of the noble Lord, and to the present financial prospects of the country, and should not be diverted into extraneous topics by the excursive speeches of the two right hon. Gentlemen opposite—the member for Limerick and the Vice President of the Board of Trade. In the present state of the country, the public would not be satisfied with mere party squabbles and recriminations. The right hon. member for Limerick had done justice to the efforts of the late Government, and, with a degree of moderation highly creditable to him, had justly attributed the inability of the present Government to make further reductions to the retrenchments effected by the last. It was no imputation upon the present Government that the saving of public expenditure was limited in extent, since the work of economy had been almost completed by their predecessors. But such a vindication was a complete answer to all the reiterated and groundless accusations of extravagance and want of sympathy with the sufferings of the people which had been directed against the Government of the Duke of Wellington. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the difficulty of making immediate reductions, and said, "only give us time." He (Sir R. Peel) claimed the same indulgence for the Duke of Wellington's Government, which, though it might talk less about economy, was at least as anxious to save the public money as the present Government. If time had been given to the late Ministers, reductions would have been progressively made; they did not contemplate the possibility of making all reductions at once, because, in the reform of expenditure, as well as in other reforms, their opinion was, that the progress, to be safe, ought to be gradual. It was certainly to be regretted, now that it was admitted that the last Ministry had done so much that their successors could do nothing more, that unjust accusations, founded upon a supposed want of economy and sympathy with public feeling, should have been used to inflame the public mind against a House of Commons which had shown that it was not inattentive to its duties, and not unwilling to relieve the public burthens. One of the main arguments for re-modelling the Representative system of this country, was founded on the assumption that the House of Commons, as at present constituted, was disposed, from corrupt motives, to favour a lavish expenditure of the public money. The speech, however, of the right hon. Gentleman was a complete answer to all the charges against the House of Commons; for he had shown that the late House of Commons was so watchful over the public expenditure, that he and his friends were unable to make further reduction to any considerable amount, in consequence of so much having previously been done. The right hon. Gentleman was pleased to indulge in some observations relative to the opposition that the present Government had had to contend with; and had alluded to the supposed abandonment of the doctrines of free trade by some hon. Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman referred particularly to the debate on the glove-trade. But that debate, from the division on which he was absent, had nothing whatever to do with the question of free trade. If, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman affirmed that the mere act of not voting on that division implied an abandonment of any opinions on the commercial policy which this country should pursue, he must decidedly deny the justness of such an inference. The Motion was not brought forward with a view to impede the Government. It was submitted to the House by the hon. member for Worcester, who, on most occasions, supported the Government; it was supported by the hon. member for Middlesex, who went further in his advocacy of the doctrines of free trade than any Member of the House, and who declared, that he supported the motion for inquiry of the hon. member for Worcester because he was an advocate of those doctrines. It was too much, then, for the right hon. Gentleman to stand up in his place, and declare that the subject was brought forward to shake the Government, and to throw reflections on the conduct of Ministers. He did not mean to say, that the appointment of the Committee would have conferred any great benefit on the persons engaged in the glove trade; but he contended that hon. Members might and did support the Motion for the appointment of that Committee, without any other object than to ascertain the truth by inquiry. He never thought that the hon. Gentleman who brought forward the Motion did it with a view to get the opinion of the House as to our general commercial policy; and he thought nothing could be more absurd than the position—that no inquiry as to the effect of commercial regulations ought to be made, for fear that the inquiry should imply a doubt as to the wisdom of its regulations. In many cases inquiry, by removing erroneous impressions, and by establishing important truths, unknown to the labouring classes, might be the surest, nay, the only method of giving stability to a wise, but unpopular, enactment. But whatever triumph the right hon. Gentleman thought he had gained by his attack on his opponents, he might enjoy the full benefit of it, for no person would, he believed, enter further into the subject. He, at least, would not be led away by a matter altogether alien to the question before the House, but would proceed to make a few observations on the general finances of the country. Leaving such mere matters of party recrimination, he would take for his text the very fair and candid statement of the noble Lord. That noble Lord at once allowed, that, in his former statement, he had made a mistake to the amount of 350,000*l.* in his calculation, which arose from his neglecting to consider the reduction of the duties on beer. The frankness of the noble Lord completely disarmed hostility, and all that was left to the House was, to hope, with the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, that the accuracy of the present year would, like the revenue, compensate for the deficiency of the last. The noble Lord admitted that, in his precipitate statement in October he was mistaken, both with regard to the past and the future; but the real charge against the noble Lord was, not his casual inaccuracies, but that, having discovered the mistake, the noble Lord had not openly acknowledged it at an earlier period. For the delay the noble Lord had not sufficiently accounted, neither had he given any reason for not having laid upon the Table the estimates for the year, in conformity with a resolution of the House. The noble Lord stated the deficiency in the year 1831 to be nearly 700,000*l.*; but he, at the same time, expressed a confident belief, that this would not be the case at the approach of the ensuing year. The noble Lord admitted that in October he was mistaken, both as regards the past and the future, and that he had entirely left out of the account that a duty which he had calculated would produce 360,000*l.* had been altogether abolished. He wished not to introduce any asperity into the present discussion, but, at the same time, he must express his regret, that sufficient care had not been taken to avoid such very palpable mistakes. The noble Lord said, that he fell into this mistake in consequence of erroneous information received from official quarters. Every one who knew anything of human nature would give credit to the noble Lord for the candour of his admission; but he must repeat, that it would have been more consistent with candour if the noble Lord had not postponed the admission until the document moved for by his right hon. friend, which first exposed the error, had been laid upon the Table. To him it was a matter of surprise, that there was no allusion whatever in the King's Speech to this deficiency in the revenue, and that the attention of this House was not directed by the Ministers of the Crown to the financial affairs of the country. The noble Lord had not shown why the statement relative to the finances of the country for the ensuing year had not been laid on the Table of the House; and, considering that there was such a deficiency in the revenue, it was of the highest importance that this statement should be laid before the House with the least possible delay. It was perfectly clear that there was a deficiency last year of 698,000*l.*; and it was equally clear, that if this continued to exist, the finances of the country must be in a most lamentable condition. The noble Lord, however, calculated that there were several charges on the revenue of the last year which would not be chargeable for the future. He would go over the items of the noble Lord's calculation, and, as he must review them from memory, if he made any error, the noble Lord would correct him. The noble Lord said, that there was a charge of 200,000*l.* as the drawback upon printed cottons, and 155,000*l.* for bounties on linen manufacture — charges in the present year which would not be made for the future. Again, there is 157,000*l.* as the wine-duty on the stock on hand to be received. The noble Lord calculated that, from the alteration in the malt-duty, 300,000*l.* would be obtained; and that this year there would be a gain of 375,000*l.* from the tax on cotton wool, calculating the amount of the importation to be the same as in the last year. To these sources we must add the estimate of 150,000*l.* as the increase of duty on foreign wines; the aggregate of all these sums would be 1,337,000*l.* That will be the increase the noble Lord calculated on the receipts of this year. The noble Lord, however, had to deduct from this increase 698,000*l.*, being the amount of the deficiency. The noble Lord then assumed that the loss from the repeal of the duties on candles would amount to 400,000*l.* though the noble Lord would have been nearer the mark had he taken this loss at 500,000*l.* instead of 400,000*l.* The noble Lord added to this 75,000*l.* in respect of the duties on coals. Thus there was 1,173,000*l.* to be deducted from the 1,337,000*l.*, leaving the sum of 164,000*l.* for a surplus revenue. That was the financial prospect for the year. The noble Lord, by his mode of calculation, made out that at the commencement of the next year we should have a surplus revenue of 164,000*l.* which was certainly more satisfactory than that there should be a deficiency of revenue to the amount of 700,000*l.* But to have a surplus revenue of only 164,000*l.* considering the present state of Europe—considering the situation of some parts of this country, which might compel increased military expenditure, to have a surplus revenue of only 164,000*l.* appeared to him most melancholy, even supposing all the anticipations of the noble Lord to be realized. The noble Lord might regard these prospects with complacency, but he could only look upon them with alarm; and that alarm had not been diminished by the principles laid down by two right hon. Gentlemen opposite, on the subject of the deficiency of revenue. Indeed, the principles were more alarming than even the deficiency itself. If he thought that those principles were upheld by the noble Lord at the head of the office to which one of those right hon. Gentlemen belonged, he should be filled, and almost every thinking man in the country would be filled, with the greatest apprehension. The noble Lord said, that he regretted the deficiency in the revenue, and that he should be most anxious that such deficiency did not occur at the end of the present year. But immediately after the noble Lord had expressed this regret and anxiety, the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary for the Treasury, declared that even if he could have foreseen this deficiency, he should have felt satisfied that a reduction of taxes ought to have been made. His doctrine would not only apply to the present case, but to every tax that could be repealed; and was the right hon. Gentleman ready to assert, that whatever deficiency might occur in the revenue, taxes ought to be repealed? Was the regard due to the public faith to be forgotten? Was the House to forget the public creditor and its bond, that the interest of the debt should be duly paid? The doctrine of the right hon. Gentleman —that a tax ought to be repealed because it would be a relief to the people without reference to the obligations for the fulfilment of which that tax was a security—was a most dangerous doctrine for a Government to act upon or avow. The strongest apprehension that he had entertained from the infusion of democratic power into the House of Commons by the measure of Reform, was, that the House would hereafter find it very difficult to resist proposals for immediate relief at the expense of good faith, and of the true permanent interests of the country. What tax could be maintained if the principle laid down by the right hon. Gentleman was a just one? What tax was not a burthen to some class or other? If he could repeal taxes consistently with honour and good faith, there was no tax from which he would not relieve the people, but at present the best mode of honestly diminishing the public burthens was, to preserve inviolate the public faith—to give confidence to the public creditor—and, by means of that confidence, reduce the interest on the public debt. In this, as in other similar cases, honesty will be more profitable than fraud —even if profit were its chief recommendation. The doctrine he had been opposing certainly appeared to him a very extraordinary one; but if he was surprised by the right hon. Gentleman maintaining it, he was still more astonished at what fell from the Vice-President of the Board of Trade. That right hon. Gentleman had a theory perfectly novel. He said, that we ought to regard with something like satisfaction the deficiency of 698,000*l.* in the revenue, because it was not in fact money lost, but was in the pockets of the people ready to be extracted on any occasion that might require it. This speculation in finance the right hon. Gentleman designated by a name which would not soon be forgotten; which would, he hoped, ever continue to belong to the right hon. Gentleman, without a rival claimant. He called it the "fructifying principle." Thus, should the Government not have the money to pay the interest of the national debt, the creditor would have no right to complain of his loss, because the money was "fructifying" in the pockets of the people. If the right hon. Gentleman could but establish this principle generally, he would stand a chance of being the most popular man in the three kingdoms among that numerous class of the King's subjects, the debtors of the country. Every debtor would then only have to tell his too pressing creditor, "Do not give yourself any trouble about your principal or interest. For you to say, that you are losing money, is mere delusion: it is in my pocket, increasing upon the fructifying principle, ready to be extracted upon any future occasion." According to this fructifying principle, in what an enviable condition were the creditors of Chili and Colombia! Strange that their bonds should be at a discount after the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman, that they ought to be actually increasing in value on the "fructifying principle." The creditors of Colombia and Chili, ought not to be dissatisfied that the interest on their loans was not paid. True, it was withheld, but then it was, of course, "fructifying in the pockets" of the people of Chili and Colombia, and was ready to be extracted on a future occasion. The Columbians might say, in the words of the right hon. Gentleman—"It is very true that we have not paid your dividends for some time, nor do we intend to do so for a period to come; but then do not think that the money is lost. We are keeping it for your benefit, and it is 'fructifying in our possession.'" There was another debt to which the attention of the noble Lord, the Foreign Secretary, had recently been directed; and he feared the "fructifying principle" would be applied in the case of that debt. We had recently become security for that part of the debt of the Netherlands which the new kingdom of Belgium was to take upon itself. He forgot the distinctions taken by the noble Lord—we were guarantees for the debt, not security, and we were to have a claim upon Belgium for the re-payment of any advances we might make. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Belgium, enlightened by the doctrines of the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, would, no doubt, laugh at our demands for re-payment, and congratulate us on the advantage we should possess in remaining unpaid—the money due to us being retained on the true "fructifying principle." But, to be serious, these doctrines were as fallacious and extravagant as they were dangerous, and he lamented that two right hon. Gentlemen, holding high offices in his Majesty's Government, in explaining their views of the financial situation of the country, should have advanced speculations ten times more formidable, if acted upon by his Majesty's Government, than any deficiency that might occur in the finances of the year. He protested against the introduction of such doctrines, as he was sure that nothing but the worst consequence could result from them. He was sure that it was a great mistake to suppose, that we could remove existing taxes, and replace them by others, without occasioning great mischief. And he deprecated that overwhelming desire to catch the applause of those out of doors, which seemed the basis of the conduct of the Government. He would tell the noble Lord, that popularity so earned was sure to be fallacious. Circumstances might occur with regard to the machinery of a tax, that might render it occasionally advisable to substitute one that did not press so severely on the industry of the country. But, as a rule, he doubted the policy of repealing imposts that had long been in existence, for the purpose of introducing other taxes which, in theory, appeared less oppressive. He might say, from experience, that the old system was less burdensome than the new and plausible schemes which had been lately introduced, and he thought it would be more desirable to retain the duties we had at present, than run the risk of a great defalcation in our revenue, by the substitution of new taxes. The commutation of taxes, was not likely to relieve the people of the burdens which at present press upon them. He must, therefore, caution the noble Lord against the adoption of untried and plausible experiments in taxation, for it was the noble Lord's duty to recollect that the faith to the public creditor ought, on no consideration whatever, to be shaken. He rose principally for the purpose of saying, that even if the statement of the noble Lord, with regard to our financial prospects, was correct, still it was far from satisfactory; but his apprehension on this head would be far greater, his confidence in the future prospects of the country much shaken, if he thought that the noble Lord could approach this subject in a similar spirit to that which had characterised the speeches of the two right hon. Gentlemen. He should regret, indeed, if he thought the noble Lord could, with the right hon. Secretary for the Treasury, regard with indifference the deficiency in our revenue; and still more should he feel alarmed, if he thought the noble Lord could maintain the monstrous doctrines of the Vice-President of the Board of Trade—that this deficiency was not merely a matter of indifference, but rather a subject for congratulation. He was sure the noble Lord would find it best to adhere to those measures by which the national faith could be supported. He trusted that those in whose hands our financial affairs were placed, would consider well the situation of the country, and the events passing in other countries, before they attempted extensive financial changes, and would not suffer a desire for momentary popularity to divert them from the high and important duty of maintaining the public credit. His hon. friend, the member for Thetford, said, that it would have been easy for former Governments to have kept up taxes to such an amount as to form an efficient sinking fund to the amount of 7,000,000*l.* He differed entirely from his hon. friend; for there would have been such a combination of parties against any Government which attempted to maintain a surplus revenue to that extent as would have compelled a reduction of taxation. At the same time, he firmly believed that it was essentially necessary that a surplus revenue to a certain amount should be maintained for the support of the public credit. The safety and honour of the country, as well as the prospect of a reduction of our burthens hereafter, was involved in the steady payment of the public creditor; and he entreated the noble Lord not to sanction any measure, nor to undertake any great change, connected with our finances, calculated in the least degree to excite alarm as to a possible violation of the public faith of this country.

Mr. *Poulett Thomson* begged to be permitted to deny the assertion made by the right hon. Baronet, that he treated the subject with levity, or congratulated the House or the country on the deficiency of the revenue: on the contrary, he lamented it. What he mentioned was, that his noble friend had reduced taxes at once, and had imposed others, which would not come into operation until a later period; and, therefore, that a deficiency in future years was not to be assumed, because there had been a deficiency in the past. Under those circumstances he did not see reason to lament the deficiency in the revenue this year, which would be hereafter made up.

Mr. *James,* in reference to the economy for which the right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) took credit for the late Government, said, he had only to remark that the present Government asked merely 50,000*l.* for a Coronation, and did not even expend so much on it, while the estimate of the late Government for a similar purpose amounted to 100,000*l.*, and their expenditure did not fall short of 200,000*l.*

Mr. *Kearsley* remarked, in allusion to the assertion of the hon. member for Hertford, that the late motion with regard to the Russian Dutch loan had been brought forward for the purpose of "tripping up" the Government — that any Government that could be "tripped up" by such a motion must be a very rotten one indeed, and could not have a leg to stand upon.

Lord *Sandon* said, as the hon. member for Thetford had a few nights since made the same assertion as he had repeated in the course of the debate—that the Americans were competing with us in the manufacture of coarse cottons, he had, in the mean time, made some inquiries into the subject, and he understood the manufacturers entertained no such apprehension from the tax on raw cotton. At Liverpool the whole American tonnage was actually engaged in exporting manufactured goods, and the produce of the potteries; and the Americans themselves protected their infant factories by a duty of from forty to sixty per cent against our intrusion.

The Report of the Committee of Supply brought up: the Resolutions were—

1. That a sum not exceeding 3,000,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty, to discharge the like amount of supplies granted for the year 1831, or of any preceding year.

2. That a sum not exceeding 25,616,400*l.* be granted to his Majesty, to pay off and discharge Exchequer-bills, and that the same be paid and applied towards paying off and discharging any Exchequer-bills charged in the aids or supplies of the years 1831 or 1832, now remaining unpaid and unprovided for.

3. That a sum not exceeding 280,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty, to pay off and discharge Exchequer-bills issued pursuant to several Acts, for carrying on Public Works and Fisheries and for building additional Churches, outstanding and unprovided for.

Lord *Althorp,* on moving that the Resolutions be agreed to, had a few observations to offer to the House in the way of explanation, especially in reference to what had fallen from the right hon. Baronet opposite. The right hon. Baronet had very clearly, and with exceeding accuracy, recapitulated the grounds of his (Lord Althorp's) statement, but there was one part of it that he appeared to misunderstand—that which related to the 300,000*l.* due on malt. He (Lord Althorp) stated, that there was at present a larger sum due on it this year, as far as we had gone, than there was last year; and, in fact, that there had been a great increase in the sum due on it, there being 300,000*l.* due on it now, in addition to the 600,000*l.* increase during the last year, and he expected that the total increase in the malt duty would amount to 900,000*l.* From that statement, he thought he was fully borne out in saying that this would not be a temporary increase. He had not calculated on such an increase in the amount in his Estimate of the revenue and expenditure last year, and, therefore, what had accrued beyond his Estimate was to be taken as an additional surplus. The hon. member for Thetford had doubted the expectations which he (Lord Althorp) entertained with regard to the duty on cotton, and the grounds also on which he founded his statement with regard to that article. Now he would just read the House a tabular statement of the importations of cotton wool during the last three years. There were imported into this country, of cotton wool, in the year 1829, 204,797,656lb.; 1830, 269,634,779lb.; 1831, 283,745,660lb. The increase, therefore, in those three years, was from 204,000,000lb., and upwards, to 283,000,000lb., and upwards, shewing a regular tendency to increase in each of those three years. The calculation which he (Lord Althorp) had made was upon the amount imported last year, observing, at the same time, that it might be possible that the duty which had been imposed upon it would act in some degree as a check upon importation this year. From all the information, however, which he had received on the subject, he was led to believe that the increase in the amount of importation, would be as great this year as it had been last year. He thought that, under such circumstances, the amount which he calculated upon as likely to be derived from the duty on this article was a very fair and moderate one. He had been asked by hon. Members opposite, why the Estimates had not been laid on the Table of the House before this time. He begged, in reply, to say, that the Estimates for the three services would be laid on the Table of the House that evening. He was aware that such a course was not in accordance with a Resolution of the House, but it should be recollected that this was as early a period as the Estimates had been usually placed on the Table of the House in any previous Session of Parliament. He wished to add an observation in reference to a statement which had been often made for several years by hon. Members who took an interest in the finances of the country, namely, that it would be desirable that we should commence them at an earlier period of the year than we do, and for this reason—that, according to the present practice we were in the habit of voting estimates after the money had been spent. His right hon. friend at the head of the Admiralty had, with that view, last year, in calculating the Estimates for the navy, so arranged them as to carry them to the commencement of the ensuing April. He (Lord Althorp) had now to state that it was the intention of his Majesty's Government that the financial year should for the future commence at the beginning of April. The Estimates, therefore, for the present year had been prepared in two divisions; the first for the present quarter, so as to bring them up to the 1st of April, and the other for the four quarters of the year then ensuing. The whole Navy Estimates for the year would be laid before the House this evening; the Army and Ordnance Estimates for the quarter up to the 1st of April, and the remaining Estimates for those services would be laid before the House with the least possible delay.

Sir *George Clerk* observed, that the time which the noble Lord (Lord Althorp) had fixed for the commencement of the financial year would not answer the purpose which he had in view, and that it would render it more difficult hereafter to institute a comparison with the expenditure of former years.

Mr. *Hume* said, that the plan would be a good one, if the estimates could be produced early in January, but that if they should be put off till February or March, it would only place them in a worse situation than their present one.

Mr. *Goulburn* wished to know, whether the noble Lord was able to state the amount of revenue and expenditure since the period when the accounts had been made up; and if so, whether there had been an increase, or the reverse?

Lord *Althorp* said, that the period alluded to was so short, that he could not give a precise answer to the question.

He believed that the revenue derivable from the Customs was not so good up to the present time as it had been last year, but then it was to be recollected that it was extraordinarily large last year.

Resolutions agreed to, and a Bill founded thereon ordered to be brought in.

CONVENTION WITH FRANCE.] Mr. *Burge* begged to ask the noble Lord, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, if he had any objection to produce the correspondence which took place with the French government previous to the Convention for the suppression of the Slave Trade. He begged leave also to ask, in what manner the French government had provided for adjudicating as to French vessels captured with slaves on board? With respect to that Convention itself, he wished further to ask, whether the French government had taken any measures to carry its provisions into effect, and whether any further measures of the same kind had been agreed to with other foreign states?

Viscount *Palmerston* said, that he did not feel bound to produce the correspondence that had led to that Convention, as the Convention itself was before Parliament. As to the tribunals which were to be formed by the French government, he had to state, that it was the intention of the French government to invest their consular agents with power to carry into effect the purposes of that Convention, and there was no doubt that steps would be taken by that government to establish those local tribunals in convenient places. With respect to the latter part of the hon. Gentleman's question he must observe, that no steps had yet been taken with a view to a negotiation with other foreign powers on the subject of a convention for the suppression of the slave trade founded on the same principles as that with France.

END OF VOL. IX.—THIRD SERIES

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A BILL

To amend the Representation of the People in *England* and *Wales*.

(As ordered to be printed 12th December, 1831.)

[Note. - The Words printed in *Italics* are proposed to be inserted in the Committee.]

Preamble.] WHEREAS it is expedient to take effectual measures for correcting divers abuses that have long prevailed in the choice of Members to serve in the Commons House of Parliament; to deprive many inconsiderable Places of the right of returning Members; to grant such privilege to large, populous, and wealthy Towns; to increase the number of Knights of the Shire; to extend the Elective Franchise to many of His Majesty's Subjects who have not heretofore enjoyed the same; and, to diminish the expense of Elections: Be it therefore enacted, by The KING'S most Excellent MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same,

1.—*Certain Boroughs to cease to send Members to Parliament.*] That each of the Fifty-six Boroughs enumerated in the Schedule marked (A.) to this Act annexed, shall from and after the *end of this present Parliament* cease to return any Member or Members to serve in Parliament.

2.—*Certain Boroughs to return one Member only.*] And be it Enacted, That each of the Thirty Boroughs enumerated in the Schedule marked (B.) to this Act annexed, shall, from and after the *end of this present Parliament* return *One* Member and no more to serve in Parliament.

3.—*New Boroughs hereafter to return Two Members.*] And be it Enacted, That each of the Places named in the Schedule marked (C.) to this Act annexed shall for the purposes of this Act be a Borough, and shall as such Borough include the Place or Places respectively, which shall be comprehended within the Boundaries of such Borough, as such Boundaries shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament, which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith; and that each of the said Boroughs named in the said Schedule (C.) shall, from and after the *end of this present Parliament,* return *Two* Members to serve in Parliament.

4.—*New Boroughs hereafter to return One Member.*] And be it Enacted, That each of the Places named in the Schedule marked (D.) to this Act annexed shall for the purposes of this Act be a Borough, and shall as such Borough include the Place or Places respect-

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ively, which shall be comprehended within the Boundaries of such Borough, as such Boundaries shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament, which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith; and that each of the said Boroughs named in the said Schedule (D.) shall, from and after the *end of this present Parliament,* return *One* Member to serve in Parliament.

5.—*The Boroughs of Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and East Retford shall include certain adjacent Districts.*] And be it Enacted, That the Borough of New Shoreham shall for the purposes of this Act include the whole of the Rape of Bramber in the County of Sussex, save and except such parts of the said Rape as shall be included in the Borough of Horsham, by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament; and that the Borough of Cricklade shall for the purposes of this Act include the Hundreds and Divisions of Highworth, Cricklade, Staple, Kingsbridge, and Malmsbury, in the County of Wilts, save and except such parts of the said Hundred of Malmsbury as shall be included in the Borough of Malmsbury, by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament; and that the Borough of Aylesbury shall for the purposes of this Act include the three Hundreds of Aylesbury, in the County of Buckingham; and that the Borough of East Retford shall for the purposes of this Act include the Hundred of Bassetlaw in the County of Nottingham, and all places locally situate within the outside Boundary or limit of the Hundred of Bassetlaw, or surrounded by such Boundary and by any part of the County of York or County of Lincoln.

6.—*Weymouth and Melcombe Regis to return Two Members jointly, &c. &c.*] And be it Enacted, That the Towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed and taken to be One Borough, and that such Borough shall from and after the *end of this present Parliament* return *Two* Members, and no more, to serve in Parliament; and that the Towns of Penryn and Falmouth shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed and taken to be one Borough; and that the Towns of Sandwich and Deal shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed and taken to be one Borough; and that each of the said Boroughs shall, from and after the *end of this present Parliament,* return *Two* Members to serve in Parliament.

7.—*Boundaries of certain existing Boroughs to be settled.*] And be it Enacted, That every City and Borough in England, which now returns a Member or Members to serve in Parliament (except the several Cities and Boroughs enumerated in the said Schedule (A.) and the several Boroughs of New Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury and East Retford) shall, for the purposes of this Act, include the place or places respectively, which shall be comprehended within the Boundaries of such City or Borough, as such Boundaries shall be settled, and described, by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament; which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith; and that every such City or Borough shall, together with the place or places respectively, so to be comprehended therein as aforesaid, be a City or Borough for the purpose of returning a Member or Members to serve in all future Parliaments.

8.—*Places in Wales to have a share in Elections for the Shire-Towns.*] And be it Enacted, That each of the places named in the first column of the Schedule (E.) to this Act annexed, shall have a share in the Election of a Member to serve in all future Parliaments, for the Shire-Town or Borough which is mentioned in conjunction therewith, and named in the second column of the said Schedule (E.)

9.—*Boundaries of certain places in Wales to be settled.*] And be it Enacted, That each of the places named in the first column of the said Schedule (E.), and each of the Shire-Towns, or Boroughs, named in the second column of the said Schedule (E.), shall for the purposes of this Act include the place or places respectively, which shall be comprehended within the Boundaries of each of the said Places, Shire-Towns and Boroughs respectively, as such Boundaries shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament, which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith.

10.—*Swansea, Lougher, Neath, Aberaven and Ken-fig to form one Borough, and Electors thereof not to vote for Members for Cardiff.*] And be it Enacted, That each of the Towns of Swansea, Lougher, Neath, Aberaven, and Ken-fig shall for the purposes of this Act include the place or places respectively, which shall be comprehended within the Boundaries of each of the said Towns, as such Boundaries shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament, which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith; and that the said Five Towns, so including as aforesaid, shall for the purposes of this Act be one Borough, and shall as such Borough from and after the *end of this present Parliament,* return *One* Member to serve in Parliament; and that the Portreeve of Swansea shall be the Returning Officer for the said Borough; and that no person by reason of any right accruing in any of the said Five Towns shall have any Vote in the Election of a Member to serve in any future Parliament for the Borough of Cardiff.

11.—*Description of the Returning Officers for the new Boroughs .... Proviso.*] And be it Enacted, That the persons respectively described in the said Schedules (C.) and (D.) shall be the Returning Officers at all Elections of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament for the Boroughs in conjunction with which such persons are respectively mentioned in the said Schedules (C.) and (D.); and that for those Boroughs for which no persons are mentioned in such Schedules as Returning Officers, the Sheriff for the time being of the County in which such Boroughs are respectively situate shall, within *Two Months* after the *passing of this Act,* and in every succeeding respective year in the month of *March,* by writing under his hand, nominate and appoint for each of such Boroughs a fit person, being resident therein, to be, and such person so nominated and appointed shall accordingly be, the Returning Officer for each of such Boroughs respectively, until the nomination to be made in the succeeding *March;* and in the event of the death of any such person, or of his becoming incapable to act by reason of sickness or other sufficient impediment, the Sheriff for the time being shall, on notice thereof, forthwith nominate and appoint in his stead a fit person, being so resident as aforesaid, to be, and such person so nominated and appointed shall accordingly be, the Returning Officer for such Borough for the remainder of the then current year; and no person, having been so nominated and appointed as Returning Officer for any Borough, shall after the expiration of his office be compellable at any time thereafter to serve again in the said office for the same Borough: Provided always, That no person being in Holy Orders, nor any Churchwarden or Overseer of the Poor within any such Borough shall be nominated or appointed as such Returning Officer for the same; and that no person so nominated and appointed as Returning Officer for any such Borough, shall be appointed a Churchwarden or Overseer of the Poor therein during the year for which he shall be such Returning Officer: Provided also, That no person qualified to be elected to serve as a Member in Parliament for any such Borough, shall be compellable to serve as Returning Officer for such Borough, if within one week after he shall have received notice of his nomination and appointment as Returning Officer, he shall make oath of such qualification before any Justice of the Peace, and shall forthwith notify the same to the Sheriff: Provided also, That in case His Majesty shall be pleased to grant his Royal Charter of Incorporation to any of the Boroughs named in the said Schedules (C.) and (D.) which are not now incorporated, and shall by such Charter give power to elect a Mayor or other Chief Municipal Officer for any such Borough, then and in every such case such Mayor or other Chief Municipal Officer for the time being shall be the Returning Officer for such Borough instead of the person nominated and appointed by the Sheriff as aforesaid; and the provisions hereinbefore contained with regard to the future nomination and appointment of a Returning Officer for such Borough shall thenceforth cease and determine.

12.—*Six Knights of the Shire for Yorkshire; Two for each Riding.*] And be it Enacted, That in all future Parliaments there shall be *Six* Knights of the Shire, instead of Four, to serve for the County of York; (that is to say) *Two* Knights for each of the Three Ridings of the said County, to be elected in the same manner, and by the same classes and descriptions of Voters, and in respect of the same several Rights of Voting, as if each of the Three Ridings were a separate County: and that the Court for the Election of Knights of the Shire for the North Riding of the said County shall be holden at and the Court for the Election of Knights of the Shire for the West Riding of the said County shall be holden at Wakefield, and the Court for the Election of Knights of the Shire for the East Riding of the said County, shall be holden at

13.—*Four Knights of the Shire for Lincolnshire; Two for the parts of Lindsey, Two for Kesteven and Holland.*] And be it Enacted, That in all future Parliaments there shall be *Four* Knights of the Shire, instead of Two, to serve for the County of Lincoln; (that is to say,) *Two* for the parts of Lindsey in the said County, and *Two* for the parts of Kesteven and Holland in the same County; and that such *Four* Knights shall be chosen in the same manner, and by the same classes and descriptions of Voters, and in respect of the same several Rights of Voting, as if the said parts of Lindsey were a separate County, and the said parts of Kesteven and Holland together were also a separate County; and that the Court for the Election of Knights of the Shire for the parts of Lindsey, in the said County, shall be holden at and the Court for the Election of Knights of the Shire for the parts of Kesteven and Holland, in the said County, shall be holden at

14.—*Certain Counties to be divided, and to return two Knights of the Shire for each Division.*] And be it Enacted, That each of the Counties enumerated in the Schedule marked (F.) to this Act annexed shall be divided into Two Divisions, which Divisions shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament, which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith, and that in all future Parliaments there shall be *Four* Knights of the Shire, instead of Two, to serve for each of the said Counties (that is to say) *Two* Knights of the Shire for each Division of the said Counties; and that such Knights shall be chosen in the same manner and by the same classes and descriptions of Voters, and in respect of the same several Rights of Voting, as if each of the said Divisions were a separate County; and that the Court for the Election of Knights of the Shire for each Division of the said Counties shall be holden at the place to be named for that purpose in the Act so to be passed as aforesaid, for settling and describing the Divisions of the said Counties.

15.—*Three Knights of the Shire for Berks, Bucks, &c.: Two for Carmarthen, &c.*] And be it Enacted, That in all future Parliaments there shall be *Three* Knights of the Shire, instead of Two, to serve for each of the following Counties; (that is to say) Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Dorsetshire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Monmouthshire, and Oxfordshire; and *Two* Knights of the Shire, instead of One, to serve for each of the Counties of Carmarthen, Denbigh, and Glamorgan.

16.—*Isle of Wight, severed from Hampshire, to return a Member.*] And be it Enacted, That the Isle of Wight in the County of Southampton, shall, for the purposes of this Act be a County of itself, separate and apart from the County of Southampton, and shall return *One* Knight of the Shire to serve in every future Parliament; and that such Knight shall be chosen by the same classes and descriptions of Voters, and in respect of the same several Rights of Voting, as any Knight of the Shire shall be chosen in any County in England; and that all Elections for the said County of the Isle of Wight, shall be holden at the Town of Newport in the Isle of Wight, and the Sheriff of the Isle of Wight, or his Deputy, shall be the Returning Officer at such Elections.

17.—*Towns which are Counties of themselves to be included in adjoining Counties for County Elections.*] And be it Enacted, That for the purpose of electing a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament, the East Riding of the County of York, the North Riding of the County of York, the parts of Lindsey, in the County of Lincoln, and the several Counties at large enumerated in the Second column of the Schedule marked (G.) to this Act annexed, shall respectively include the several Cities and Towns and Counties of the same which are respectively mentioned in conjunction with such Ridings, Parts and Counties at large, and named in the First column of the said Schedule (G.)

18.—*No Freehold for Life shall give a Vote for the County, unless it be worth* 10*l. a year.* ....*Exception as to present* 40*s. Freeholders for Life.*] And be it Enacted, That no person shall be entitled to vote in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament in respect of any Freehold Lands or Tenements, whereof he may be seised for his own life, or for the life of another, or for any lives whatsoever, unless the same shall be to him of the clear yearly value of not less than *Ten Pounds,* above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same, any Statute to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall prevent any person now seised for his own life, or for the life of another, or for any lives whatsoever, of any Freehold Lands or Tenements of the clear yearly value to him of *Forty Shillings,* above all rents and charges, from acquiring or retaining, so long as he shall be so seised of the same Lands or Tenements, the Right of Voting in such Election in respect thereof, if duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained.

19.—*Right of Voting in Counties extended to Copyholders.*] And be it Enacted, That every Male Person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall be seised at law or in equity of any Lands or Tenements of Copyhold or customary tenure for his own life or for the life of another, or for any lives whatsoever, or or for any larger estate, of the clear yearly value to him of not less than *Ten Pounds* over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same, shall be entitled to vote in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament for the County, or for the Riding, Parts or Division of the County, in which such lands or tenements shall be respectively situate.

20.—*Right of Voting in Counties extended to Leaseholders and Occupiers of Premises of certain value above charges.*] And be it Enacted, That every Male Person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall hold, as lessee or assignee, any lands or tenements, whether of freehold, copyhold, or customary tenure, originally demised for any term not less than *Sixty* years, (whether determinable on a life or lives, or not,) of the clear yearly value, to him, of not less than *Ten Pounds* over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same, or originally demised for any Term not less than *Twenty Years,* (whether determinable on a life or lives, or not,) of the clear yearly value to him of not less than *Fifty Pounds* over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same, or who shall occupy as tenant any lands or tenements for which he shall be bonâ fide liable to a yearly rent of not less than *Fifty Pounds,* shall be entitled to vote in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament for the County, or for the Riding, Parts or Division of the County, in which such lands or tenements shall be respectively situate: Provided always, That no person being a sub-lessee or the assignee of any underlease shall have a right to vote in such Election in respect of any such term of *Sixty* years or *Twenty* years as aforesaid, unless he shall be in the actual occupation of the premises.

21.—*What not to be deemed Charges.*] And be it Declared and Enacted, That no Public or Parliamentary Tax, nor any Church Rate, County Rate or Parochial Rate, shall be deemed to be any charge payable out of or in respect of any lands or tenements within the meaning of this Act.

22.—*County Voters need not be assessed to the Land Tax.*] And be it Enacted, That in order to entitle any person to vote in any Election of a Knight of the Shire or other Member to serve in any future Parliament, in respect of any messuages, lands, or tenements whether Freehold or otherwise, it shall not be necessary that the same shall be assessed to the Land Tax; any Statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

23.—*Provision as to Trustees and Mortgagees.*] And be it Enacted, That no person shall be allowed to have any Vote in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire for or by reason of any Trust Estate or Mortgage, unless such Trustee or Mortgagee be in actual possession or receipt of the rents and profits of the same Estate, but that the Mortgagor or Cestuique Trust in possession shall and may vote for the same Estate notwithstanding such Mortgage or Trust.

24.—*No Person to vote for a County in respect of any Freehold House, &c. occupied by himself for which he might acquire a Vote for a Borough.*] And be it Enacted, That notwithstanding any thing hereinbefore contained, no person shall be entitled to vote in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament in respect of his estate or interest as a Freeholder in any house, warehouse, counting-house or shop occupied by himself, or in any land occupied by himself, together with any house, warehouse, counting-house or shop, if by reason of the occupation thereof respectively he might acquire a Right to vote in the Election of a Member or Members for any City or Borough, whether he shall or shall not have actually acquired the Right to vote for such City or Borough, in respect thereof.

25.—*No Person to vote for a County in respect of certain Copyholds and Leaseholds in a Borough.*] And be it Enacted, That notwithstanding any thing hereinbefore contained, no person shall be entitled to vote in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament in respect of his estate or interest as a Copyholder or Customary Tenant, or as such Lessee or Assignee, or as such Tenant and Occupier as aforesaid, in any house, warehouse, counting-house or shop, or in any land occupied together with a house, warehouse, counting-house or shop, if by reason of the occupation thereof respectively he or any other person might acquire a right to vote in the Election of a Member or Members for any City or Borough, whether he or any other person shall or shall not have actually acquired the Right to vote for such City or Borough in respect thereof.

26.—*Possession for a certain time and Registration essential to the Right of Voting for a County.....Exception in case of Property coming by Descent, &c.*] And be it Enacted, That notwithstanding any thing hereinbefore contained no person shall be entitled to vote in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament unless he shall have been duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained; and that no person shall be so registered in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, or in any succeeding year, in respect of any lands or tenements of freehold, copyhold or customary tenure, unless he shall have been in the actual possession thereof, or in the receipt of the rents and profits thereof for his own use, for *Six calendar Months* at least next previous to the day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, or next previous to the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, which said period of *Six calendar Months* shall be sufficient, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding; and that no person shall be so registered in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, or in any succeeding year, in respect of any lands or tenements held by him as such lessee or assignee, or as such occupier and tenant as aforesaid, unless he shall have been in the actual possession thereof, or in the receipt of the rents and profits thereof for his own use, as the case may require, for *Twelve calendar Months* next previous to the day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, or next previous to the last day of

July in any such respective succeeding year; Provided always, That where any lands or tenements which would otherwise entitle the owner, holder or occupier thereof to vote in any such Election shall come to any person at any time within such respective periods of *Six or Twelve calendar Months* by descent, succession, marriage, marriage settlement, devise, or promotion to any benefice in a church, or by promotion to any office, such person shall be entitled in respect thereof to have his name inserted as a Voter in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire in the Lists then next to be made by virtue of this Act as hereinafter mentioned.

27.—*Right of Voting in Boroughs to be enjoyed by Occupiers of Houses, &c. of the annual value of* 10*l.*....*No Occupier to vote unless rated to the Poor Rate*....*Rate and Assessed Taxes must be paid.*] And be it Enacted, That in every City or Borough which shall return a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament, every Male Person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall occupy within such City or Borough, or within any place sharing in the Election for such City or Borough, as owner or tenant, any house, warehouse, counting-house or shop, being either separately or jointly with any land within such City, Borough or Place, occupied therewith by him as Owner, or occupied therewith by him as Tenant under the same landlord, of the clear yearly value of not less than *Ten Pounds*, shall, if duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained, be entitled to vote in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for such City or Borough: Provided always, That no such person shall be so registered in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, or in any succeeding year, unless he shall have occupied such premises as aforesaid, for *Twelve calendar Months* next previous to the day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, or next previous to the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, nor unless such person, where such premises are situate in any Parish or Township in which there shall be a Rate for the relief of the Poor, shall have been rated in respect of such premises to all Rates for the relief of the Poor, in such Parish or Township made during the time of such his occupation as aforesaid, nor unless such person shall have paid, on or before the day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, all the Poor's Rates and Assessed Taxes which shall have become payable from him in respect of such premises, previously to the day of then next preceding, or shall have paid on or before the *Twentieth* day of *July* in any such succeeding year as aforesaid, all the Poor's Rates and Assessed Taxes which shall have become payable from him in respect of such premises, previously to the respective *Sixth* day of *April* then next preceding.

28.—*Provision as to Premises occupied in succession, and as to joint Occupiers.*] And be it Enacted, That the premises, in respect of the occupation of which any person shall be deemed entitled to vote in the Election for any City or Borough as aforesaid, shall not be required to be the same premises, but may be different premises occupied in immediate succession by such person during the said *Twelve Months;* and that where any such premises as aforesaid shall be jointly occupied by more persons than one as owners or tenants, each of such joint occupiers shall be entitled to vote in respect thereof, in case the clear yearly value of such premises shall be of an amount which, when divided by the number of such occupiers, shall give a sum of not less than *Ten Pounds* for each and every such occupier, but not otherwise.

29.—*Occupiers may demand to be rated*....*Proviso.*] And be it Enacted, That in every City or Borough which shall return a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament, and in every place sharing in the Election for such City or Borough, it shall be lawful for any person occupying any house, warehouse, counting-house or shop, either separately or jointly with any land occupied therewith by him as owner, or occupied therewith by him as tenant under the same landlord, in any Parish or Township in which there shall be a rate for the relief of the Poor, to claim to be rated to the relief of the Poor in respect of such Premises, whether the landlord shall or shall not be liable to be rated to the relief of the Poor in respect thereof; and upon such occupier so claiming and actually paying or tendering the full amount of the rate or rates, if any, then due in respect of such premises, the Overseers of the Parish or Township in which such premises are situate are hereby required to put the name of such occupier upon the rate for the time being; and in case such Overseers shall neglect or refuse so to do, such occupier shall nevertheless for the purposes of this Act be deemed to have been rated to the relief of the Poor in respect of such premises from the period at which the rate shall have been made, the amount whereof he shall have so paid or tendered as aforesaid: Provided always, That where by virtue of any Act of Parliament the landlord shall be liable to the payment of the rate for the relief of the Poor in respect of any premises occupied by his tenant, nothing herein contained shall be deemed to vary or discharge the liability of such landlord; but that in case the tenant, who shall have been rated for such premises in consequence of any such claim as aforesaid, shall make default in the payment of the Poor's Rate due in respect thereof, such landlord shall be and remain liable for the payment thereof, in the same manner as if he had himself been rated in respect of the premises so occupied by his tenant.

30.—*As to Freeholders voting for Towns being Counties of themselves.*] And be it Enacted, That every person who would have been entitled, if this Act had not been passed, to vote in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for any City or Town, being a County of itself, in respect of his Estate or interest as a Freeholder, either with or without any other qualification superadded thereto, shall be entitled to vote in such Election, provided he shall be duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained; but that no such person shall be so registered in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* or in any succeeding year, unless he shall on the day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* or on the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, be qualified as such Elector, in such manner as would entitle him then to vote if such days were respectively the days of Election, and this Act had not been passed.

31.—*Freemen not to vote in Boroughs, unless resident, &c.....Exclusion of Freemen created since the* 1*st of March* 1831.] And be it Enacted, That every person who would have been entitled to vote in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for any City or Borough not included in the Schedule marked (A.) to this Act annexed, either as a Burgess or Freeman, or in the City of London as a Freeman and Liveryman, if this Act had not been passed, shall be entitled to vote in such Election, provided such person shall be duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained; but that no such person shall be so registered in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* or in any succeeding year, unless such person shall, on the day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* or on the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, be qualified in such manner as would entitle him then to vote if such days were respectively the days of Election, and this Act had not been passed, nor unless such person shall have resided for *Six calendar Months* next previous to the day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* or next previous to the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, within the City or Borough, or within the Place sharing in the Election for the City or Borough, in respect of which City, Borough or Place respectively such person shall be entitled to vote, or within *Seven* statute miles of such City, Borough or Place respectively: Provided always, That no person who shall have been elected or made a Burgess or Freeman since the *First* day of *March One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-one,* or who shall hereafter be elected or made a Burgess or Freeman, otherwise than in respect of birth or servitude, shall be entitled to vote as such in any such Election for any City or Borough as aforesaid, or to be so registered as aforesaid: Provided also, That no Person shall be so entitled as a Burgess or Freeman in respect of birth, unless his right be originally derived from or through some person who was a Burgess or Freeman, or entitled to be admitted a Burgess or Freeman previously to the *First* day of *March* in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-one,* or from or through some person who shall since that time have become a Burgess or Freeman in respect of servitude.

32.—*Reservation of other Rights of Voting in Boroughs..... Residence required.*] And be it Enacted, That no person shall be entitled to vote in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for any City or Borough, save and except in respect of some right conferred by this Act, or as a Burgess or Freeman, or as a Freeman and Liveryman, or in the case of a City or Town being a County of itself, as a Freeholder as hereinbefore mentioned: Provided always, That every person now having a right to vote in the Election for any City or Borough (except those enumerated in the said Schedule (A.) in virtue of any other qualification than as a Burgess or Freeman, or as a Freeman and Liveryman, or in the case of a City or Town being a County of itself, as a Freeholder as hereinbefore mentioned, shall retain such Right of Voting so long as he shall be qualified as an Elector according to the usages and customs of such City or Borough, or any Law now in force, and such Person shall be entitled to vote in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for such City or Borough, if duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained; but that no such person shall be so registered in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* or in any succeeding year, unless such person shall, on the day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* or on the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, be qualified as such Elector in such manner as would entitle him then to vote if such days were respectively the days of Election, and this Act had not been passed, nor unless such person shall have resided for *Six calendar Months* next previous to the day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* or next previous to the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, within the City or Borough, or within the place sharing in the Election for the City or Borough, in respect of which City, Borough or Place respectively, such person shall be entitled to vote, or within *Seven* statute miles of such City, Borough or Place respectively: Provided nevertheless, That such person shall for ever cease to enjoy such Right of Voting for any such City or Borough as aforesaid, if his name shall have been omitted for *Two* successive years from the Register of such Voters for such City or Borough hereinafter directed to be made, unless he shall have been so omitted in consequence of his having received parochial relief within *Twelve calendar Months* next previous to the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* or next previous to the last day of *July* in any succeeding year.

33.—*Provision as to certain Freehold Voters for Shoreham and Cricklade.*] Provided also, and be it Enacted, That every person now having a Right to vote for the Borough of New Shoreham in respect of any Freehold situate in the Borough or Parish of Horsham, and every person now having a Right to vote for the Borough of Cricklade in respect of any Freehold situate in the Borough or Parish of Malmsbury, shall respectively retain such Right of Voting for the several Boroughs of New Shoreham and Cricklade as defined by this Act, subject always to the provisions hereinbefore mentioned with regard to the Right of Voting for any Borough in respect of Freehold.

34.—*Exclusion of certain Rights of Voting acquired since the first of March* 1831.] Provided nevertheless, and be it Enacted, That notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, no person shall be entitled to vote in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for any City or Borough (other than a City or Town being a County of itself, in the Election for which Freeholders have a Right to vote as hereinbefore mentioned), in respect of any Estate or Interest in any Burgage Tenement, Annuity or Freehold which shall have been acquired by such person since the first day of *March One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-one,* unless the same shall have come to or been acquired by such person since that day, and previously to the passing of this Act, by descent, succession, marriage, marriage settlement, devise, or promotion to any Benefice in a Church, or by promotion to any Office.

35.—*As to receipt of parochial relief.*] And be it enacted, That no person shall be entitled to be registered in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, or in any succeeding year, as a Voter in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for any City or Borough, who shall within *Twelve calendar Months* next previous to the day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, or next previous to the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, have received parochial relief.

36.—*Overseers to give notice annually, requiring County Voters to send in their Claims. ....Persons once on the Register not required to make any subsequent Claim.*] AND whereas it is expedient to form a Register of all persons entitled to vote in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire, to serve in any future Parliament, and that, for the purpose of forming such Register, the Overseers of every Parish and Township should annually make out Lists in the manner hereinafter mentioned; BE it therefore Enacted, That the Overseers of the Poor of every Parish and Township, shall, on the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, and on the *Twentieth* day of *June* in every succeeding year, cause to be fixed, on or near the doors of all the Churches and Chapels within such Parish or Township, or if there be no Church or Chapel therein, then to be fixed in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively, a Notice, according to the Form numbered 1. in the Schedule (H.) to this Act annexed, requiring all persons, who may be entitled to vote in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament, in respect of any property situate in such Parish or Township, to deliver or transmit to the said Overseers, on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, and on or before the *Twentieth* day of *July* in every succeeding year, a Statement of their claim as such Voters, according to the Form numbered 2. in the said Schedule (H.), or to the like effect: Provided always, That after the formation of the Register to be made in each year as hereinafter mentioned, no person whose name shall be upon such Register for the time being, shall be required thereafter to make any such claim as aforesaid, unless such person shall, since the formation of such Register for the time being, have ceased to have the qualification or place of abode described in such Register for the time being.

37.—*Overseers to prepare Lists of County Voters, and to publish them every year...... Overseers to have power of objecting to any Name inserted in the Lists......To keep Copies of Lists for inspection......Provision as to Places having no Overseers.*] And be it Enacted, That the Overseers of the Poor of every Parish and Township shall, on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, make out, or cause to be made out, according to the Form numbered 3. in the said Schedule (H.), an Alphabetical List of all Persons who shall claim as aforesaid to be inserted in such List as Voters in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve for the County, or for the Riding, Parts or Division of the County, wherein such Parish or Township lies, in respect of any lands or tenements situate wholly or in part within such Parish or Township; and that the said Overseers shall, on or before the last day of *July*, in every succeeding year, make out, or cause to be made out, a like List, containing the names of all persons who shall be upon the Register for the time being as such Voters, and also the names of all persons who shall claim as aforesaid to be inserted in such last mentioned List, as such Voters; and in every List to be made by the Overseers as aforesaid, the christian name and surname of every person shall be written at full length, together with the place of his abode, the nature of his qualification, and the name of the street, lane, or other description of the place where such lands or tenements may be situate, as the same are respectively set forth in his claim to vote; and the said Overseers, if they shall have reasonable cause to believe that any person so claiming as aforesaid, or whose name shall appear in the Register for the time being, is not entitled to vote in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire for the County, or for the Riding, Parts or Division of the County, in which their Parish or Township is situate, shall have power to add the words "objected to" opposite the name of every such person, on the margin of such List, and the said Overseers shall sign such List, and shall cause a sufficient number of Copies of such List to be printed, and to be fixed on or near the doors of all the Churches and Chapels within their Parish or Township, or if there be no Church or Chapel therein, then to be fixed up in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively, on the Two Sundays next after such List shall have been made; and the said Overseers shall likewise keep a true Copy of such List, to be perused by any person, without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the Two first weeks after such List shall have been made: Provided always, That every Precinct or Place, whether Extra-parochial or otherwise, which shall have no Overseers of the Poor, shall, for the purpose of making out such List as aforesaid, be deemed to be within the Parish or Township adjoining thereto, such Parish or Township being situate within the same County, or the same Riding, Parts or Division of a County, as such Precinct or Place; and if such Precinct or Place shall adjoin two or more Parishes or Townships, so situate as aforesaid, it shall be deemed to be within the least populous of such Parishes or Townships, according to the last Census for the time being; and the Overseers of the Poor of every such Parish or Township shall insert in the List for their respective Parish or Township the names of all persons who shall claim as aforesaid, to be inserted therein as Voters in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve for the County, or for the Riding, Parts or Division of the County in which such Precinct or Place as aforesaid lies, in respect of any lands or tenements situate wholly or in part within such Precinct or Place.

38.—*Notice of objection by third Parties to persons not entitled to be retained in the County Lists.······Lists of Persons objected to by third Parties to be published, &c.*] And be it Enacted, That every Person who shall have claimed to be entitled to vote in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire for any County, or any Riding, Parts or Division of a County, may object to any person as not being entitled to have his name retained on any such List of Voters for such County, Riding, Parts or Division to be made out as aforesaid; and every person so objecting (save and except Overseers objecting in the manner hereinbefore mentioned,) shall, on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on or before the *Twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give or cause to be given a Notice in writing according to the Form numbered 4. in the said Schedule (H.), or to the like effect, to the Overseers who shall have made out such List; and such person shall also, on or before the said day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on or before the *Twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give to the person objected to, or leave at his place of abode as described in such List, or send by the Post, directed to him at such place of abode, a Notice in writing according to the Form numbered 5. in the said Schedule (H.) or to the like effect; and the Overseers shall include the names of all persons so objected to in a List according to the Form numbered 6. in the said Schedule (H.); and shall cause Copies of such List to be fixed on or near the doors of all the Churches and Chapels within their Parish or Township, or if there be no Church or Chapel therein, then to be fixed in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively, on the Two *Sundays* next preceding the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on the Two *Sundays* next preceding the *Fifteenth* day of *September* in every succeeding year; and the Overseers shall likewise keep a copy of the names of all the persons so objected to, to be perused by any person, without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the *Ten* days next preceding the said day of in the said year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and the said *Fifteenth* day of *September* in every succeeding year.

39.—*Lists of County Voters to be forwarded to the Clerks of the Peace.*] And be it Enacted, That on the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on the *Twenty-ninth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, the Overseers of every Parish and Township shall deliver the List of Voters so made out as aforesaid, together with a written statement of the number of persons objected to by the Overseers and by other persons, to the High Constable or High Constables of the Hundred or other like District in which such Parish or Township is situate; and such High Constable or High Constables shall forthwith deliver all such Lists, together with such Statements as aforesaid, to the Clerk of the Peace of the County, Riding or Parts, who shall forthwith make out an abstract of the number of persons objected to by the Overseers and by other persons in each Parish and Township, and transmit the same to the Barrister or Barristers appointed as hereinafter mentioned to revise such Lists, in order that the said Barrister or Barristers may fix proper times and places for holding his or their Courts for the revision of the said Lists.

40.—*Judges of Assizes to name Barristers, who shall revise the Lists of County Voters.... Proviso.*] And be it Enacted, That the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench for the time being, immediately after the *passing of this Act*, and in each succeeding year, in the month of *July* or *August*, shall nominate and appoint for Middlesex, and the Senior Judge for the time being in the last Commission of Assize for every other County, immediately after the *passing of this Act*, and in each succeeding year the Senior Judge for the time being in the Commission of Assize for every such other County, when travelling the Summer Circuit, shall nominate and appoint for every such County, or for each of the Ridings, Parts or Divisions of such County (subject nevertheless to the approbation of the Lord High Chancellor, Lord Keeper or Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being), a Barrister or Barristers to revise the Lists of Voters in the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire; and such Barrister or Barristers so appointed as aforesaid, shall give Public Notice, as well by advertisement in some of the newspapers circulating within the County, Riding, Parts or Division, as also by a Notice to be fixed in some public and conspicuous situation at the principal place of election for the County, Riding, Parts or Division (such last-mentioned Notice to be given *Three* days at the least before the commencement of his or their circuit), that he or they will make a circuit of the County, Riding, Parts or Division for which he or they shall be so appointed, and of the several times and places at which he or they will hold Courts for that purpose, such times being between the day of inclusive, and the day of inclusive, in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, and between the *Fifteenth* day of *September* inclusive, and the *Twenty-fifth* day of *October* inclusive, in every subsequent year, and he or they shall hold open Courts for that purpose at the times and places so to be announced; and where Two or more Barristers shall be appointed for the same County, Riding, Parts or Division, they shall attend at the same places together, but shall sit apart from each other, and hold separate Courts at the same time for the dispatch of business: Provided always, That no Barrister so appointed as aforesaid shall be eligible to serve in Parliament for *Eighteen* months from the time of such his appointment for the County, Riding, Parts or Division for which he shall be so appointed.

41.—*Clerk of the Peace and Overseers to attend before the Barristers who shall retain on the County Lists all Names not objected to, and shall expunge those whose Qualification, if objected to, shall not be proved.....Power to rectify Mistakes in the Lists.....Proviso.*] And be it Enacted, That the Clerk of the Peace shall at the opening of the First Court to be held by every such Barrister for any County, or for any Riding, Parts or Division of a County, produce or cause to be produced before him the several Lists of Voters for such County, Riding, Parts or Division, which shall have been delivered to such Clerk of the Peace by the High Constables as aforesaid; and the Overseers of every Parish and Township who shall have made out the Lists of Voters, shall attend the Court to be held by every such Barrister at the place appointed for revising the Lists relating to such Parish or Township respectively, and shall also deliver to such Barrister a copy of the List of the persons objected to, so made out by them as aforesaid; and the said Overseers shall answer upon oath all such questions as such Barrister may put to them or any of them, touching any matter necessary for revising the Lists of Voters; and every such Barrister shall retain on the Lists of Voters the names of all persons to whom no objection shall have been made by the Overseers, or by any other person, in the manner hereinbefore mentioned; and he shall also retain on the List of Voters the name of every person who shall have been objected to by any person other than the Overseers, unless the party so objecting shall appear by himself or by some one on his behalf in support of such objection; and where the name of any person inserted in the List of Voters shall have been objected to by the Overseers, or by any other person, in the manner hereinbefore mentioned, and such person so objecting shall appear by himself or by some one on his behalf in support of such objection, every such Barrister shall require the qualification of the person so objected to, to be proved, and in case the qualification of such person shall not be proved to the satisfaction of such Barrister, or in case it shall be proved that such person is incapacitated by any law or statute from voting in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, such Barrister shall expunge the name of every such person from the said Lists; and he shall also expunge from the said Lists the name of every person who shall be proved to him to be dead; and shall correct any mistake or supply any omission which shall be proved to him to have been made in any of the said Lists in respect of the name, or place of abode, or nature of the qualification, or local description of the property of any person who shall be included in any such List: Provided always, That no person's name shall be expunged from any such List, except in case of his death, or in case of his being objected to on the margin of the List by the Overseers as aforesaid, unless such Notice as is hereinbefore required in that behalf shall have been given to the Overseers, nor unless such Notice as is hereinbefore required in that behalf shall have been given to such person, or left at or sent to his place of abode.

42.—*Overseers to prepare Lists of Persons entitled to vote in Boroughs, and to publish them.... Copies of Lists to be kept for Inspection.*] And be it Enacted, That the Overseers of the Poor of every Parish and Township either wholly or in part situate within any City or Borough, or Place sharing in the Election for any City or Borough, which shall return a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament, shall, on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on or before the last day of *July* in each succeeding year, make out or cause to be made out, according to the Form numbered 1. in the Schedule marked (I.) to this Act annexed, an Alphabetical List of all Persons who may be entitled by virtue of this Act to vote in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for such City or Borough, in respect of the occupation of premises of the clear yearly value of not less than *Ten Pounds* as hereinbefore mentioned, situate wholly or in part within such Parish or Township, and another Alphabetical List according to the Form numbered 2. in the said Schedule (I.) of all other persons (except Freemen) who may be entitled to vote in the Election for such City or Borough by virtue of any other right whatsoever; and in each of the said Lists, the christian name and surname of every person shall be written at full length, together with the nature of his qualification; and where any person shall be entitled to vote in respect of any property, then the name of the street, lane, or other description of the place where such property may be situate shall be specified in the List; and where any person shall be entitled to vote otherwise than in respect of any property, then the name of the street, lane, or other description of the place of such person's abode shall be specified in the List; and the Overseers shall sign each of such Lists, and shall cause a sufficient number of copies of such Lists to be printed and to be fixed on or near the doors of all the Churches and Chapels in their several Parishes and Townships, or if there be no Church or Chapel therein, then to be fixed up in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively on the Two Sundays next after such Lists shall have been made; and the said Overseers shall likewise keep true copies of such Lists, to be perused by any person, without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the two first weeks after such Lists shall have been made.

43.—*Provision for Places having no Overseers.*] And be it Enacted, That every precinct or place, whether extra-parochial or otherwise, having no Overseers of the Poor, which now is or hereafter may be within any City or Borough, or within any place sharing in the

Election for any City or Borough, shall, for the purpose of making out the List of Voters for such City or Borough, be deemed to be within the Parish or Township adjoining thereto, and situate wholly or in part within such City or Borough, or within such place sharing in the Election therewith; and if such precinct or place shall adjoin two or more Parishes or Townships so situate as aforesaid, it shall be deemed to be within the least populous of such Parishes or Townships according to the last Census for the time being; and the Overseers of every such Parish or Township shall insert in the List for their respective Parish or Township the names of all persons who may be entitled to vote in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for any such City or Borough in respect of any property occupied by such persons within such City or Borough, or within any place sharing in the Election therewith, such property being situate wholly or in part within such precinct or place as aforesaid.

44.—*Town Clerks to prepare and publish the Lists of Freemen.*] And be it Enacted, That the Town Clerk of every City or Borough shall, on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on or before the last day of *July* in each succeeding year, make out, or cause to be made out, according to the Form numbered 3. in the said Schedule (I.) an Alphabetical List of all the Freemen of such City or Borough who may be entitled to vote in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for such City or Borough, together with the respective places of their abode; and the Town Clerk of every place sharing in the Election for any City or Borough shall, at the respective times aforesaid, make out, or cause to be made out, a like List of all the Freemen of such place who may be entitled to vote in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for such City or Borough; and every such Town Clerk shall cause a copy of every such List to be fixed on or near the door of the Town Hall, or in some public and conspicuous situation within such respective City, Borough or Place as aforesaid, on the Two Sundays next after such List shall have been made, and shall likewise keep a true copy of such List to be perused by any person without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the two first weeks after such List shall have been made: Provided always, That where there shall be no Town Clerk for such City, Borough or Place as aforesaid, or where the Town Clerk shall be dead, or incapable of acting, all matters by this Act required to be done by and with regard to the Town Clerk, shall be done by and with regard to the person executing duties similar to those of the Town Clerk, and if there be no such person, then by and with regard to the Chief Civil Officer of such City, Borough or Place.

45.—*Persons omitted in the Borough Lists to give Notice of their Claims..... Notices as to Persons not entitled to be retained in the Lists..... Lists of Claimants and of persons objected to, to be published, &c.*] And be it Enacted, That every Person whose name shall have been omitted in any such List of Voters for any City or Borough, so to be made out as hereinbefore mentioned, and who shall claim to have his name inserted therein, shall, on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on or before the *Twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give or cause to be given a Notice in writing, according to the Form numbered 4. in the said Schedule (I.) or to the like effect, to the Overseers of that Parish or Township in the List whereof he shall claim to have his name inserted, or if he shall claim as a Freeman of any City, or Borough, or place sharing in the Election therewith, then to the Town Clerk of such City, Borough or place; and every person whose name shall have been inserted in any List of Voters for any City or Borough, may object to any other person as not being entitled to have his name retained in any List of Voters for the same City or Borough, and every person so objecting shall, on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on or before the *Twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give, or cause to be given, a Notice in writing according to the Form numbered 5. in the said Schedule (I.) or to the like effect, to the Overseers who shall have made out such List, or if the person objected to shall be inserted in the List of Freemen of any City, Borough or place, as aforesaid, then to the Town Clerk of such

City, Borough or place; and the Overseers shall include the names of all persons so claiming as aforesaid, in a List according to the Form numbered 6. in the said Schedule (I.), and the names of all persons so objected to as aforesaid in a List according to the Form numbered 7. in the said Schedule (I.) and shall cause Copies of such two Lists to be fixed on or near the doors of all the Churches and Chapels within their Parish or Township, or if there be no Church or Chapel therein, then to be fixed in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively, on the Two Sundays next preceding the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on the Two Sundays next preceding the *Fifteenth* day of *September* in every succeeding year; and every Town Clerk shall include the names of all persons so claiming as Freemen in a List according to the Form numbered 8. in the said Schedule (I.), and the names of all persons so objected to as Freemen in a List according to the Form numbered 9. in the said Schedule (I.), and shall cause copies of such two Lists to be fixed on or near the door of the Town Hall or in some public and conspicuous situation, within his respective City, Borough, or place as aforesaid, on the Two Sundays hereinbefore last mentioned in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and in every succeeding year respectively; and the Overseers and Town Clerks shall likewise keep a copy of the names of all the persons so claiming as aforesaid, and also a copy of the names of all persons so objected to as aforesaid, to be perused by any person without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the Ten days next preceding the said day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and the *Fifteenth* day of *September* in every succeeding year, and shall deliver a copy of each of such Lists to any person requiring the same on payment of *One Shilling* for each copy.

46.—*List of Liverymen of London to be transmitted to the Returning Officer.....Notices to be given of omissions and objections in case of Liverymen.....Poll of Liverymen to be taken at Guildhall.*] And be it Enacted, That for providing a List of such of the Freemen of the City of London as are Liverymen of the several Companies entitled to vote in the Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for the City of London, the Returning Officer or Officers of the said City shall, on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on or before the last day of *July* in each succeeding year, issue Precepts to the Clerks of the said Livery Companies, requiring them forthwith to make out or cause to be made out, at the expense of the respective Companies, an Alphabetical List according to the Form in the Schedule (K.) to this Act annexed, of the Freemen of London, being Liverymen of the said respective Companies, and entitled to vote in such Election; and every such Clerk shall sign such List, and transmit the same, with two printed copies thereof, to such Returning Officer or Officers, who shall forthwith fix one such copy in the Guildhall, and one in the Royal Exchange of the said City, there to remain *Fourteen days,* in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and in every subsequent year; and the Clerks of the said Livery Companies shall cause a sufficient number of such Lists of Freemen and Liverymen of their respective Companies to be printed at the expense of the respective Companies, and shall keep the same, to be perused by any person, without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the Two first weeks after such Lists shall have been printed; and every person whose name shall have been omitted in any such List of Freemen and Liverymen, and who shall claim to have his name inserted therein, shall, on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on or before the *Twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give or cause to be given a Notice in writing, according to the Form numbered 1. in the said Schedule (K.) or to the like effect, to the Returning Officer or Officers, and to the Clerk of that Company in the List whereof he shall claim to have his name inserted; and the Returning Officer or Officers shall include the names of all persons so claiming as aforesaid in a List according to the Form numbered 2. in the said Schedule (K.) and shall cause such last-mentioned List to be fixed in the Guildhall and Royal Exchange of the said City on the Two Sundays next preceding the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two,* and on the Two Sundays next preceding the

Fifteenth day of *September* in every succeeding year; and the said Returning Officer or Officers, and Clerks of the said Companies, shall likewise keep a copy of the names of all the persons so claiming as aforesaid, to be perused by any person without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the Ten days next preceding the said day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, and the said *Fifteenth* day of *September* in every succeeding year; and every person who shall object to any other Person as not being entitled to have his name retained on any such Livery List, shall on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, and on or before the *Twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give to such other person, or leave at his usual place of abode, a notice in writing, according to the Form numbered 3. in the said Schedule (K.) or to the like effect; and in the City of London the Returning Officer or Officers shall take the Poll or Votes of such Freemen of the said City, being Liverymen of the several Companies as are entitled to vote at such Election, in the Guildhall of the said City; and the said Returning Officer or Officers shall not be required to provide any Booth or Compartments, but shall appoint or take One Poll for the whole number of such Liverymen at the same place.

47.—*Judges to name Barristers, who shall revise the Lists of Borough Voters.... Proviso.*] And be it Enacted, That the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench for the time being, immediately after the *passing of this Act*, and in each succeeding year in the Month of *July* or *August*, shall nominate and appoint (subject nevertheless to the approbation of the Lord High Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being) so many Barristers as the said Lord Chief Justice shall deem necessary to revise the respective Lists of Voters for the City of London, and for the City of Westminster, and for the several Boroughs in the County of Middlesex; and that the Senior Judge for the time being in the last Commission of Assize for every other County, immediately after the *passing of this Act*, and in each succeeding year, the Senior Judge for the time being in the Commission of Assize for every such other County, when travelling the Summer Circuit, shall nominate and appoint (subject nevertheless to such approbation as aforesaid) so many Barristers as the said Judge shall deem necessary, to revise the respective List of Voters, as well for the several Cities and Boroughs in every such County as for every City and Town, and County of a City and Town, next adjoining to any such County; and the Town and County of the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull shall for this purpose be considered as next adjoining to the County of York, and the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne as next adjoining to the County of Northumberland, and the City and County of the City of Bristol as next adjoining to the County of Somerset; and the said Lord Chief Justice and Judge respectively shall have power to nominate and appoint one or more Barristers to revise the Lists for the same City or Borough or other Place as aforesaid, or one Barrister only, to revise the Lists for several Cities, Boroughs and other Places as aforesaid: Provided always, That no Barrister so appointed as aforesaid shall be eligible to serve in Parliament for *Eighteen Months* from the time of his appointment for any City, Borough, or other Place as aforesaid for which he shall be so appointed: Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall prevent the same Barrister from being appointed to revise the Lists for two or more Counties, Ridings, Parts or Divisions, or for any County, Riding, Parts or Division, and any one or more of the Cities or Boroughs therein.

48.—*Barrister to revise Lists of Borough Voters, and upon due Proof to insert and expunge Names..... Power to rectify mistakes in the Lists.*] And be it Enacted, That the Barrister or Barristers so appointed to revise the Lists of Voters for any City or Borough, shall hold an open Court or Courts for that purpose within such City or Borough, and also within every place sharing in the Election for such City or Borough, at some time between the day of inclusive, and the day of inclusive, in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, and between the *Fifteenth* day of *September* inclusive, and the *Twenty-fifth* day of *October* inclusive in every succeeding year, having first given *Three* clear days' notice of the holding of such Court or Courts, to be fixed on the doors of all the Churches and Chapels within such City, Borough or Place respectively, or if there be no Church or Chapel therein, then to be fixed in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively; and the Overseers or Town Clerks who shall have made out the Lists of Voters as aforesaid, and in the case of the City of London the Returning Officer or Officers of the said City, shall, at the opening of the first Court to be held by every such Barrister for revising such Lists, produce their respective Lists before him; and the said Overseers and Town Clerks shall also deliver to such Barrister a Copy of the List of the Persons objected to, so made out by them as aforesaid; and the Clerks of the several Livery Companies of the City of London, and the Town Clerk of every other City or Borough, or Place sharing in the Election therewith, and the several Overseers within every City, Borough or Place, as aforesaid, shall attend the Court to be held by every such Barrister for any such City, Borough or Place as aforesaid, and shall answer upon oath all such questions as such Barrister may put to them or any of them touching any matter necessary for revising the Lists of Voters; and every such Barrister shall insert in such Lists the name of every person who shall be proved to his satisfaction to be entitled to vote in the Election of a Member or Members of Parliament to serve for such City or Borough; and such Barristers shall retain on the Lists of Voters for such City or Borough, the names of all persons to whom no objection shall have been made in the manner hereinbefore-mentioned; and he shall also retain on the said Lists the name of every person who shall have been objected to by any person, unless the party so objecting shall appear by himself or by some one on his behalf, in support of such objection; and where the name of any person inserted in the List of Voters for such City or Borough shall have been objected to, in the manner hereinbefore mentioned, and the person so objecting shall appear by himself, or by some one on his behalf, in support of such objection, every such Barrister shall require the qualification of the person so objected to, to be proved, and in case the qualification of such person shall not be proved to the satisfaction of such Barrister, or in case it shall be proved that such person is incapacitated by any law or statute from voting in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, such Barrister shall expunge the Name of every such person from the said Lists; and he shall also expunge from the said Lists the name of every person who shall be proved to him to be dead; and shall correct any mistake or supply any omission which shall be proved to him to have been made in any of the said Lists in respect of the name or place of abode or nature of the qualification, or local description of the property of any person who shall be included in any such List: Provided always, That no person's name shall be inserted by such Barrister in any such List for any City or Borough, or shall be expunged therefrom, except in the case of death, unless such Notice shall have been given as is hereinbefore required in each of the said cases.

49.—*Power of inspecting Tax Assessments and Rate Books.*] And be it Enacted, That the Overseers of every Parish or Township shall, for their assistance in making out the Lists in pursuance of this Act, (upon request made by them, or any of them, at any reasonable time between the   day of   and the   day of   in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, and between the *First* day of *June* and the last day of *July* in any succeeding year, to any Assessor or Collector of Taxes, or to any other officer having the custody of any Duplicate or Tax Assessment for such Parish or Township), have free liberty to inspect any such Duplicate or Tax Assessment, and to extract from thence such particulars as may appear to such Overseer or Overseers to be necessary; and every Barrister appointed under this Act shall have power to require any Assessor, Collector of Taxes or other officer having the custody of any Duplicate or Tax Assessment, or any Overseer or Overseers having the custody of any poor rate, to produce the same respectively before him at any Court to be held by him for the purpose of assisting him in revising the Lists to be by him revised in pursuance of this Act.

50.—*Barristers, in revising the Lists, to have power of adjourning, of administering Oaths, &c., and shall settle and sign the Lists in open Court.*] And be it Enacted, That every Barrister holding any Court under this Act as aforesaid, shall have power to adjourn the same from time to time, and from any one place to any other place or places within the same County, Riding, Parts or Division, or within the same City or Borough, or within any Place sharing in the Election for such City or Borough, but so as that no such adjourned Court for revising the Lists to be made in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, shall be held after the day of in the said year, and that no such adjourned Court for revising the Lists to be made in any succeeding year shall be held after the *Twenty-fifth* day of *October* in such respective year; and every such Barrister shall have power to administer an Oath (or in the case of a Quaker or Moravian an affirmation) to all persons claiming to be inserted in, or making objection to the omission of any name in the Lists for any City or Borough, or making objection to the insertion of any name in the Lists for any County, Riding, Parts or Division, or for any City or Borough, and to all persons objected against in any of such Lists, and to all persons claiming to have any mistake in any of such Lists corrected, and to all witnesses who may be tendered on either side; and that if any person taking any oath or making any affirmation under this Act shall wilfully swear or affirm falsely, such person shall be deemed guilty of perjury, and shall be punished accordingly; and that at the holding of such respective Courts the parties shall not be attended by Counsel; and that every such Barrister shall, upon the hearing in open court, finally determine upon the validity of such claims and objections, and shall for that purpose have the same powers, and proceed in the same manner (except where otherwise directed by this Act) as the Returning Officer of any County, City or Borough, according to the laws and usages now observed at Elections; and such Barrister shall in open court write his initials against the names respectively struck out or inserted, and against any part of the said Lists in which any mistakes shall have been corrected, and shall sign his name to every page of the several Lists so settled.

51.—*Barristers to have power to summon Witnesses, &c.*] And be it Enacted, That it shall be lawful for every Barrister appointed by virtue of this Act to require by summons under his hand the attendance of any person as a witness before him, at any Court to be held by him by virtue of this Act; and if any person so summoned shall not appear before such Barrister, and it shall be proved on oath that he was personally summoned, and in case he shall be required to travel more than five miles from his usual place of residence, then that his reasonable expenses were tendered to him, it shall be lawful for such Barrister to issue his Warrant to compel the appearance of such person as a witness; and if any person appearing or brought as a witness before such Barrister, shall refuse to be sworn, or being a Quaker or Moravian, refuse to make his affirmation, or being sworn, or having made his affirmation, shall refuse to answer such questions as may be lawfully put to him by such Barrister, touching the matter pending before him, it shall be lawful for such Barrister to commit such person to the common Gaol or House of Correction for *Seven days*, unless he shall in the mean time submit to be sworn, or to make his affirmation, or to give evidence, as the case may be.

52.—*Judges to appoint additional Barristers in case of need.*] And be it Enacted, That, notwithstanding any thing hereinbefore contained, if it shall be made to appear to the Lord Chief Justice, or Judge, who shall have appointed any Barrister or Barristers under this Act, to revise the Lists of Voters, that by reason of the death, illness, or absence of any such Barrister or Barristers, or by reason of the insufficiency of the number of such Barristers, or from any other cause, such Lists cannot be revised within the period directed by this Act, it shall be lawful for such Lord Chief Justice or Judge, and he is hereby required, to appoint one or more Barrister or Barristers to act in the place of or in addition to the Barrister or Barristers originally appointed; and such Barrister or Barristers so subsequently appointed, shall have the same powers and authorities in every respect as if they had been originally appointed by such Lord Chief Justice or Judge.

53.—*County Lists to be transmitted to Clerk of Peace; Borough Lists to be kept by Returning Officer, and handed to his Successor.....Lists to be copied into books, with the*

Names numbered.....Such Books to be the Register of Voters from which Elections shall be made.] And be it Enacted, That the Lists of Voters for each County, or for the Riding, Parts or Division of each County, so signed as aforesaid by any such Barrister, shall be forthwith transmitted by him to the Clerk of the Peace of the County, Riding or Parts for which such Barrister shall have been appointed, and the Clerk of the Peace shall keep the said Lists among the records of the sessions, arranged with every Hundred in alphabetical order, and with every Parish and Township within such Hundred likewise in alphabetical order, and shall forthwith cause the said Lists to be fairly and truly copied in the same order in a book to be by him provided for that purpose, and shall prefix to every name so copied out its proper number, beginning the numbers from the first name, and continuing them in a regular series down to the last name, and shall complete and deliver such book on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, and the like book on or before the last day of *October* in every succeeding year, to the Sheriff of the County, or his Under-Sheriff, who shall safely keep the same, and shall at the expiration of his office deliver over the same to the succeeding Sheriff or his Under-Sheriff; and the Lists of Voters for each City or Borough so signed as aforesaid by any such Barrister, shall be forthwith delivered by him to the Returning Officer for such City or Borough, who shall safely keep the same, and shall cause the said Lists to be fairly and truly copied in a book to be by him provided for that purpose, with every name therein numbered according to the directions aforesaid, and shall cause such book to be completed on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, and the like book to be completed on or before the last day of *October* in every succeeding year, and shall deliver over such book, together with the Lists, at the expiration of his office, to the person succeeding him in such office; and every such book, to be so completed on or before the day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, shall be deemed the Register of the Electors to vote, after the end of this present Parliament, in the choice of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament for the County, Riding, Parts or Division of a County, City or Borough to which such Register shall relate, at any Election which may take place after the said day of in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, and before the *First* day of *November*, in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-three*; and every such book to be so completed on or before the last day of *October*, in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-three*, and in every succeeding year, shall be the Register of Electors to vote at any Election which shall take place between the *First* day of *November* inclusive, in the year wherein such respective Register shall have been made, and the *First* day of *November* in the succeeding year.

54.—*Copies of the Lists and of the Registers to be printed for Sale.*] And be it Enacted, That the Overseers of every Parish and Township shall cause to be printed Copies of the Lists so by them to be made in the year *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, and in every succeeding year, and shall deliver such Copies to all persons applying for the same, on payment of a reasonable price for each Copy; and the monies arising from the sale thereof shall be accounted for by the said Overseers, and applied to the use of their Parish or Township; and the Clerks of the Peace shall cause to be printed Copies of the Registers of the Electors for their respective Counties, Ridings or Parts, or for the Divisions of their respective Counties; and the Returning Officer of every City or Borough shall cause to be printed Copies of the Register of the Electors for such City or Borough; and every such Clerk of the Peace, and every such Returning Officer, shall deliver such respective Copies to all persons applying for the same, on payment of a reasonable price for each Copy; and the monies arising from the sale of all such Copies shall be accounted for to the Treasurer of the County, Riding or Parts, at whose expense the same shall have been printed.

55.—*Expenses of Overseers, Clerks of the Peace, &c. how to be defrayed.*] And be it Enacted, That the expenses incurred by the Overseers of any Parish or Township, in making out, printing and publishing the Lists and Notices directed by this Act, and all other expenses incurred by them in carrying into effect the provisions of this Act, shall be defrayed out of the money collected or to be collected for the relief of the Poor in such Parish or Township; and that all expenses incurred by the Returning Officer of any City or Borough in causing the Lists of the Electors for such City or Borough, to be copied out and made into a Register, and in causing Copies of such Register to be printed, shall be defrayed by the Treasurer of the County, Riding or Parts in which such City or Borough shall be situate, out of any public money in his hands, and he shall be allowed all such payments in his Accounts; and that all such expenses incurred by the Returning Officer of any City or Town, being a County of itself, and having a rate or other similar fund in the nature of a County Rate, shall be defrayed out of such rate or fund by the Treasurer or other Person charged with the collection or disbursement thereof, who shall be allowed all such payments in his accounts; and that all expenses incurred by the Clerk of the Peace of any County, Riding or Parts, in causing the Lists of the Electors for such County, Riding or Parts, or for any Division of such County to be copied out and made into a Register, and in causing Copies of such Register to be printed, and in otherwise carrying into effect the provisions of this Act, shall be defrayed by the Treasurer of such County, Riding, or Parts, out of any public money in his hands, and he shall be allowed all such payments in his accounts.

56.—Remuneration of the Barristers for revising the Lists.] *And be it Enacted, That every Barrister appointed to revise any Lists of Voters under this Act, shall be paid at the rate of Five Guineas for every day that he shall be so employed, over and above his travelling and other expenses; and every such Barrister, after the termination of his last sitting, shall lay or cause to be laid before the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury for the time being, a Statement of the number of days during which he shall have been so employed, and an account of the travelling and other expenses incurred by him in respect of such employment; and the said Lords Commissioners shall make an Order for the amount to be paid to such Barrister.*

57.—*No inquiry at the time of Election, but as to the identity of the Voter, the continuance of his Qualification, and whether he has voted before at same Election..... Voter may be sworn as to these Points..... Form of Oath..... No Scrutiny by Returning Officer.*] And be it Enacted, That in all Elections whatever of Members to serve in any future Parliament, no inquiry shall be permitted at the time of Polling, as to the Right of any person to vote, except only whether the person claiming to vote be the same whose name appears in the Register of Voters for the current year, and whether such person's Qualification for Voting still continues, and whether such person has previously voted at the same Election, all which inquiries the Returning Officer or his Deputy or Deputies shall, if required on behalf of any Candidate, make from each Voter at the time of his tendering his Vote, and not after, and shall also, if so required as aforesaid, then and there administer an Oath, (or in case of a Quaker or Moravian, an Affirmation,) to such Voter, in the following form; (that is to say)

> "YOU, A. B. do swear, [or, being a Quaker or Moravian, do affirm,] That
> "you are the same A. B. whose name appears on the Register of Voters for
> "this year for the County of   [or, the   Riding, Parts or
> "Division of the County of   or the City or Borough of
> "as the case may be,] and that you still have the same Qualification for
> "which your Name was inserted in the said Register, that is to say, [specify-
> "ing in each case the nature of the Qualification as described in the Register,]
> "and that you have not before voted either here or elsewhere at the present
> "Election for the said County, [or, for the said Riding, Parts or Division of
> "the said County, or for the said City or Borough, as the case may be.]
> "So help you GOD."

And no Elector shall hereafter, at any such Election, be required to take any oath or affirmation, except as aforesaid, in proof of his Freehold, Residence, Age or other his Qualification or Right to vote, any law or statute, local or general, to the contrary notwithstanding; and no person claiming to vote at any such Election shall be excluded from voting thereat, except by reason of its appearing to the Returning Officer or his respective Deputy that the person so claiming to vote is not the same person whose name appears in such Register, or that such person's Qualification for Voting does not still continue, or that such person has previously polled at the same Election, or by reason of such person refusing to take the said oath or make the said affirmation, or to take any other oath or make any other affirmation required by any other Act, and not hereby dispensed with; and no Scrutiny shall hereafter be allowed by or before any Returning Officer with regard to any Votes given or tendered at any Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament; any law, statute or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

58.—*Persons excluded from the Register by the Barrister may tender their Votes.······Tender to be recorded.*] Provided always, and be it Enacted, That any person, whose name shall have been omitted from any Register of Voters in consequence of the decision of the Barrister who shall have revised the Lists from which such Register shall have been formed, may tender his Vote at any Election at which such Register shall be in force, stating, at the time, the name or names of the Candidate or Candidates for whom he tenders such Vote; and the Returning Officer, or his Deputy, shall enter upon the Poll-book every Vote so tendered, distinguishing the same from the Votes admitted and allowed at such Election.

59.—*Correctness of the Register to be questionable before a Committee of the House of Commons.*] Provided also, and be it Enacted, That upon Petition to the House of Commons, complaining of an undue Election or Return of any Member or Members to serve in Parliament, any Petitioner shall be at liberty to impeach the correctness of the Register of Voters in force at the time of such Election, by proving that, in consequence of the decision of the Barrister who shall have revised the Lists of Voters from which such Register shall have been formed, the name of any person who voted at such Election was improperly inserted or retained in such Register, or the name of any person who tendered his Vote at such Election, improperly omitted from such Register; and the Select Committee appointed for the trial of such Petition shall alter the Poll taken at such Election according to the truth of the case, and shall report their Determination thereupon to The House, and The House shall thereupon carry such Determination into effect, and the Return shall be amended, or the Election declared void, as the case may be, and the Register corrected accordingly, or such other order shall be made as to The House shall seem proper; and, in case of corruption, partiality, or wilful misconduct on the part of such Barrister, the said Committee may order such sum to be paid by him to the Petitioner as such Committee shall think reasonable.

60.—*Sheriffs of the divided Counties to preside at Elections by themselves or Deputies, and fix the time.*] And be it Enacted, That the Sheriffs of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and the Sheriffs of the Counties divided by this Act shall duly cause proclamation to be made of the several days fixed for the Election of a Knight or Knights of the Shire for the several Ridings, Parts and Divisions of their respective Counties, and shall preside at the same by themselves or their lawful Deputies.

61.—*Commencement and Continuance of Polls at County Elections.*] And be it Enacted, That at every contested Election of a Knight or Knights to serve in any future Parliament for any County, or for any Riding, Parts or Division of a County, the Polling shall commence at *Nine* o'clock in the Forenoon of the next day but two after the day fixed for the Election, unless such next day but two shall be Saturday or Sunday, and then on the Monday following, at the principal place of Election, and also at the several places to be appointed as hereinafter directed for taking Polls; and such Polling shall continue for *Two* Days only, such *Two* Days being successive days; (that is to say) for *Seven* hours on the first day of Polling, and for *Eight* hours on the second day of Polling; and no Poll shall be kept open later than *Four* of the clock in the Afternoon of the second day, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

62.—*Counties to be divided into Districts for Polling by Justices in Sessions.····Justices to have*

Power to alter the Polling Districts at the end of two Years.] And be it Enacted, That the Justices of the Peace for every County in England and Wales, assembled at the Quarter Sessions to be holden next after the *passing of this Act*, or at some Special Sessions to be appointed by them so assembled as aforesaid, (and of which there shall be given at least *Ten* Days public notice,) shall divide their respective Counties, and Ridings, Parts and Divisions of Counties, into convenient Districts for Polling, and shall appoint in each District a convenient place for taking the Poll at all Elections of a Knight or Knights of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament, in such manner that no person shall have to travel more than *Fifteen* miles from the property in respect of which he claims to vote; provided that no County, nor any Riding, Parts or Division of a County, shall have more than *Fifteen* Districts and respective places appointed for taking the Poll for such County, Riding, Parts, or Division; and that the Justices of the Peace for every County in England and Wales at the Quarter Sessions assembled, shall have power to appoint (if they shall so think fit) other and different Districts and Places for Polling at the end of every Two Years from the respective preceding appointment to be made for that purpose; and that a List of the Districts and Places for Polling, named in the first and each succeeding appointment under this Act, shall be lodged with the Clerk of the Peace of each County, who shall forthwith cause Copies of such List to be printed, and to be fixed on or near the doors of the Churches and Chapels within each County, or the Ridings, Parts or Divisions of each County, according to the last appointment; and the Polls at every Election shall be taken within such Districts and at such places as shall have been named for that purpose in the appointment in force at the time of such Election.

63.—*As to Booths at the Polling places for Counties..... No Voter to Poll out of the District where his Property lies.*] And be it Enacted, That at every contested Election for any County or Riding, Parts or Division of a County, the Sheriff, Under-Sheriff, or Sheriff's Deputy shall, if required thereto by or on behalf of any Candidate on the day fixed for the Election, and if not so required, may, if it shall appear to him expedient, cause to be erected a reasonable number of Booths for taking the Poll at the principal place of Election, and also at each of the Polling-places so to be appointed as aforesaid, and shall cause to be affixed on the most conspicuous part of each of the said Booths the names of the several Parishes, Townships, and places for which such Booth is respectively allotted; and no person shall be admitted to vote at any such Election in respect of any property situate in any Parish, Township or place for which any Booth is allotted, except at the Booth so allotted; and in case any Parish, Township, or place shall happen not to be included in any of the districts to be appointed by the Justices of the Peace as aforesaid, the Votes in respect of property situate in any Parish, Township or place so omitted, shall be taken at the principal place of Election for the County or Riding, Parts or Division of the County, as the case may be.

64.—*Provision as to Sheriff's Deputies, the Custody of Poll Books, and final Declaration of the Poll for Counties.*] And be it Enacted, That the Sheriff shall have power to appoint Deputies to preside and Clerks to take the Poll at the principal place of Election, and also at the several places appointed for taking the Poll for any County, or any Riding, Parts or Division of a County; and that the Poll Clerks employed at those several places shall at the close of each day's Poll, inclose and seal their several Books, and shall publicly deliver them, so inclosed and sealed, to the Sheriff, Under-Sheriff, or Sheriff's Deputy, presiding at such Poll, who shall give a receipt for the same, and shall, on the commencement of the Poll on the second day, deliver them back, so inclosed and sealed, to the persons from whom he shall have received them; and on the final close of the Poll every such Deputy who shall have received any such Poll-books shall forthwith deliver or transmit the same, so inclosed and sealed, to the Sheriff, or his Under-Sheriff, who shall receive and keep all the Poll-books unopened until the re-assembling of the Court on the day next but one after the close of the Poll, unless such next day but one shall be Sunday, and then on the Monday following, when he shall openly break the seals thereon, and cast up the number of Votes as they appear on the said several Books, and shall openly declare the state of the Poll, and shall make proclamation of the Member or Members chosen not later than *Two* of the clock in the Afternoon of the said day.

65.—*Commencement and continuance of Polls at Borough Elections.*] And be it Enacted, That at every contested Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for any City or Borough in England, except the Borough of Monmouth, the Poll shall commence on the day fixed for the Election, or on the day next following, or at the latest on the Third day, unless any of the said days shall be Saturday or Sunday, and then on the Monday following, the particular day for the commencement of the Poll to be fixed by the Returning Officer, and such Polling shall continue for Two days only, such Two days being successive days; (that is to say) for Seven hours on the first day of Polling, and for Eight hours on the second day of Polling; and that the Poll shall on no account be kept open later than *Four* of the clock in the Afternoon of such second day; any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

66.—*Polling for Boroughs to be at several Booths, not more than* 600 *voting at one compartment in a Booth.... Each person to vote at the Booth appointed for his Parish or District .... If the Booths are in different places, a Deputy to preside at each place.... Proviso.*] And be it Enacted, That at every contested Election of a Member or Members to serve in any future Parliament for any City or Borough in England, except the Borough of Monmouth, the Returning Officer shall, if required thereto by or on behalf of any Candidate, on the day fixed for the Election, and if not so required, may, if it shall appear to him expedient, cause to be erected for taking the Poll at such Election different Booths for different Parishes, Districts or Parts of such City or Borough, which Booths may be situated either in one place or in several places, and shall be so divided and allotted into Compartments as to the Returning Officer shall seem most convenient, so that no greater number than *Six Hundred* shall be required to poll at any one compartment; and the Returning Officer shall appoint a Clerk to take the Poll at each compartment, and shall cause to be affixed on the most conspicuous part of each of the said Booths, the names of the several Parishes, Districts and Parts for which such Booth is respectively allotted; and no person shall be admitted to vote at any such Election, except at the Booth allotted for the Parish, District or Part wherein the Property may be situate in respect of which he claims to vote, or wherein his place of abode as described in the Register may be; but in case no Booth shall happen to be provided for any particular Parish, District or Part as aforesaid, the Votes of persons voting in respect of property situate in any Parish, District or Part so omitted, or having their place of abode therein, may be taken at any of the said Booths; and the Votes of Freemen residing out of the limits of the City or Borough, but within *Seven* statute miles thereof, may be taken at any of the said Booths; and Public Notice of the situation, Division and Allotment of the different Booths shall be given *Two Days* before the commencement of the Poll, by the Returning Officer; and in case the Booths shall be situated in different places, the Returning Officer may appoint a Deputy to preside at each place; and at every such Election the Poll Clerks at the close of each day's Poll shall enclose and seal their several Poll Books, and shall publicly deliver them so enclosed and sealed to the Returning Officer or his Deputy, who shall give a receipt for the same, and shall, on the commencement of the Poll on the second day, deliver them back so enclosed and sealed to the persons from whom he shall have received the same, and every Deputy so receiving any such Poll-books, on the final close of the Poll, shall forthwith deliver or transmit the same so enclosed and sealed to the Returning Officer, who shall receive and keep all the Poll Books unopened until the following day, unless such day be Sunday, and then till the Monday following, when he shall openly break the seals thereon, and cast up the number of Votes as they appear on the said several Books, and shall openly declare the state of the Poll, and make proclamation of the Member or Members chosen not later than *Two* o'clock in the Afternoon of the said day: Provided always, That the Returning Officer, or his lawful Deputy, may, if he think fit, declare the final state of the Poll, and proceed to make the Return immediately after the Poll shall have been lawfully closed: Provided also, That no Nomination shall be made, or Election holden, of any Member for any City or Borough, in any Church, Chapel or other place of Public Worship.

67.—*Polling Districts for Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and East Retford, to be ap-*

pointed by the Justices in Sessions.] Provided always, and be it Enacted, That so far as relates to the several Boroughs of New Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and East Retford, the Justices of the Peace of the several Counties in which the said Boroughs are respectively situate at the Quarter Sessions to be holden next after the *passing of this Act* shall divide the said several Boroughs into convenient Districts for Polling, and shall appoint in each District a convenient place for taking the Poll at all Elections of Members to serve in any future Parliament for each of the said Boroughs; and that the Justices of the Peace of each of the said Counties, assembled at the Quarter Sessions, shall have power to appoint (if they shall so think fit) other and different Districts and Places for Polling at the end of every Two years from the respective preceding appointment to be made for that purpose; and that a List of the Districts and Places for Polling named in the first and in each succeeding appointment shall be lodged with the Clerk of the Peace of the respective County, who shall forthwith cause Copies of such List to be printed, and to be fixed on the doors of the several Churches and Chapels within the respective Borough; and the Polls at every Election for each of the said Boroughs shall be taken within such Districts and at such places respectively as shall be named in the appointment in force at the time of such Election.

68.—*When the Returning Officer may close the Poll.....Adjournment of Poll in case of Riot.*] And be it Enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall prevent any Sheriff or other Returning Officer, or the lawful Deputy of any Returning Officer, from closing the Poll previous to the expiration of the time fixed by this Act, in any case where the same might have been lawfully closed before the *passing of this Act*; and that where the proceedings at any Election shall be interrupted or obstructed by any riot or open violence, the Sheriff or other Returning Officer, or the lawful Deputy of any Returning Officer, shall not for such cause finally close the Poll, but shall adjourn the same until the following day, or for some other convenient time as the occasion may require, and if necessary, shall further adjourn the same until such interruption or obstruction shall have ceased, when the Returning Officer or his Deputy shall again proceed to take the Poll; and any day whereon the Poll shall have been so adjourned, shall not be reckoned one of the two days of Polling at such Election within the meaning of this Act.

69.—*Candidates or persons proposing a Candidate without his consent, to be at the expense of Booths and Poll Clerks.....Proviso.*] And be it Enacted, That from and after the end of this present Parliament, all Booths erected for the convenience of taking Polls shall be erected at the joint and equal expense of the several Candidates, and the same shall be erected by contract with the Candidates, if they shall think fit to make such contract, or if they shall not make such contract, then the same shall be erected by the Sheriff or other Returning Officer, at the expense of the several Candidates as aforesaid; and that all Deputies appointed by the Sheriff or other Returning Officer shall be paid each *Two Guineas* by the day, and all Clerks employed in taking the Poll shall be paid each *One Guinea* by the day, at the expense of the Candidates at such Election: Provided always, That if any Person shall be proposed without his consent, then the Person so proposing him shall be liable to defray his share of the said expenses in like manner as if he had been a Candidate: Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall prevent the Candidates or any Sheriff or other Returning Officer from using or hiring any one or more Houses or other Buildings for the purpose of taking the Poll therein, subject always to the same regulations, provisions and liabilities in every respect as are hereinbefore mentioned with regard to Booths for taking the Poll.

70.—*Certified Copies of the Register of Voters for each Booth.*] And be it Enacted, that the Sheriff or other Returning Officer shall, before the day fixed for the Election, cause to be made for the use of each Booth or other Polling Place at such Election, a true Copy of the Register of Voters, and shall under his hand certify every such copy to be true.

71.—*Powers of Deputies of Returning Officers.*] And be it Enacted, That every Deputy of a Sheriff or other Returning Officer shall have the same power of administering the Oaths and Affirmations required by Law, and of appointing Commissioners for administering such Oaths and Affirmations as may by Law be administered by Commissioners, as the Sheriff or other Returning Officer has by virtue of this or any other Act, and subject to the same regulations and provisions in every respect as such Sheriff or other Returning Officer.

72.—*Regulations respecting Polling, &c. for the Borough of Monmouth, and for the contributory Boroughs in Wales.*] And be it Enacted, That from and after the end of this present Parliament, every person who shall have a Right to vote in the Election of a Member for the Borough of Monmouth, in respect of the Towns of Newport or Usk, shall give his Vote at Newport or Usk respectively, before the Deputy for each of such Towns, whom the Returning Officer of the Borough of Monmouth is hereby authorized and required to appoint; and every person who shall have a Right to vote in the Election of a Member for any Shire Town or Borough, in respect of any place named in the first column of the Schedule marked (F.) to this Act annexed, shall give his Vote at such place before the Deputy for such place, whom the Returning Officer of the Shire Town or Borough is hereby authorized and required to appoint; and every person who shall have a Right to vote in the Election of a Member for the Borough composed of the Towns of Swansea, Lougher, Neath, Aberaven and Ken-fig, shall give his Vote at the Town in respect of which he shall be entitled to vote; (that is to say), at Swansea before the Portreeve of Swansea, and at each of the other Towns before the Deputy for such Town, whom the said Portreeve is hereby authorized and required to appoint; and at every contested Election for the Borough of Monmouth, or for any Shire Town or Borough named in the second column of the said Schedule (F.), or for the Borough composed of the said five Towns, the Polling shall commence on the day fixed for the respective Election, as well at Monmouth as at Newport and Usk respectively, and as well at the Shire Town or Borough as at each of the places sharing in the Election therewith respectively, and as well at Swansea as at each of the four other Towns respectively; and such Polling shall continue for Two days only, such two days being successive days, except where Sunday shall intervene; (that is to say,) for Seven hours on the First day of Polling, and for Eight hours on the Second day of Polling, and that the Poll shall on no account be kept open later than *Four* o'clock in the Afternoon of such second day; and the Returning Officer of the Borough of Monmouth shall give to the Deputies for Newport and Usk respectively, and the Returning Officer of every Shire Town or Borough named in the second column of the said Schedule (F.) shall give to the Deputy for each of the places sharing in the Election for such Shire Town or Borough, Notice of the day fixed for such respective Election, and shall before the day fixed for such respective Election cause to be made, and to be delivered to every such Deputy, a true Copy of the Register of Voters for the Borough of Monmouth, or for such Shire Town or Borough, as the case may be, and shall under his hand certify every such copy to be true; and the Portreeve of the Town of Swansea shall give Notice of the day of Election to the Deputy for each of the Towns of Lougher, Neath, Aberaven, and Ken-fig, and shall in like manner cause to be made, and to be delivered to every such Deputy a true and certified Copy of the Register of Voters for the Borough composed of the said five Towns; and the respective Deputies for Newport and Usk, and for the respective places named in the first column of the said Schedule (F.) as well as for the Towns of Lougher, Neath, Aberaven, and Ken-fig, shall respectively take, and conduct the Poll, and deliver or transmit the Poll-books in the same manner as the Deputies of the Returning Officers of the Cities and Boroughs in England are hereinbefore directed to do, and shall have the same powers, and perform the same duties in every respect, as are respectively conferred and imposed on the said Deputies by this Act.

73. *All Election Laws to remain in force, except where superseded by this Act.*] And be it Enacted, That all Laws, Statutes, and Usages now in force respecting the Election of Members to serve in Parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, shall be and remain, and are hereby declared to be and remain in full force, and shall apply

to the Election of Members to serve in Parliament for all the places hereby empowered to return Members, as fully and effectually as if those places had heretofore returned Members, except so far as any of the said laws, statutes or usages are repealed or altered by this Act, or are inconsistent with the provisions thereof.

74. *Penalties on Officers for breach of duty.*] And be it Enacted, That if any Sheriff, Returning Officer, Barrister, Overseer, or any person whatsoever, shall wilfully contravene or disobey the Provisions of this Act, or any of them, with respect to any matter or thing which such Sheriff, Returning Officer, Barrister, Overseer or other person is hereby required to do, he shall for such his offence be liable to be sued in an action of debt in any of His Majesty's Courts of Record at Westminster for the penal sum of *Five hundred Pounds*, and the Jury before whom such action shall be tried may find their verdict for the full sum of *Five hundred Pounds*, or for any less sum which the said Jury shall think it just that he should pay for such his offence; and the defendant in such action being convicted shall pay such penal sum so awarded, with full costs of suit, to any party who may sue for the same; without prejudice, however, to the right of any party grieved by the same misconduct of such Sheriff, Returning Officer, Barrister, Overseer or other person, to recover such damages in an action on the case, for a false Return or any other grievance, as he may be entitled to at common law or by virtue of any statute now in force.

75.—*Persons disqualified voting subject to Penalties, and liable to Costs on Petition to House of Commons.*] And be it Enacted, That if any person named in any Register required to be made under this Act, but who at the time of any Election shall be in the enjoyment of any office by law disqualifying him from giving his Vote in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, shall presume to vote in such Election, he shall be liable to all penalties and forfeitures to which he would be subject for the said offence by any law in force at the time of such Election, in case this Act had not been passed; and in case of a Petition to the House of Commons for altering the Return or setting aside the Election in which such person shall have voted, his Vote shall be struck off by the Committee, and such sum shall be by him paid to any Petitioner as to such Committee shall seem just.

76.—*Penalty for personating an Elector, and for voting twice at the same Election.*] And be it Enacted, That if any person shall falsely and deceitfully assume the name or character of any other person whose name shall be inserted in any Register required to be made under this Act, and shall thereby vote or attempt to vote as and for such other person in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament; or if any person, after having voted at any Election shall again vote or attempt again to vote at the same Election, every person so offending shall be guilty of a *Misdemeanor*, and being convicted thereof, shall be for ever afterwards disqualified from voting in any Election whatever of any Member to serve in Parliament, and shall be liable to such fine, not exceeding *Fifty Pounds*, or to such imprisonment, not exceeding *Six Months*, as the Court before whom he shall be convicted shall think fit; and in case of a Petition to the House of Commons for altering the Return or setting aside the Election in which such person shall have voted, his Vote shall be struck off by the Committee, and such sum shall be by him paid to any Petitioner as to such Committee shall seem just.

77.—*Costs awarded under this Act, how to be recovered*......9 *G*. 4. *c*. 22.] And be it Enacted, That where the Committee appointed to try the merits of any Petition complaining of an undue Election or Return of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, shall award any sum to be paid in any of the cases mentioned in this Act, such sum shall be recovered in the same manner as costs are directed to be recovered by virtue of the Act passed in the ninth year of the reign of King GEORGE the Fourth, intituled, "An Act to consolidate and amend "the Laws relating to the Trial of Controverted Elections, or Returns of Members to serve "in Parliament."

78.—*Writs, &c. to be made conformable to this Act.*] And be it Enacted, That all Writs to be issued for the Election of Members to serve in all future Parliaments, and all mandates, precepts, instruments, proceedings and notices consequent upon such Writs, shall be and the same are hereby authorized to be framed and expressed in such manner and form as may be necessary for the carrying the provisions of this Act into effect; any law, statute or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

79.—*Act not to extend to Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.*] Provided always, and be it Enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend to or in anywise affect the Election of Members to serve in Parliament for the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or shall entitle any person to vote in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament for the City of Oxford or Town of Cambridge in respect of the occupation of any Chambers or Premises in any of the Colleges or Halls of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge.

80.—*Of the sense in which words in this Act are to be understood. "City or Borough."....* *"Returning Officer."....“Parish or Township."....“Overseers of the Poor."....."Justices of the Peace for Counties," &c.....Misnomer not to vitiate.*] And be it Enacted, That throughout this Act, wherever the words "City or Borough," "Cities or Boroughs," may occur, those words shall be construed to include, except there be something in the subject or context manifestly repugnant to such construction, all Towns Corporate, Cinque Ports, Districts or Places within England and Wales which shall be entitled after this Act shall have passed to return a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, other than Counties at large, and Ridings, Parts and Divisions of Counties at large, and shall also include the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and the words "Returning Officer" shall apply to every person or persons to whom, by virtue of his or their office, either under the present Act, or under any former law, custom or statute, the execution of any Writ or Precept doth or shall belong for the Election of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, by whatever name or title such person or persons may be called; and the words "Parish or Township" shall extend to every Parish, Township, Vill, Hamlet, District or Place maintaining its own poor; and the words "Overseers of the Poor" shall extend to all persons who by virtue of any office or appointment shall execute the duties of Overseers of the Poor, by whatever name or title such persons may be called, and in whatsoever manner they may be appointed; and that all provisions in this Act relative to any matters to be done by or with regard to Justices of the Peace for Counties, or Sessions of the Peace for Counties, or Clerks of the Peace for Counties, or Treasurers of Counties, shall extend to the Justices, Sessions, Clerks of the Peace and Treasurers of the several Ridings of Yorkshire and Parts of Lincolnshire; and that all the said respective Justices, Sessions and Clerks of the Peace shall have power to do the several matters required by this Act, as well within places of exclusive jurisdiction as without; and that no Misnomer or inaccurate description of any person or place named or described in any Schedule to this Act annexed, or in any List or Register of Voters, or in any Notice required by this Act, shall in anywise prevent or abridge the operation of this Act with respect to such person or place, provided that such person or place shall be so designated in such Schedule, List, Register or Notice as to be commonly understood.

68.(?)—*In case of a Dissolution of Parliament before Registration, the new Rights of Voting shall take effect without Registration.*] Provided always, and be it Enacted, That if a Dissolution of the present Parliament shall take place after the passing of this Act, and before the day of *One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two*, in such case such persons only shall be entitled to vote in the Election of Members to serve in a new Parliament for any County, or for any Riding, Parts or Division of a County, or for any City or Borough, as would be entitled to be inserted in the respective Lists of Voters for the same, directed to be made under this Act, if the day of Election had been the day for making out such respective Lists; and such persons shall be entitled to vote in such Election, although they may not be registered according to the provisions of this Act, anything herein contained notwithstanding; and the Polling at such Election for any County, or for any Riding, Parts or Division of a County, may be continued for *Fifteen* Days, and the Polling at such Election for any City or Borough may be continued for *Eight* Days, any thing herein contained notwithstanding.

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SCHEDULES

TO WHICH THE FOREGOING ACT REFERS.

SCHEDULE (A.)

Aldborough, Yorkshire.
Aldeburgh, Suffolk.
Amersham, Buckinghamshire.
Appleby, Westmoreland.
Bedwin (Great), Wiltshire.
Beeralston, Devonshire.
Bishop's Castle, Shropshire.
Blechingley, Surrey.
Boroughbridge, Yorkshire.
Bossiney, Cornwall.
Brackley, Northamptonshire.
Bramber, Sussex.
Callington, Cornwall.
Camelford, Cornwall.
Castle Rising, Norfolk.
Corfe Castle, Dorsetshire.
Downton, Wiltshire.
Dunwich, Suffolk.
Fowey, Cornwall.
Gatton, Surrey.
Grinstead, East, Sussex.
Haslemere, Surrey.
Hedon, Yorkshire.
Heytesbury, Wiltshire.
Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire.
Hindon, Wiltshire.
Ilchester, Somersetshire.
East Looe, Cornwall.
West Looe, Cornwall.
Lostwithiel, Cornwall.
Ludgershall, Wiltshire.
Milborne Port, Somersetshire.
Minehead, Somersetshire.
Newport, Cornwall.
Newton, Lancashire.
Newtown, Isle of Wight, Hampshire.
Okehampton, Devonshire.
Orford, Suffolk.
Plympton, Devonshire.
Queenborough, Kent.
Romney (New), Kent.
St. Germain's, Cornwall.
St. Mawe's, Cornwall.
St. Michael's, or Midshall, Cornwall.
Saltash, Cornwall.
Old Sarum, Wiltshire.
Seaford, Sussex.
Steyning, Sussex.
Stockbridge, Hampshire.
Tregony, Cornwall.
Wendover, Buckinghamshire.
Weobly, Herefordshire.
Whitchurch, Hampshire.
Winchelsea, Sussex.
Wootton Bassett, Wiltshire.
Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, Hampshire.
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SCHEDULE (B.)

Arundel, Sussex.
Ashburton, Devonshire.
Calne, Wiltshire.
Christchurch, Hampshire.
Clitheroe, Lancashire.
Dartmouth, Devonshire.
Droitwich, Worcestershire.
Eye, Suffolk.
Grimsby (Great), Lincolnshire.
Helston, Cornwall.
Horsham, Sussex.
Hythe, Kent.
Launceston, Cornwall.
Liskeard, Cornwall.
Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire.
Malmesbury, Wiltshire.
Midhurst, Sussex.
Morpeth, Northumberland.
North Allerton, Yorkshire.
Petersfield, Hampshire.
Reigate, Surrey.
Rye, Sussex.
St. Ives, Cornwall.
Shaftesbury, Dorsetshire.
Thirsk, Yorkshire.
Totness, Devonshire.
Wareham, Dorsetshire.
Westbury, Wiltshire.
Wilton, Wiltshire.
Woodstock, Oxfordshire.

SCHEDULE (C.)

Principal places to be Boroughs, with the Returning Officers.

Manchester, Lancashire.—Ret. Off. The Boroughreeve and Constables of Manchester.
Birmingham, Warwickshire.—Ret. Off. The Two Bailiffs of Birmingham.
Leeds, Yorkshire.—Ret. Off. The Mayor of Leeds.
Greenwich, Kent.
Sheffield, Yorkshire.—Ret. Off. The Master Cutler.
Sunderland, Durham.
Devonport, Devonshire.
Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.—Ret. Off. The Constable of the Manor of the Deanery of Wolverhampton.
Tower Hamlets, Middlesex.
Finsbury, Middlesex.
Mary-le-bone, Middlesex.

Lambeth, Surrey.
Bolton, Lancashire.—Ret. Off. The Boroughreeves of Great and Little Bolton.
Bradford, Yorkshire.
Blackburn, Lancashire.
Brighton, Sussex.
Halifax, Yorkshire.
Macclesfield, Cheshire.—Ret. Off. The Mayor of Macclesfield.
Oldham, Lancashire.
Stockport, Cheshire.—Ret. Off. The Mayor of Stockport.
Stoke-upon Trent, Staffordshire.
Stroud, Gloucestershire.

SCHEDULE (D.)

Principal Places to be Boroughs—With the Returning Officers.

Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire.
Bury, Lancashire.
Chatham, Kent.
Cheltenham, Gloucestershire.
Dudley, Worcestershire.
Frome, Somersetshire.
Gateshead, Durham.
Huddersfield, Yorkshire.
Kidderminster, Worcestershire.—Ret. Off. The High Bailiff of Kidderminster.
Kendal, Westmoreland.—Ret. Off. The Mayor of Kendal.
Rochdale, Lancashire.
Salford, Lancashire.—Ret. Off. The Boroughreeve of Salford.
South Shields, Durham.
Tynemouth, Northumberland.
Wakefield, Yorkshire.
Walsall, Staffordshire.—Ret. Off. The Mayor of Walsall.
Warrington, Lancashire.
Whitby, Yorkshire.
Whitehaven, Cumberland.

SCHEDULE (E.)

Places sharing in the Election of Members, with Shire Towns or Principal Boroughs.

Amlwch, Holyhead, and Llangefni—with Beaumaris, Anglesey.
Aberystwith, Lampeter, and Adpar—with Cardigan, Cardiganshire.
Llanelly—with Caermarthen, Caermarthenshire.
Pwllheli, Nevin, Conway, Bangor, Cricceith,—with Caernarvon, Caernarvonshire.
Ruthin, Holt, Town of Wrexham—with Denbigh, Denbighshire.
Rhyddlan, Overton, Caerwis, Caergwrley, St. Asaph, Holywell, Mold,—with Flint, Flintshire.
Cowbridge, Merthyr Tydvil, Aberdare, Llantrissent—with Cardiff, Glamorganshire.
Llanidloes, Welsh Pool, Machynlleth, Llanfyllin, Newtown—with Montgomery, Montgomeryshire.
Narberth, Fishguard—with Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire.
Tenby, Wiston, Town of Milford—with Pembroke, Pembrokeshire.
Knighton, Rhayder, Kevinleece, Knucklas, Town of Presteigne—with Radnor, Radnorshire.

SCHEDULE (F.)

Counties to be divided.

Cheshire.
Cornwall.
Cumberland.
Derbyshire.
Devonshire.
Durham.
Essex.
Gloucestershire.
Kent.
Hampshire.
Lancashire.
Leicestershire.
Norfolk.
Northumberland.
Northamptonshire.
Nottinghamshire.
Shropshire.
Somersetshire.
Staffordshire.
Suffolk.
Surrey.
Sussex.
Warwickshire.
Wiltshire.
Worcestershire

SCHEDULE (G.)

Cities and Towns, and Counties thereof, and the Counties at large, in which Cities and Towns, and Counties thereof, are to be included.

Caermarthen, Caermarthenshire.
Chester, Cheshire.
Coventry, Warwickshire.
Gloucester, Gloucestershire.
Kingston-upon-Hull, East Riding, Yorkshire.
Lincoln, the Parts of Lindsey, Lincolnshire.
London, Middlesex.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland.
Worcester, Worcestershire.
York and Ainsty, North Riding, Yorkshire.

[*The remaining Schedules, being merely Forms of Lists and Notices, have not been thought necessary to be given here.*]
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PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

Copies of INSTRUCTIONS *given by the Secretary of State for the Home Department with reference to Parliamentary Representation; likewise, Copies of Letters or Reports received by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in answer to such Instructions.*

Letter from Lord MELBOURNE *to Lieutenant* DRUMMOND, *R. E.*

SIR, *Whitehall,* 24*th Nov.* 1831.

THE Government having determined to found the Reform Bill upon a new basis, I request your assistance, to enable them to ascertain the relative importance of the smaller Boroughs in England and Wales.

It is proposed to take the Number of Houses, and the amount of Assessed Taxes for the year ending April 1831 together, as the test of disfranchisement. The inquiries of which you have had the direction, and the information obtained in answers to Circular Letters sent from this Office, will put you in possession of the data, from which such a calculation can be made.

You will have the goodness therefore to make a Scale, containing in addition to Ninety-seven Boroughs, (the Number comprised in Schedules (A.) and (B.) of the former Bill), the ten or fifteen immediately above them in size and importance. You will arrange these Boroughs in such a manner that the lowest may be the first, and the highest the last on the List. I shall be obliged to you to send me, at the same time, an account of the manner in which the calculation has been made.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
MELBOURNE.

Letter from Lieutenant DRUMMOND *to the Right Hon. Viscount* MELBOURNE.

MY LORD, *Council Office,* 12*th Dec.* 1831

IN conformity with the directions contained in your Lordship's Letter of the 24th ult. a List of the smaller Boroughs of England, arranged in a manner about to be described, is now transmitted to your Lordship, for the purpose of being laid before His Majesty's Government.

The most anxious consideration has been bestowed on the method adopted in the formation of the List; a consideration due, however, to the importance of the subject rather than the difficulty of the task; of which by far the most arduous part has consisted in obtaining correct data, on which to proceed with certainty and with justice.

The principle on which the List is founded, consists in allowing equal *weight,* in the estimation of the relative importance of a Borough, to the number of Houses which it contains, and amount of Assessed Taxes which it pays; and the method adopted for carrying this principle into effect may be stated in the following words:

1st. Take the average number of Houses contained in the Boroughs to be arranged, divide the number of Houses in each Borough by this average number, and a series of numbers will be obtained, denoting the relative importance of the different Boroughs with respect to HOUSES.

2nd. Take the average amount of the Assessed Taxes paid by the same Boroughs, and proceed precisely in the same manner as described with respect to the Houses; a series of numbers will result, showing the relative importance of the different Boroughs with regard to Assessed Taxes.

(p. 30.)

3rd. Add together the numbers in these two Lists which relate to the same Boroughs, and a series of Numbers will be produced denoting the *relative importance*, of the different Boroughs with respect to *Houses* and *Assessed Taxes* combined.

4th. With a view to explain this statement, suppose that the number of Boroughs to be arranged in the manner prescribed is 5 instead of 110. The principle not being affected by the number, the explanation will be rendered more simple by using the smaller number. Let the 5 Boroughs be as follows:

	Assessed Taxes.	Houses.
Borough (A.) ...	£207	352
— (B.) ...	335	218
— (C.) ...	393	303
— (D.) ...	692	254
— (E.) ...	329	155
	5) 1,956	5) 1,282
	391 { Average Amount of Assessed Taxes.	256 { Average N° of Houses.

Proceeding in the manner described, there will result for,

	1st List. Relative Value with respect to Assessed Taxes.		2nd List. Relative Value with respect to Houses.
(A.) ...	$\frac{207}{391}$ = ·529 ...	and ...	$\frac{352}{256}$ = 1·375
(B.) ...	$\frac{335}{391}$ = ·857 ...	and ...	$\frac{218}{256}$ = ·851
(C.) ...	$\frac{393}{391}$ = 1·005 ...	and ...	$\frac{303}{256}$ = 1·184
(D.) ...	$\frac{692}{391}$ = 1·770 ...	and ...	$\frac{254}{256}$ = ·991
(E.) ...	$\frac{329}{391}$ = ·841 ...	and ..	$\frac{155}{256}$ = ·605

Adding together the numbers of the 1st and 2nd List, and arranging the places according to their values;

1. ...	(E.)	Relative importance of Boroughs, with respect to No. of Houses and Assessed Taxes.	1·466	or multiplying by 1000, to avoid fractional parts	1466
2. ...	(B.)		1·708		1708
3. ...	(A.)		1·904		1904
4. ...	(C.)		2·189		2189
5. ...	(D.)		2·761		2761

In the manner now described the List in question has been formed. The average has been taken for 100 Boroughs, commencing with the first, which exhibits the slightest pretension to be considered as a Town; *viz.* Beeralston, and the numbers will be found to be,

Average N° of Houses.—452. Average of Assessed Taxes.—545.

By means of the two average numbers, the number in the 3rd column representing each particular Borough is readily found.

Thus, Arundel	Houses	$\frac{527}{452}$ = 1·165	or producing as above	1165
	Assessed Taxes ...	$\frac{878}{545}$ = 1·611		1611
			The Amount will furnish	2776

the number denoting the relative importance of Arundel with respect to Houses and Assessed Taxes combined.

That the method now described is just in principle will probably be admitted; and it is satisfactory to observe, that the description of the general appearance and condition of the Towns given in the Reports of the Commissioners correspond with the position which they occupy in the inclosed List,—a result, however, which is also partly due to the principle of allowing to the old Borough all the advantage of the modern Town which may have stretched beyond the ancient limits of the Borough.

From this equitable and apparently simple regulation, the chief difficulty experienced in arranging the following List has arisen. All Returns of Population, number of Houses, and Assessed Taxes being made out with reference to Boroughs, Townships and Parishes, it follows, that where the streets have extended beyond the Borough into adjacent Parishes, such Returns for the Town can only be obtained by compounding together *parts of Parishes.*

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The position of many Boroughs depending on the estimate of the Town beyond the limits, it becomes necessary to mention the manner in which this estimation has been made, and the sources from which information has been obtained :

1st. From the Reports of the Commissioners produced by the communication addressed to them by Your Lordship's directions on the 21st October, requesting them to direct their attention to those places where the Town extended beyond the Borough, the most valuable data have been derived. To the great exertion made by these gentlemen much is due, the reports alluded to having been prepared at a time when they were engaged in the laborious and arduous task of reporting upon appropriate Boundaries for the Towns and Boroughs of England and Wales :

2nd. From the information communicated by the Returning Officers in reply to the Circular from the Home Office of the 24th November :

3rd. From Returns procured through the Tax Office ; and,

4th. From a List of the Number of Houses contained in the different Boroughs in England in 1831, furnished by Mr. Rickman, the value of which is, however, unfortunately restricted to those cases where Boroughs and Parishes are co-extensive.

The Numbers contained in the 2nd and 3rd Columns have been taken from the documents enumerated ; and in an Appendix to this Letter the case of each individual Borough has been examined, and the reasons stated for preferring the numbers which have been adopted where discrepancies exist. It is but just to add, that the answers of the Returning Officers appear in general to have been given with candour and fairness. In several instances, the Returns of the Commissioners are more favourable to the Boroughs than those of the Returning Officer, while perhaps in a few, the presence of the Commissioners has had the effect of restraining the too liberal construction which might otherwise have been given to the word *Town*. Having now, agreeably to Your Lordship's directions, explained the method adopted in forming the List required, and stated the sources from which the data have been taken, it only remains for me to add, that it is now submitted to your Lordship's consideration, if not without solicitude, at least with the consciousness that no exertion which the time admitted has been spared to render it fit for the purpose intended, and worthy of the confidence of His Majesty's Government.

I have, &c. &c.

THOS. DRUMMOND.

LIST OF BOROUGHS

Arranged according to the Number of Houses and the Amount of Assessed Taxes.

No.	NAMES of BOROUGHS.	NUMBER of HOUSES, in 1831.	ASSESSED TAXES, for the Year ending 5th April, 1831.	NUMBERS denoting the relative Importance of the BOROUGHS, according to Houses and Taxes.
1.	Old Sarum	*		
2.	Newton, I. of Wight...			
3.	St. Michael			
4.	Gatton			
5.	Bramber			
6.	Bossiney			
7.	Dunwich			
8.	Ludgershall			
9.	St. Mawes			
10.	Newport, Cornwall ...			
11.	Beeralston	139	14	333
12.	West Looe	132	53	389
13.	St. Germain's ...	124	63	390
14.	Bletchingley	96	120	433
15.	Aldborough	106	113	442
16.	Camelford	110	111	447
17.	Hindon	185	44	490
18.	East Looe	167	79	515
19.	Corfe Castle	156	104	536

* It has not been thought necessary to give the relative numbers for the first Ten Boroughs.

No.	NAMES of BOROUGHS.	NUMBER of HOUSES, in 1831.	ASSESSED TAXES, for the Year ending 5th April, 1831.	NUMBERS denoting the relative Importance of the BOROUGHS, according to Houses and Taxes.
20.	Great Bedwin	171	98	558
21.	Yarmouth, I. of Wight	114	172	568
22.	Queenborough	190	82	571
23.	Castle Rising	169	127	607
24.	East Grinstead	131	198	653
25.	Higham Ferrers	171	156	665
26.	Wendover	198	124	666
27.	Weobly	122	216	666
28.	Winchelsea	148	200	694
29.	Tregony	234	103	707
30.	Haslemere	156	211	732
31.	Saltash	244	126	771
32.	Orford	246	135	792
33.	Callington	233	197	877
34.	Newton, Lancashire	274	151	883
35.	Ilchester	248	213	940
36.	Boroughbridge	155	329	947
37.	Stockbridge	220	252	949
38.	New Romney	165	320	952
39.	Hedon	217	271	977
40.	Plympton	182	322	993
41.	Seaford	201	306	1006
42.	Steyning	218	335	1097
43.	Whitchurch	261	315	1155
44.	Wootton Bassett	352	207	1159
45.	Fowey	325	259	1194
46.	Heytesbury	279	320	1204
47.	Downton	326	273	1222
48.	Milbourne Port	383	211	1235
49.	Aldeburgh	325	297	1264
50.	Minehead	326	309	1288
51.	Bishop's Castle	361	270	1294
52.	Oakhampton	318	324	1298
53.	Appleby	210	476	1338
54.	Lostwithiel	303	372	1353
55.	Brackley	378	302	1390
56.	Amersham	360	429	1584
57.	Petersfield	272	540	1593
58.	Ashburton	436	355	1616
59.	Eye	404	411	1648
60.	Westbury	536	272	1685
61.	Wareham	364	522	1763
62.	Wilton	406	492	1801
63.	Midhurst	254	690	1828
64.	Woodstock	382	544	1843
65.	Christchurch	459	518	1966
66.	Malmesbury	637	346	2044
67.	Liskeard	474	600	2150
68.	Reigate	256	910	2236
69.	Hythe	499	640	2278
70.	Droitwich	566	576	2309
71.	Lyme Regis	455	729	2344
72.	Dartmouth	537	639	2361
73.	Launceston	543	632	2361
74.	Thirsk	628	590	2472
75.	Horsham	488	770	2492
76.	Shaftesbury	635	645	2588
77.	Great Grimsby	795	461	2605
78.	Arundel	527	878	2777
79.	St. Ives	1002	330	2822
80.	Rye	661	783	2899
81.	Northallerton	593	867	2903
82.	Calne	710	740	2929
83.	Helstone	629	841	2935
84.	Clitheroe	990	406	2938

No.	NAMES of BOROUGHS.	NUMBER of HOUSES in 1831.	ASSESSED TAXES, for the Year ending 5th April, 1831.	NUMBERS denoting the relative Importance of the BOROUGHS, according to Houses and Taxes.
85.	Morpeth	624	853	2946
86.	Wallingford	493	1073	3060
87.	Totness	473	1107	3078
88.	Chippenham	648	919	3120
89.	Bodmin	596	984	3124
90.	Thetford	682	895	3151
91.	Buckingham	740	843	3184
92.	Cockermouth	1000	540	3203
93	Great Marlow	675	962	3258
94.	Harwich	743	904	3303
95.	Honiton	709	1068	3528
96.	Tavistock	696	1114	3584
97.	Bridgnorth	1071	680	3617
98.	Marlborough	580	1276	3624
99.	Tamworth	846	974	3659
100.	Maldon	732	1114	3664
101.	Bridport	944	948	3828
102.	Huntingdon	667	1300	3861
103.	Lymington	716	1279	3931
104.	Leominster	906	1051	3933
105.	Evesham	847	1236	4142
106.	Richmond	803	1399	4344
107.	Pontefract	1033	1225	4533
108.	Newport, Isle of Wight	498	1894	4577
109	Sudbury	1189	1157	4753
110.	Malton	1079	1301	4774

The Ten following Boroughs would be nearly in the following order.

111.	Devizes			
112.	Grantham			
113.	Tewkesbury			
114.	Andover			
115.	Wells			
116.	Guildford			
117.	Ripon			
118.	Dorchester			
119.	St. Albans			
120.	Hertford			

See the Reports and Accounts of the Returning Officers for the Number of Houses and Amount of Taxes in these Boroughs.

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TO

VOLUME IX *(THIRD SERIES)* SESSION 1831-2,

(First Volume of the Session)

OF

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